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# The American Historical Review

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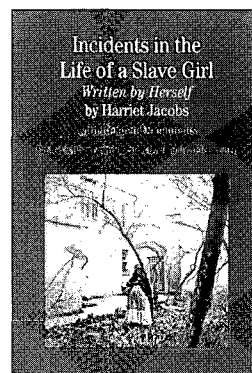
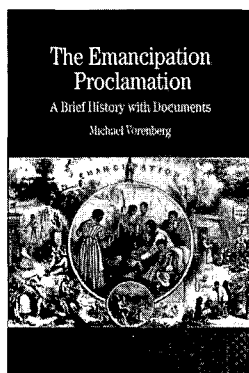
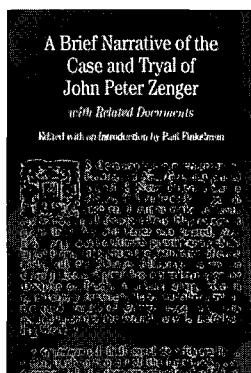
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## In This Issue

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The April issue includes articles on the physicality of Martin Luther and on suicide in colonial Africa, and an *AHR* Forum on aspects of political culture in South Asia. There are also five featured reviews, followed by our normal extensive book review section. “In Back Issues,” a new section that we introduced last year, calls attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

### Articles

“Martin Luther’s Body: The ‘Stout Doctor’ and His Biographers,” by **Lyndal Roper**, takes a fresh look at the great reformer, focusing on the way depictions emphasizing his “monumentality” and his own relationship to his body informed the theology of Lutheranism. “This was a man whose body was fundamental to his personality,” Roper writes. In contrast to saints and other pious figures, whose thinness illustrated their aversion or indifference to the temptations of the flesh, Luther’s stoutness was an unmistakable, and oft-depicted, feature of his iconographic representations. Roper focuses on more than Luther’s size; she also explores the way he constantly referred to the body—and specifically his body—in his writings and pronouncements, especially in the famous *Table Talk*. In the course of her analysis, she takes issue with other commentators who have focused on Luther’s body, especially from a psychoanalytical perspective, and offers her own interpretation, which is also psychoanalytically informed. Rather than seeing his preoccupation with the body, especially its seamy side, as a character defect or neurosis, she proposes that Luther “offered a religious worldview that did not separate soul and body but incorporated a robust, redoubtable, and often mucky physicality.”

In “Suicide in Late Colonial Africa: The Evidence of Inquests from Nyasaland,” **Megan Vaughan** acknowledges that the history of this phenomenon in Africa remains largely unwritten. In present-day eastern and southern Africa, however, suicide is now attracting significant attention from health professionals. Students of colonial Africa have argued that suicide rates on the continent were low, but the statistical basis for this assertion is quite narrow; and most studies of the subject seem to be based on the dubious assumption that African people rarely experienced guilt or depressive illness. Her article locates the study of suicide in Africa within this

colonial intellectual history but also attempts to go beyond it, suggesting how a study of suicide might contribute to a deeper historical understanding of subjectivities in one region of colonial Africa. Using the records of inquests into suicide cases in late colonial Nyasaland, Vaughan presents a study of the nature of suicide in that region and examines the role of the inquest in the history of suicide in Africa.

## **AHR Forum**

In an *AHR* Forum titled “The State in South Asian History,” we bring together three studies and a comment that provide different perspectives on politics—political processes, political identities, and political cultures—in India and Sri Lanka. In “Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India,” **David Gilmartin** notes that while democracy links sovereignty to the idea of a unitary, sovereign people, it mobilizes the people’s voice through elections in ways that call forth the particularistic cultural divisions and conflicting interests that divide the people. His article examines the history of electoral democracy in India in the years after 1947 through the lens of this paradox. Taking as a central example the history of caste, which played a critical role in Indian elections even as the law technically barred divisive electoral appeals to caste as a corrupt electoral practice, he argues that India’s jurisprudence relating to caste and elections was directed toward sustaining a paradoxical relationship between the universal and the particular as a foundation for India’s democratic order. He traces this relationship through a close examination of court cases and judicial rhetoric focused on the role of caste in elections, and calls attention to the importance for the courts of an image of the Indian “people” modeled on conceptions of an Indian self constructed by opposed, yet inescapably linked, higher and lower parts.

In “Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Migration in the Advent of British Rule to Sri Lanka,” **Sujit Sivasundaram** examines the history of the divide between the Sinhalese and Tamils of Sri Lanka from a transnational perspective. He returns us to the key period that saw the fall of Kandy, the last independent monarchy in the interior of the island, and the emergence of wholesale British colonialism. He argues that the flow of kings, traders, monks, and troops into the kingdom of Kandy was reconstructed as the British bound the island into a unit of governance, separate from South and South-east Asia. In the process, the British exalted a sense of indigeneity, which they applied to the Sinhalese, as seen in the repatriation to India of those they termed “Malabar,” a term that later became “Tamil.” This sense of the Sinhala already existed within Kandy, but did not have the full import assigned to it by the British. By paying attention to the shifting placement of the island in the wider region, Sivasundaram attempts to explain how ethnic differences were articulated out of the mutating connections of the local to the regional and global. This is especially evident in island spaces, which came under regimes of precolonial, colonial, and national state-making, and where modernity brought disruptions to existing forms of cosmopolitanism.



“Transcending Identity: Gandhi, Nonviolence, and the Pursuit of a ‘Different’ Freedom in Modern India,” by **Mithi Mukherjee**, is a historical exploration into the Gandhian discourse of “renunciative freedom” and how it differs from Western conceptions of political freedom. As opposed to Western understandings, which are anchored in notions of national identity, the nation-state, individual rights, and private property, the Gandhian notion of freedom had its origins in Indic—Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu—renunciative and non-identitarian traditions, embodied in the figure of the renouncer. Most historians approach Gandhi as a unique, if not an odd, figure in history, but Mukherjee shows that he was in fact the culmination of a long line of important thinkers in modern India who sought to negotiate the competing and conflicting claims of the two discourses of freedom, a project that had emerged as the central intellectual problem in colonial India. Remarkably, she claims, even as the notion of “difference” has become important for historians of modern India, particularly of the subaltern and postcolonial schools, it has not been extended to Gandhi, perhaps the most exemplary figure in this regard. Mukherjee suggests that this is because their notion of difference does not extend to the Indic intellectual and cultural traditions reflected in Gandhi.

In his comment, “‘History Is Past Politics’? Archives, ‘Tainted Evidence,’ and the Return of the State,” **Todd Shepard**, who has written about decolonialization in northern Africa, reads these three essays as moves back to politics and state-centered history among imperial and postcolonial historians. He notes that the authors all approach their material from a transnational perspective, using it to tease out differences and cross-currents in the political cultures they examine. Within this context, however, their return to state-centered histories, especially among historians and scholars of colonial and postcolonial societies, represents a significant departure. Shepard endorses this move, but he also calls attention to the snare of archives as constructed by nation-states and political institutions. We must, he concludes, ask ourselves “*why* sources are available and *how* their availability is organized.”

June’s issue will include articles on the place of food in colonial Jamestown and in Spanish America, on the history of language in Meiji Japan, and on the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It will also include an *AHR* Exchange on William Novak’s June 2008 article, “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State.”

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## In Back Issues

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In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 115th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

### Volume 15, Number 3 (April 1910)

The April 1910 issue begins with a long account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in New York City in December 1909. As this marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the association, the meeting was especially large, and included the joint participation of other scholarly groups, among them the American Economics Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Association. President William Howard Taft was scheduled to address the opening session at Columbia University, but his presence was prevented by inclement weather, so the attendees had to be content with remarks by the governor of New York, the mayor of New York City, and the president of Columbia. The issue includes articles by two figures who were prominent in public life beyond the academy. "The Contest for the Laws of Reform in Mexico," by John W. Foster, who was secretary of state in the Benjamin Harrison administration and a diplomatic envoy to Mexico, Russia, and Spain (and also, incidentally, the grandfather of John Foster Dulles and Allen Welsh Dulles), is largely a narrative of the political history of Mexico in the nineteenth century, through which, in the midst of revolutionary upheaval, civil war, and foreign intervention, a separation of church and state was effected. Foster's account is in part informed by his presence in Mexico in the 1870s and his personal acquaintance with the major actors in this decades-long struggle, and it is colored by his clear aversion to the historical role of the Catholic Church in the public affairs of Mexico and in Latin America more generally. The other contribution by a public figure is "The Molly Maguires in the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania," by James Ford Rhodes, a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian whose scholarly career began after he had amassed a fortune as an industrialist. (His brother-in-law was Mark Hanna, the Republican Party boss.)

Rhodes's piece is a blow-by-blow, rather overheated account of the activities and prosecution of the Molly Maguires, a story that culminates in the hanging of nineteen of the organization's members and the imprisonment of many others. In addition to his patently contemptuous attitude toward this legendary, if still somewhat obscure, group of militant coal miners, the narrative is filled with racial slurs about the Irish, which in 1910 probably did not offend most readers. Interestingly, however, Rhodes couches his ethnic prejudice with a historical explanation for the Irish character that ultimately indicts the English. "The characteristic failings of the Celts, as the ancient Romans knew them, were intensified in their Irish descendants by the seven centuries of misgovernment of Ireland by England," he concludes. "Subject to tyranny at home the Irishman, when he came to America, too often translated liberty into license and so ingrained was his habit of looking upon government as the enemy, that, when he became the ruler of cities and stole the public funds, he was, from his point of view, only despoiling the old adversary."

### **Volume 40, Number 3 (April 1935)**

The April 1935 issue includes a long essay by Theodore Clarke Smith, "The Writing of American History in America, from 1884 to 1934," occasioned by the marking of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the AHA at the annual meeting in December 1934. Looking back on the previous half-century of scholarship, Smith acknowledges the importance of the turn toward "scientific" and "objective" history writing, which coincided with the emergence of history as a profession. He notes that "this new race of history writers" looked critically on their predecessors, who, they believed, were excessively preoccupied with public or political affairs, were often taken up with parochial, regional, or moralistic viewpoints, or were otherwise lacking in "impartiality." While Smith is definitely a partisan of this approach to history, he bemoans the fact that the scholarship it has produced often lacks the "sweep and coherence" of previous histories. But he also signals, with some alarm, current challenges to "the ideal of impartiality and impersonality" in the contemporary writing of history. One comes from non-professional historians who seem to disavow precisely those features that professional historians hold dear. This kind of history "does not consider it necessary to be impartial or even fair; it prefers to be interesting and as a result popular." "How long," he asks, "can the younger members of our profession remain unaffected by this situation?" The other challenges are more serious, as they originate from within the profession. Some recent historians have concentrated on economic life, and in particular class conflict, as the key to history. While Smith acknowledges the insights generated by this approach—which he ascribes to an adherence to "Marxian theories"—he concludes that "no one can fail to see that the formula eliminates the possibility of more than one interpretation and excludes anything like impartiality." There are also new historians who eschew impartiality in favor of applying history to the concerns of the here and now. He quotes one of those scholars, James Harvey Robinson, who in 1926 proclaimed, "We need a new kind of historian who will utilize the material painfully amassed by the older ones in order to bring it to bear on the quandaries of our life today," and points to another,

Charles Beard, who, he claims, espouses the belief that “the only valid history was that which traced the forward movement of society toward a collectivist democracy.” Smith warns: “From this it is a very short step to history as written or taught in Italy, Russia, or Germany—history as a social or rather a political tool.” With a note of resignation, he muses that “another fifty years will see the end . . . of a noble dream, and history, save as an instrument of entertainment, or of social control, will not be permitted to exist.” If that day comes, he concludes wistfully, he hopes that those who adhere to “impartial” history will “go down with our flags flying.”

### Volume 65, Number 3 (April 1960)

There are two articles in the April 1960 issue that, while they are in separate sections and in all likelihood were not published with any connection between them in the minds of the editors, nevertheless are similar in interesting ways. “The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis,” by Rowland Berthoff, is the lead article. Eugen Weber’s “The Right in France: A Working Hypothesis” is placed in a separate section titled “Notes and Suggestions.” Both are explicitly hypothetical in nature, and both address questions of social mobility in the modern era. They both would seem to be a result of the editors’ decision to encourage work of a speculative or tentative nature. Berthoff’s piece takes in the whole sweep of U.S. history and proposes an analysis, based on an assertive advocacy of the then-new social history, of the centrality of social mobility and its ramifications across the centuries. He spends some time disparaging the preoccupation with intellectual history, and asks that we lay aside “our concern with the ideas that Americans have held . . . of liberalism and conservatism . . . and [take] a fresh look at the humbler but fundamental history of the society that first gave rise to those ideas.” His focus on mobility in U.S. history—everything from the geographical movement across the continent, the waves of foreign immigrants, and the migration of rural people to the cities, to the vertical social mobility of economic betterment—yields a conclusion that he calls a “conservative interpretation” or the modern equivalent of a “Federalist interpretation” of American history. By this he means the longstanding efforts, dating at least to the last decades of the nineteenth century, to restore a sense of stability and order in the face of the disorder that this social mobility generated. Here he largely has in mind the reforming and regulatory moves common to both the Progressive Era and the New Deal, which he does not hesitate to label as “counter-revolutionary”—“part of the broad reaction against the general disorder, often miscalled the status quo, of the nineteenth century.” With respect to Weber’s piece, the reader is struck that, *mutatis mutandis*, the same analytical approach is in play; for like Berthoff, Weber aims to explain what he sees as the dominance of conservative forces in French politics, despite the “myth of the Left.” Like Berthoff, he sees this as taking shape in the last decades of the nineteenth century; and again like Berthoff, he argues that it results from the successful course of social mobility. Indeed, Weber places this transformation, and the rise of a broad-based “Right” in France, as “part of a vaster and more familiar Western European trend which might be described as the progressive integration, the progressive reconciliation, of the ‘outs.’” The last wave of “outs,” how-



ever, the lower middle class, offers a challenge to the ideological course of “progressive reconciliation.” Weber calls it a “new class,” and he sees it as characterized by dissatisfaction, insecurity, a lack of interest in the ideological programs of either the Left or the traditional Right, profoundly nationalistic, and prone to the lures of strongmen and charismatic leaders. Writing in the immediate aftermath of the events of 1958, which saw the violent end of the Fourth Republic and the reemergence of Charles de Gaulle as the strong president of the Fifth, Weber clearly sees this class as an explanation for why this transformation only pushed France farther to the right.



Lucas Cranach the Elder, Martin Luther, 1533. Reproduced by permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

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## Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and His Biographers

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LYNDAL ROPER

PERHAPS THE MOST DISCONCERTING monument to the Reformation is the double statue of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon in the city market at Wittenberg. There they stand, their feet locked onto grandiose Schinkel pedestals, and can do no other, as they gaze grimly out from under their neo-Gothic baldachins. Melanchthon was an afterthought: Luther's statue was unveiled in 1821, and Melanchthon's followed a generation later in 1865, the monumental design of the first dictating the form for the second.<sup>1</sup> The two Reformation heroes tower over the meat stands and vegetable stalls like two caged giants. But the effect of their being seen side by side like this, even with the nineteenth-century attempts to minimize the difference, is disastrous: the stout Luther confronts the cadaverous Melanchthon. In the contemporary double portraits by Heinrich Aldegrever and the Cranach workshop, it is even worse: Luther and Melanchthon are twinned like Laurel and Hardy.<sup>2</sup>

This dilemma takes us to the heart of the representational problem: Luther was stoutly built. Saints and pious clerics tend, on the whole, to come in Melanchthonian shape, their thinness underlining their indifference to the temptations of the flesh. In the history of Western Christianity, Aquinas aside, there were few spiritual figures who were corpulent. From Lucas Cranach the Elder's painting of the bulky Luther of 1529 to the jowly, double-chinned head of Luther that looks out at us from the iconic woodcut of Lucas Cranach the Younger of 1546, Luther was large.<sup>3</sup> After

Many people have helped me in writing this article. I should like to thank the audiences who heard various versions of the paper on which it is based; the anonymous readers for the *AHR*; the Lutherhalle Wittenberg; Gadi Algazi, Charlotte Appel, Michael Drolet, Constance Furey, Laura Gowing, Bridget Heal, Jan Lambert, Simone Laqua, Alison Light, Peter Macardle, Hans Medick, Daniel Pick, Ulinka Rublack, Hans-Jochen Seidel, Alex Shepard, Patricia Simons, Philip Soergel, Jenny Spinks, Andreas Stahl, Jutta Strehle, Willibald Steinmetz, Barbara Taylor, Claudia Ullrich, Alex Walsham, Petra Wittig, Brigitte Wonneberg, and Charles Zika; and especially Ruth Harris, Thomas Kaufmann, and Nicholas Stargardt.

<sup>1</sup> The statue itself is by Johann Schadow. See Fritz Bellmann, Marie-Luise Harksen, and Roland Werner, eds., *Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg* (Weimar, 1979), 47–48, 178–179.

<sup>2</sup> A string of double portraits of Luther and Melanchthon were commissioned, especially in 1532–1533; they were intended to create the impression of a unified front. See Harald Marx and Ingrid Mössinger, *Cranach: Mit einem Bestandskatalog der Gemälde in den Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* (Cologne, 2005), 474–479.

<sup>3</sup> There are a great number of Luther portraits, but no complete catalogue of Cranach's works exists, including a complete list of these portraits. Some representative examples include those of 1528 (Schlossmuseum Weimar), 1532 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden), 1540 (Lutherhalle G 70), 1541 (Lutherhalle G 72), and 1543 (private collection); many of these are halves of double portraits either with Melanchthon or with Katharina von Bora. On the latter portraits, see Lyndal Roper, "Venus in



FIGURE 1: Heinrich Aldegrever, Melancthon and Luther, 1540, engraving. Reproduced by permission of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg.

around 1530, so essential was his size to his image that even when we see only his bust, his broad shoulders and fleshy face make him instantly recognizable.

The last decades have seen a deluge of work on the body, as historians have sought to extend the agenda of gender history to ask how even the experience of embodiment itself might be constructed through culture. Much of this work has focused on images in literature and art. But a different approach to representations of Luther's body can yield interesting insights. Recent historical writing, influenced by the work of Joan Scott and of Judith Butler, among others, has been powerfully influenced by the idea that the body is constructed through verbal and visual discourses.<sup>4</sup> Even those historians who have drawn on psychoanalytic writing have often tended to concentrate more on analyzing discourses than on exploring subjectivity.<sup>5</sup> Bodies, however, are not only cultural constructions but physical realities. The question explored here is not only why Luther was *depicted* as stout, an undertaking that draws on the techniques of discourse analysis so finely developed by new historicist scholars, but also how his physicality—his bulk, his digestion, his anality—was linked to his character, his views of the devil, and the emerging identity of Lutheranism. Some readers may think this philosophically naïve: images of Luther are one thing, the reality quite another. But Luther certainly left those around him in no doubt

Wittenberg: Cranach, Luther, and Sensuality," in Marjorie Plummer and Robin Barnes, eds., *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany: Essays in Honor of H.C. Erik Midelfort* (Farnham, 2009), 81–98.

<sup>4</sup> See Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York, 1983); Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990); Butler, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); and see also the articles by Joan Scott et al. in the *AHR* Forum "Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,'" *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1344–1430.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Carla Mazzio, ed., *Historicism, Psychoanalysis, and Early Modern Culture* (London, 2000).



FIGURE 2: Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560)*, 1558. Reproduced by permission of the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

about the materiality of his body. When, for instance, he wrote to his friend Georg Spalatin during his stay at the Wartburg, by turns asking him for laxatives and entrusting him with his manuscripts, or when, in some of his very last letters to his wife, he described his inability to be sexually aroused by the sight of prostitutes and blamed Jews for his illness, we see an individual with none of our modern prudishness about physical processes.<sup>6</sup> This was a man whose body was fundamental to his personality. The material and the cultural should therefore be considered in tandem in regard to Luther, because the apparent visual “problem” of his big, earthy body conveyed perfectly the physicality that was central both to his character and to the symbolic world of early Lutheranism.

But why was it that these representations became so iconic? The same powerful presence was conveyed in the emerging biographies of the reformer—in particular, in that Protestant classic of embodied devotion, Luther’s *Table Talk*, the book that

<sup>6</sup> D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar, 1883–) [hereafter cited as WA], Briefwechsel [hereafter cited as WA Br], esp. among his letters to Spalatin, 2: 354–355, lines 22–28, June 10, 1521; 364–365, lines 4–9, July 15, 1521; 368–369, lines 24–34, July 31, 1521; 377–379, lines 17–21, August 6, 1521; 387–390, lines 27–35, September 9, 1521; 394–396, lines 5–8, October 7, 1521; letters to Katharina von Bora, WA Br 11: 275–277, lines 4–15, February 1, 1546; and see also 286–288, lines 13–38, February 7, 1546. For a brilliant discussion of Luther’s masculinity, see Susan Karant-Nunn, “‘Fast wäre mir ein weibliches Gemüt verblieben’: Martin Luthers Männlichkeit,” in Hans Medick and Peter Schmidt, eds., *Luther zwischen den Kulturen* (Göttingen, 2004), 49–65.



did so much to bring the four-square, populist Luther to life for those who had never met the man. It also left the reader in no doubt about the importance of the devil for him. Luther's view of Satan, however, is closely allied both to materiality and to humor. Our Cartesian inheritance, with its separation of mind and body, makes it difficult for us to comprehend the ease with which Luther could see the spiritual in the somatic, or how his body should have conveyed Lutheran identity so powerfully for a whole church. It makes it hard for us even to get the joke. Luther drew on digestive metaphors to convey some of his deepest insights, including his conceptions of good and evil, and he had an intuitive understanding of the link between creativity and bodily processes, partly because of the illnesses he suffered throughout his life. Any account of the reformer that wants to do justice to the importance of his body—or to the role of the devil in his thought—must come to terms with his excremental rhetoric, which he regularly deployed against those he considered emissaries of Satan. This is a feature that historians often try to excuse rather than explore. His psychobiographers, on the other hand, were fascinated by it, but rushed to apply twentieth-century taboos and to pathologize a feature of his character that was not at odds with much of sixteenth-century culture.<sup>7</sup> But this is just part of Luther's generally creative attitude to the body and to the appetites. Understanding his physicality, in text and image, can also help us to appreciate primary themes of his theology differently. For Luther, there was no neat division between body and spirit—and this is worth taking seriously, for even psychoanalytically influenced character studies tend to stress the mental at the expense of the physical. Luther's body, omnipresent in Lutheran visual culture long after his death, was central to the character of Lutheran devotional culture.

THE STOUT LUTHER WHO CIRCULATED in images from the 1530s was a new creation. In the early years of the Reformation, before Cranach the Elder's famous portraits of the intense monk attained their later dominance, there were a wide variety of likenesses of the reformer, some of them completely unrecognizable today, and just about all of them showed him as thin.<sup>8</sup> Several artists even employed doves and halos to cast the young Luther in the familiar mold of the divinely inspired saint, and Cranach himself portrayed a gaunt, hollow-cheeked Luther in front of a niche, drawing on saint-like iconography. In brilliant discussions of this imagery, the late Bob Scribner argued that this was yet another example of the ways in which the Reformation retained elements of Catholic belief, especially in relation to the reformer's quasi-miraculous powers, accommodating far older ways of understanding the sa-

<sup>7</sup> Heiko Oberman's biography *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven, Conn., 1989), is a superb exception, treating Luther's anal rhetoric seriously and setting out its medieval roots; see esp. 107–109. Luther's antisemitism also needs to be considered in relation to his anal rhetoric, a subject that lies beyond the scope of this essay.

<sup>8</sup> See Katalog der Wolfenbütteler Luther-Drucke 1513 bis 1546, <http://dbs.hab.de/luther/index.htm>, for some representative examples of the wide array of early representations of Luther. A counterexample to the general rule of depicting him as thin is an etching by Daniel Hopper of 1523 or later, which is based on the Cranach profile portrait; Hopper gives Luther slightly sagging jowls.



cred.<sup>9</sup> In their use of visual codes, he argued, Lutherans fell back on traditional representations of Luther as saint, miracle-worker, and holy man.

However, these images of Luther date only from the early 1520s. By the 1530s, a very different, more standardized iconography emerged, which dominated Lutheran imagery throughout the sixteenth century. As visitors to the 1530 Diet of Augsburg noted, Luther had begun to fill out, so that he no longer possessed the ascetic looks of his earlier years, a change that was reflected in the Cranach portraits with their realistic style.<sup>10</sup> From then on, images of Luther broke decisively with earlier saintly models, producing a new kind of imagery for a religious figure who represented a different approach to the flesh. This was a man who had a wife and children, a model for a church with married clergy, whose theology forthrightly attacked monasticism. The change in how Luther was represented was not something that his friends or the artists would have put into words; nor might they have been consciously aware of its implications. But its significance is evident in the images themselves: in the sheer outpouring of woodcuts, oil paintings, and etchings, in their loving attention to the detail of his face and body, and in their frequent visual juxtapositions, portraying Luther next to other stout, powerful rulers, or contrasting him with the thin Melanchthon. And these were images to be used in churches, in the home, and in printed books—in short, in all the key contexts of popular Lutheran devotion.

The Cranach workshop was located in Wittenberg, and Cranach the Elder's friendship with Luther brought a key dynamism to the Reformation. The workshop rapidly achieved dominance in how the reformer was represented, both in a flood of portraits and in the new print media, and it created a local business out of manufacturing the icon of Luther. The print revolution made it possible to generate mass images of famous individuals, so that, for the first time, widely disseminated woodcut images ensured that people knew, for instance, what Charles V looked like. Of varying quality, Luther pictures were produced for every occasion and every purse: Luther as doctor, prophet, or monk; paintings of Luther and Katharina von Bora as the ideal married couple; or the Luther double portraits with Melanchthon, designed to proclaim evangelical unity between the two very different reformers. As the Cranachs, father and son, developed their portraits of Luther at various ages, they also engaged in the burgeoning process of creating his biography.<sup>11</sup> By 1530 there were poster-style, single-leaf printed woodcut portraits of the reformer for sale, showing his characteristic double chin, strong mouth, piercing deep-set eyes, fleshy face, and

<sup>9</sup> R. W. Scribner, "Luther Myth: A Popular Historiography of the Reformer," in Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), 301–322; Scribner, "Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany," *ibid.*, 323–354; Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981), 14–36. See also Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); and Martin Warnke, *Cranachs Luther: Entwürfe für ein Image* (Frankfurt, 1984). Hans Baldung Grien and Hieronymus Hopfer both produced images of Luther with a halo and even with the dove of the Holy Spirit; Warnke, *Cranachs Luther*, 32–33. Cranach generally confined himself to employing a background niche.

<sup>10</sup> Luther's figure changed around 1530. Visitors to Coburg Castle during the 1530 Imperial Diet at Augsburg reported that he was fat; Oberman, *Luther*, 326. In 1546, he famously referred to himself as the "stout doctor": "Wenn ich wieder heim gen Wittenberg komm, so will ich mich alsdann in Sarg legen, und den Maden einen feisten Doctor zu essen geben"; WA, *Tischreden* [hereafter cited as WA TR] 6: 302, lines 12–14, No. 6975. The kidney stones from which he suffered also made his body bloated.

<sup>11</sup> See Mark U. Edwards, Jr., "Luther as Media Virtuoso and Media Persona," in Medick and Schmidt, *Luther zwischen den Kulturen*, 102–118; and Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 14–36.



FIGURE 3: Hans Brosamer, Martin Luther, 1530, printed by Wolfgang Resch, 364 x 284 mm. There is a matching woodcut of Katharina von Bora. From Max Geisberg and Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, 4 vols. (New York, 1974), 1: 391. Reproduced by permission of Directmedia Publishing Berlin.

squat neck. The large-size woodcut by Hans Brosamer, a follower of the Cranachs, was updated ten years later to portray the reformer as he aged.<sup>12</sup>

The Cranachs' now-standard representation of Luther fused two different iconographic modes into a powerful and novel synthesis. Cranach the Elder's images of the rulers of the Saxon house show them as massive, bull-headed figures, whose impressive solidity underlines their secular power. They stand erect with their feet apart, bestriding their realms; in bust portraits, their heads and shoulders cram the visual space. The images of Luther used the same means to present an individual who possessed unassailable religious authority. Drawing on representations of prophets, of Daniel, and even of Hercules, the Cranachs and their followers created a religious figure whose body was physically imposing.<sup>13</sup> And they frequently represented Luther and the Saxon electors together: the baptism of Christ is shown taking place with Luther and the Saxon elector on either side, while in Cranach the Younger's image of *True and False Religion*, a bulky Luther preaches from the pulpit as a similarly solid John Frederick in the foreground turns his head toward the viewer, carrying the cross of martyrdom.<sup>14</sup> Other images literally aligned the two. In a woodcut design that regularly appeared in his collected works, Luther and Elector John the Constant kneel on either side of the cross like two giant counterweights.<sup>15</sup> (See Figure 4.)

This style of depicting Luther found its epitome in Cranach the Younger's full-length woodcuts from 1546 (the year of Luther's death) and 1548, images that the modern viewer may find it hard to comprehend: the large body sits almost comically on the delicate feet. But for contemporary viewers, this monumentalism probably evoked Luther's powerful presence, all the more poignantly because he was no longer with them. His garb marks him out as doctor and cleric, while the small, expressive hands meet across the massive chest to hold the tiny, precious Bible: when he died, casts were taken of his hands and face.<sup>16</sup> The folds of the talar that he wears

<sup>12</sup> Hans Brosamer, Martin Luther, ca. 1540, 402 x 258 mm, printed by Hans Guldenmund, Nuremberg; Max Geisberg and Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, 4 vols. (New York, 1974), 1: 393.

<sup>13</sup> See Ingrid Kasten, "'Was ist Luther? Ist doch die lere nitt meyn': Die Anfänge des Luther-Mythos im 16. Jahrhundert," in Vaclav Bok and Frank Shaw, *Magister et amicus: Festschrift für Kurt Gärtner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2003), 899–931. She argues that the image of Luther as prophet, developed by Cranach, becomes the key representation. See also Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1999), 75–101.

<sup>14</sup> *The Baptism of Christ in the Presence of Frederick the Wise and Martin Luther*, reproduced in Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 2: 615; it dates from ca. 1548 and shows Frederick the Wise and Luther praying on each side. The broadsheet "The Difference between the True Religion of Christ and the False Idolatrous Teaching of Antichrist, Its Principal Features," dates from the period after John Frederick's defeat at Mühlberg, after mid-1547; *ibid.*, 2: 619. See, on these images and many other examples, Carl Christensen, *Princes and Propaganda: Electoral Saxon Art of the Reformation* (Kirksville, Mo., 1992), 79–81, 102–110; and for an early example, see also the title page of Luther's *Vom Reich Christi: Der CX Psalm* (Wittenberg, 1539), which features small roundel portraits of Luther, the Elector John Frederick, and Melancthon across the top border.

<sup>15</sup> Carl Christensen persuasively identifies this Saxon elector as John the Constant; see Christensen, *Princes and Propaganda*, 48–49. Meister M S, *Friedrich der Weise, Herzog von Sachsen und Martin Luther in Anbetung des Kreuzes*, reproduced in Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 3: 1283; and on the resemblance between Luther and the Elector, especially bareheaded, see Edgar Bierende, "Demut und Bekenntnis—Cranachs Bildnisse von Kurfürst Johann Friedrich I von Sachsen," in Volker Leppin, Georg Schmidt, and Sabine Wefers, eds., *Johann Friedrich I: Der lutherische Kurfürst* (Gütersloh, 2006), 327–357.

<sup>16</sup> These are now kept in the Marktkirche at Halle and were made on the orders of Justus Jonas

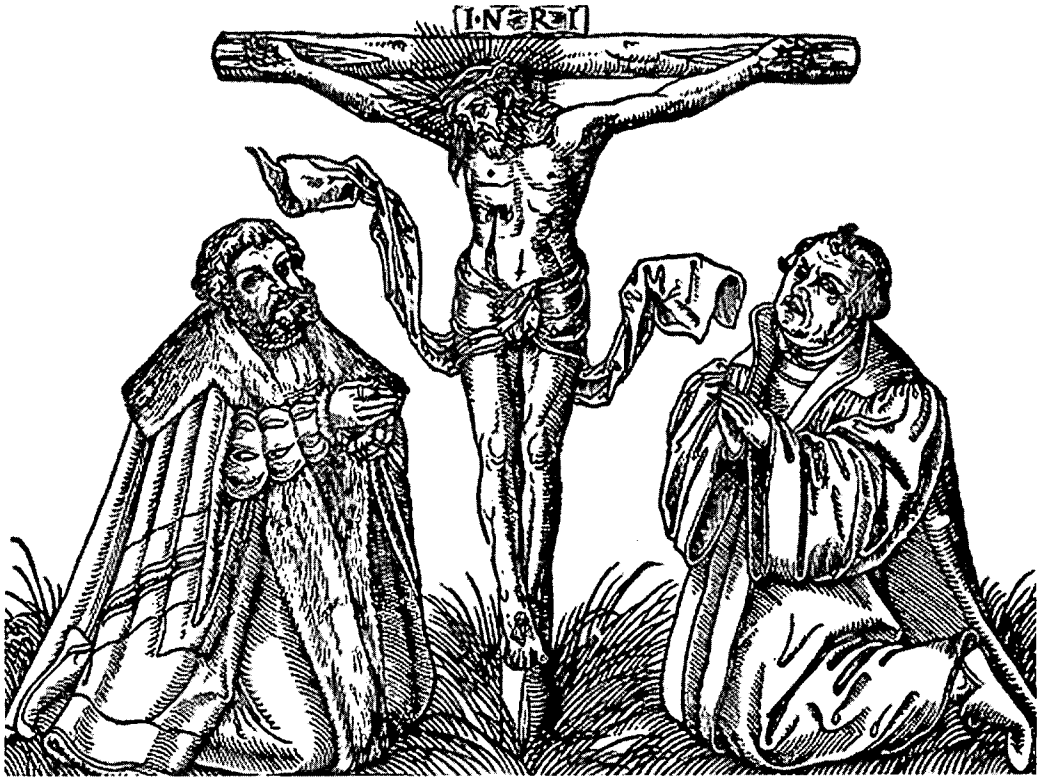


FIGURE 4: An earlier version of this image in which Christ's loincloth touches the two figures first appeared in the 1546 edition of *Luther's New Testament*, published by Hans Lufft, and was also used in several volumes of Luther's collected German works; the variant reproduced here appears in several other volumes of the collected works. The first volume of the *Latin Works* of 1545 also uses the same iconography, but the image differs slightly. From Carl Christensen, *Princes and Propaganda: Electoral Saxon Art of the Reformation* (Kirksville, Mo., 1992), 48–50. Reproduced by permission of Directmedia Publishing Berlin.

create strong downward lines that reinforce the sense of authority, rooting him firmly to the ground. His stance is erect, the shoulders set powerfully back, the neck bull-like, yet the bearing is not that of a man of the sword. The head, with its trademark wayward curl, tilts slightly forward as the eyes gaze into the middle distance. Cranach the Younger's monogram and the date are clearly visible in both woodcuts, authenticating the image and underlining the partnership between workshop and reformer.

What was by now the familiar Luther was then used in print literature as well, especially in popular devotional works: Luther's collected works, his hymns, the Cat-

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by the painter Lukas Furtenagel of Halle, who also did a brush drawing of Luther's face on his deathbed. See Franckesche Stiftung Halle, *Martin Luther und Halle: Kabinettausstellung der Marienbibliothek und der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle im Luthergedenckjahr 1996* (Halle, 1996), 32–34. I am grateful to Dr. Andreas Stahl of the Landesdenkmalamt, Halle. On the particular significance of the hands and head as representing the individual, see Ulinka Rublack and Sachiko Kusukawa, "Grapho-Relics: German Lutheranism and Materializations of the Word" (paper presented at Relics and Remains: A Past and Present Conference, September 11, 2008). Colors are also important to these images of Luther: below his collar, a stripe of red undergarment is clearly visible. Rublack argues that he in fact wore red stockings; see Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, forthcoming), chap. 3.





FIGURE 5: Lucas Cranach the Elder and Lucas Cranach the Younger, Martin Luther, Full Length, Facing Left, 342 x 209 mm (Magdeburg, Christian Roedinger, 1546). Reproduced by permission of the Kupferstichkabinett, Vienna.



FIGURE 6: Lucas Cranach the Elder and Lucas Cranach the Younger, Martin Luther, Full Length, Facing Right, 144 x 97 mm. Reproduced by permission of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg.



echism, and the House Postils (designed for family devotions) were frequently prefaced with a woodcut portrait. By the 1560s, pious Lutherans could even assemble a giant portrait out of a woodcut series produced by Cranach the Younger to decorate their own homes.<sup>17</sup> (See Figure 7.) There is comparatively little variation in these later images, which all show the reformer without tonsure and in clerical garb, often with the Bible at his side.<sup>18</sup> And they became part of the penumbra of print culture: depictions of Luther were tooled into leather book bindings and used to decorate the autograph books that Wittenberg students loved to collect.<sup>19</sup> Luther himself made use of this vogue for images of the reformer; for instance, he presented the Ansbach chancellor Georg Vogler with a copy of the German Bible prefaced with a lifelike painting by the Cranach workshop of himself against a blue background, adding a personal dedication in his own hand. This authentication in word and picture was what made the gift valuable.<sup>20</sup> More than with any other reformer, Luther's image was familiar to a wide public.

So successful were the Lutherans in making his monumentality part of the positive image of Lutheranism that there are almost no examples of anti-Lutheran visual polemic that exploit what one might expect would be an easy target—Lutherans themselves regularly satirized the broad girths of the pope and his bishops. In the illustration to Cochlaeus's hostile *Seven-Headed Luther* of 1529, the monk's body from which the seven heads sprout is not particularly fat, while Luther's cadaver in a fanatically anti-Lutheran woodcut of 1568, *The Anatomy of Martin Luther* (which shows his followers dissecting him), is of normal size.<sup>21</sup> The Catholic ex-Lutheran

<sup>17</sup> There were similar formats for Hus and Melanchthon with a slightly less capacious body (the heads could be interchanged), but Melanchthon's thin head sits oddly atop the body, which is too large for it; Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 1: 158–160. Jutta Strehle speculates that it may have been designed as a wall display triptych of giant reformers; Volkmar Joestel, ed., *Luthers Schatzkammer: Kostbarkeiten im Lutherhaus Wittenberg* (Dössel, 2008), 162–163.

<sup>18</sup> See the excellent Volkmar Joestel and Jutta Strehle, *Luthers Bild und Lutherbilder: Ein Rundgang durch die Wirkungsgeschichte* (Wittenberg, 2003), for images of Luther through the centuries, and the exhibition in the Lutherhalle Wittenberg. My thorough search of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg archive collection of printed images of the reformer suggests that the pictures of the young Luther as monk, or even as Junker Jörg, virtually disappeared in print, to be revived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (There are some marvelous exceptions that prove the rule: an image from 1598 of Luther as Junker Jörg that makes his torso so wide that his legs scarcely meet; the extraordinary triptych painting now in Weimar, Stadtkirche St. Peter und Paul, of Luther as monk, Junker Jörg, and mature man, which is reminiscent of the Cranach workshop's triptych of the Saxon electors; and the image on the Wittenberg Stadtkirche Altar of Luther as Junker Jörg distributing communion—but the latter two show the later Luther as well.) Instead, the mature, stout Luther crowded out all other representations, creating a remarkably consistent image of the reformer. I am grateful to the curator, Jutta Strehle, for her help.

<sup>19</sup> Some of these leather bindings are exhibited in the Lutherhalle Wittenberg, while the copy of the 1570 Urban Gaubisch Eisleben edition of the *Tischreden* at the Marienbibliothek Halle (C IV, 8 fols.) has an image of Luther tooled onto the front with Melanchthon on the back. On autograph collections, see Rublack and Kusukawa, "Grapho-Relics."

<sup>20</sup> It is on display at the Historisches Museum in the Zeughaus, Berlin, Reich Exhibition, 2006. See Hans Ottomeyer, Jutta Götzmann, and Ansgar Reiss, eds., *Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806* (Dresden, 2006), 60–61. This gift, which Luther presented to Vogler when he visited in Wittenberg, was not a political calculation, for by that time Vogler had left his post; it recognized the contribution that his pro-Reformation policies had made to the Reformation.

<sup>21</sup> On Cochlaeus, see Peter Norman Brooks, "Preface," in Brooks, ed., *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary, 1483–1983* (Oxford, 1983), vi–viii. Similarly, Johann Hasenberg's 1528 *Ad Luderanorum, famosum Libelum, recens Wittenbergae editum, Responsio* (Leipzig, 1528), a broadsheet resembling a cartoon, does not show a fat Luther, and neither does his *Ludus ludentium Lutherum ludens* (Leipzig, 1530; now digitized in VD 16), which depicts Luther and Katharina von Bora. It could be argued that these are early works of Luther before he filled out; yet though they make much

Johann Nas, who wrote the verses for *The Anatomy*, knew only too well how to use the excremental and monstrous themes that Lutheran anti-Catholic propaganda had exploited. The illustrations of his work are packed with images of Luther, including the heretic as a pig, but they do not make much of his size.<sup>22</sup> Propagandists poked fun at Luther for being too given to German beer or abused him for being licentious, but they rarely showed him as fat. Indeed, so successful had Lutheran propaganda been in presenting Luther's presence as physically powerful that Catholics found it hard to wrench its meaning back to suggest corruption or lassitude.

LUTHER'S IMAGE AS A MONUMENTAL figure, then, was firmly established. His life story became equally heroic. Biographies of various kinds began to be written soon after his death, and they, too, conveyed a surprisingly strong sense of their hero's body. But the work that probably did the most to shape the picture of the reformer's personality, appearing at the same time as these biographies and images of Luther, was the celebrated *Table Talk* or *Tischreden*. Here, too, images played a crucial part: many versions of the classic were prefaced by a woodcut bust portrait of the now-familiar broad-shouldered reformer and an illustration of him at the table with the

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of the reformer's sensuality, they do not present him as corpulent. More surprisingly, the 1589 woodcut illustration for Abraham Nagel's *Schüttlung deß vermeinten Christenbaums* (Ingolstadt, 1589), which reproduces the seven-headed Luther with Katharina von Bora as the trunk of the tree of heresy, does not represent Luther as fat even though by then the iconography of the stout reformer was well-established; reproduced in Peter Burschel, "Das Monster: Katholische Luther-Imagination im 16. Jahrhundert," in Medick and Schmidt, *Luther zwischen den Kulturen*, 42. On *The Anatomy of Martin Luther*, see Johann Nas, and probably Alexander and Samuel Weissenhorn, artists, *Sihe wie das ellend Luth-erthumb* (1568?). There were many editions, including one from 1582, and by 1568 there was a Lutheran riposte, printed at Wittenberg, *Des ehrwürdigen Herrn Doctoris Martini Lutheri gottseligen Triumpf und Verantwortung wider die gottlosen Schmähsschrift der neuen Münch der Jesuiten . . .*; another riposte with verses by Johann Fischart and an image by Tobias Stimmer, *The Barefooted Friars Tearing Apart the Dead St. Francis*, appeared ca. 1568, republished in 1577. See Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 3: 1184–1185; and for the Stimmer woodcut, *ibid.*, 3: 1016. See on the original image Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 397. The image was based, as Koerner shows, on the 1567 woodcut illustrating Luther's *Tischreden*. Another woodcut satire from this period attributed to the Weissenhorns is *Martin Luther and the Poor Peasant*; deliberately anachronistic in style, evoking the famous woodcut title pages of popular pamphlets around the time of the Peasants' War, it shows Luther as thin. See Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 3: 1186–1187, for two versions of it. The failure to make capital out of Luther's bulk is even more striking because works from the same period, including the manuscript Jesuit play from Dillingen, *Curiositas*, make much of the Lutheran pastor called Biberius, who with his wife offers communion wine from a beer jug. See Burschel, "Das Monster." Even in New Spain, where Luther was depicted as run over by the triumphant cart of the Catholic Church or as drowning in the sea, he is not depicted as especially fat; Alicia Mayer, "The Heresiarch That Burns in Hell: The Image of Luther in New Spain," in Medick and Schmidt, *Luther zwischen den Kulturen*, 119–140.

<sup>22</sup> On *Ecclesia militans*, see Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London, 2009), 105–129 and figs. 5.1 and 5.2, Johann Nas and the Monogrammist L with a cross, 1569: Luther trots along obediently behind a large Katharina-sow, in an image that owes much to depictions of the Judensau, and also, as Spinks points out, derives from stories of a monstrous birth from Halle. Interestingly, too, *Ecclesia militans* is responding to *Lutherus triumphans* of 1568, a pro-Luther broadsheet that shows a monumental Luther and is also illustrated with a roundel portrait of the broad-faced reformer; Geisberg and Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, 3: 1316, 1317. See Burschel, "Das Monster." An exception here is a much later image from the 1620s in the wake of the Battle of the White Mountain, which has Luther so fat that he needs a wheelbarrow to cart his giant paunch: *Nun muss es ja gewandert sein*, copper etching, between 1620 and 1630; see Joestel and Strehle, *Luthers Bild und Lutherbilder*, 19, for a reproduction.



FIGURE 7: Martin Luther, Lucas Cranach d. J. workshop, woodcut in 11 parts, ca. 1560. Reproduced by permission of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg. The size of the total image is 1395 cm x 775 cm.

Wittenberg circle and his children in the room. The *Table Talk* presents Luther eating, drinking, conversing, and doing theology, a vision of grounded, four-square spirituality that could not have been further from the anorexic saints of medieval Catholicism. And just as it made the reader aware of the reformer's appetites and earthiness, so it also powerfully evoked his battles with Satan, an aspect of his personality that has often been misunderstood because it has not been placed in its wider literary and cultural context.

Luther's character has always been intensely important to Lutheranism. The historiographical focus on Luther as hero has its origins in the nature of the Wittenberg Reformation, which lost its cohesion when Luther died and his charisma no longer held the movement together. In the wake of defeat in the Schmalkaldic War, when the new church most needed to be united, the movement split bitterly between "Philippists" loyal to Melanchthon and Gnesio-Lutherans who were opposed to what they saw as a betrayal of Luther's message. For both sides, Luther's legacy was part of the battleground, yet neither side could monopolize his biography.

The process of writing Luther's biography began early: even his death was a public matter, with an account by eyewitnesses of his illness and deathbed soon rushed to print. Funeral sermons and orations by Johannes Bugenhagen and Melanchthon were all published by the Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau, and many of the publications about or by Luther in 1546 were prefaced with his picture.<sup>23</sup> Just a decade later, the first full-length biography was produced. Ludwig Rabus's 1556 *History of the Life and Death . . . of "Dr Martin Luther"*—his title of "doctor" is respectfully used throughout—forms the centerpiece of Rabus's monumental multi-volume history of the martyrs of the Christian Church. It is a compilation of biographical materials that attempts to place Luther within a long line of Christian saints, including even a life of Hus and of Savanarola.<sup>24</sup> Rabus wanted to construct a new version of church history, one that would dignify the Lutheran Church with a past stretching back to the early church.<sup>25</sup> As part of a wave of historical writing in the aftermath of the

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, the fine roundel image of Luther prefacing the description of his death in Justus Jonas and Michael Coelius, *Vom Christlichen abschied . . .* (Wittenberg, 1546); a companion roundel of Melanchthon prefaced his *Oratio*. See also the roundel image in Martin Luther, *Zwo Schöne vnd Tröstliche predigt . . .* (Wittenberg, 1546); as the title page notes, these sermons were given "hart vor seinem seligen Abschied von diesem Jamertal." For a similar image, also from 1546, see Johann Spangenberg, *Das Gebet Mose, des Mans Gottes: Der XC. Psalm. Durch D. Mart. Luther jnn Latinischer sprach ausgelegt, vnd jzt verdeutscht* (Wittenberg, 1546). The image in *Epitaphium des Ehrwürdigen Herrn vnd Vaters Martini Luthers . . .* (Nuremberg, 1546) is smaller and cruder but also uses the roundel device to show an older Luther. See also Evangelisches Predigerseminar Wittenberg, ed., *"Vom Christlichen abschied aus diesem tödlichen leben des Ehrwürdigen Herrn D. Martini Luthers": Drei zeitgenössische Texte zum Tode D. Martin Luthers* (Stuttgart, 1996), facsimile ed.

<sup>24</sup> The connection that biographers made between Savanarola and Luther would merit a study of its own. In the 1557 edition of Rabus's *Historien*, the Life of Savanarola immediately precedes that of Luther (Rabus kept adding to the collection of biographies in subsequent editions). Ludwig Rabus, *Historien: Der Heyligen Außerwölten Gottes Zeugen/ Bekennern vnd Martyrern . . . Der vierdte Theyl* (Strasbourg, 1557). Cyriacus Spangenberg also wrote a Life of Savanarola: *Historia: Vom Leben Lere vnd Tode/ Hieronymi Sauanarole. Anno 1498. zu Florentz verbrant* (Wittenberg, 1556). So eager was Mathesius to divine a connection between Savanarola and Luther that he opens his first sermon by announcing—wrongly—that Luther was born in the year Savanarola was burned; Johannes Mathesius, *Historien/ Von des Ehrwürdigen in Gott Seligen thewren Manns Gottes/ Doctoris Martini Luthers* (1566; repr., Nuremberg, 1573), fol. 1r. Selnecker corrects the mistake but makes the connection with Savanarola on the very first page of his biography.

<sup>25</sup> The same impulse is evident in artworks, too. See, for example, the choir stalls in the Church of the Holy Brethren in Braunschweig for a cycle of forty-six full-length portraits of apostles, martyrs, and



Reformation, he carefully reproduced the sources—letters, Luther's works, reports of those close to Luther—from which he had compiled his account.<sup>26</sup> Although he plagiarized Melanchthon's funeral oration and biographical sketch of Luther in his account of the reformer's early life and for the dramatic events at Worms, he also edited his source: where Melanchthon described Luther as a scholar well read in the church fathers and the classics, Rabus's Luther appeals to the Word of God alone; and where Melanchthon was careful to excuse Luther's excessive polemics, and freely admitted the difficulties of his bullish character, Rabus's biography emphasizes, as it says on the title page, his "manifold struggles and fights." Luther has to learn the importance of stubbornness: at Augsburg with the papal legate Cajetan in 1518, our hero shows humility and is prepared to compromise, "which if the opposition, the Pope's servants and emissaries had accepted, the business of the Gospel would have been suppressed right at the beginning. But it pleased the Almighty for things to turn out otherwise."<sup>27</sup> Thereafter he is a resolute fighter for the truth; and Rabus selected source extracts to construct a biography that is a series of confrontations in which Luther stands firm, culminating in the Diet at Worms when he refused to recant.

Rabus—or his publisher—also knew the value of the image. Crude woodcuts illustrate the key encounters of the early years: Augsburg, Leipzig, the burning of the papal bull, the emperor at Worms, and there is even one of Worms with a cartoon-style scrawl where Luther says, in the famous words he may never actually have uttered, "Here I stand. I can do nothing else. God help me. Amen."<sup>28</sup> Scattered throughout the book is a woodcut bust portrait of Luther, and the printer recycles the "encounter" woodcuts for the later meetings at Marburg and Schmalkalden. We see Luther preaching, in a woodcut that borrows from the now-standard iconography, and a final woodcut illustrates his funeral, showing his coffin. Here the crude visuals, lovingly hand-colored in the example held at the Lutherhalle in Wittenberg,

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confessors, followed by pictures of the reformers. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 388; the series was probably completed in the 1590s.

<sup>26</sup> See Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe: Lives of Reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Aldershot, 2008). Part of the intellectual context came from Johann Sleidan's ambitious history of the Reformation. On the contemporary understanding of history, see Susan Boettcher, "Cyriakus Spangenberg als Geschichtsschreiber," in Stefan Rhein and Günther Wartenberg, eds., *Reformatoren im Mansfelder Land: Erasmus Sarcerius und Cyriakus Spangenberg* (Leipzig, 2006), 155–170; see also her forthcoming *The Memory of Martin Luther, 1546–1580*, on these various projects of memorialization. Others were at work, too: Spalatin carefully collected papers for such a work, and only a fraction of the chronicles the indefatigable Spangenberg wrote were published. See Irmgard Höss, *Georg Spalatin, 1484–1545: Ein Leben in der Zeit des Humanismus und der Reformation* (1956; 2nd ed., Weimar, 1989); and see Staatsarchiv Weimar, Spalatiniana; and on Spangenberg and history, see Andreas Stahl, "Cyriakus Spangenberg als Chronist: Die Authentizität des Sterbehauses von Martin Luther," in Rhein and Wartenberg, *Reformatoren im Mansfelder Land*, 191–216; and Siegfried Bräuer's "Cyriakus Spangenberg als mansfeldisch-sächsischer Reformationshistoriker," *ibid.*, 171–190.

<sup>27</sup> Rabus, *Historien* (1557 ed., VD 16 R 44), fol. xvi (r): "Welches so es die Widerpart/ des Babsts Diener vnd Gesandten hetten angenommen/ were der handel des Euangeliums also bald im anfang vndertruckt worden/ Aber es hat dem Allmetztigen anderst gefallen."

<sup>28</sup> Rabus, *Historien*. The work appeared in eight parts, and copies of printings in 1556 (VD 16 R 41) and 1557 (apparently there were two: VD 16 R 44 and VD 16 ZV 12904) survive; but it does not appear to have enjoyed a long afterlife: there are no surviving editions after 1571/1572. There are eleven small woodcuts: one of Luther's bust, one of Augsburg, one of Leipzig, one of Luther and Aleander, one of the burning of the papal bull, two of Worms, two of soldiers, one of Luther preaching, and one of Luther's funeral. Martin Treu, *Martin Luther in Wittenberg: Ein biographischer Rundgang* (Wittenberg, 2006), reproduces the colored woodcuts in the Lutherhalle copy.



FIGURE 8: Ludwig Rabus, *Historien: Der Heyligen Außervöllen Gottes Zeügen* (Strasbourg, 1557), fol. lxxix v, hand-colored copy from the Lutherhalle Wittenberg. Reproduced by permission of the Lutherhalle Wittenberg.

provide a basic narrative of what the pious Lutheran needs to know about the reformer's life.

The biographies of Luther by Johannes Mathesius and Cyriacus Spangenberg, which appeared in 1566 and 1589 respectively, were conceived, by contrast, as devotional works for oral delivery: both started life as a series of sermons. Spangenberg's appeared year by year from the 1560s until they were finally collected in a single volume, ornamented throughout with simple bust woodcuts of the reformer.<sup>29</sup> Mathesius's biography was the more apparently successful, with twelve editions. His year-by-year chronological account of his hero's life (each sermon covers one or two years) also makes much of Luther's physical and mental ailments, describing his digestive problems and his depression; he even details an episode of constipation, telling how Luther's bowels opened in the night "so that he began to be freed with joy from his complaint and load which he had carried with death-pains for almost eleven days."<sup>30</sup> Although we hear quite a lot about Luther's body, including how he

<sup>29</sup> On sermons by Mathesius and Spangenberg, see Patrick T. Ferry, "Confessionalization and Popular Preaching: Sermons against Synergism in Reformation Saxony," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 1143–1166.

<sup>30</sup> Mathesius, *Historien*, fol. cxxxi. Mathesius's posthumously published biography of Luther was reprinted at least twelve times in the sixteenth century (in 1566, 1568, 1570, 1572, 1573, 1576, 1580, 1583, 1588, 1590, 1592, and 1600, apparently only in Nuremberg). Mathesius himself had a deep interest in metallurgy, and the profits that the parents of one of his pupils made through mining speculation paid for him to return as a student to Wittenberg in 1540, where he also transcribed some of Luther's *Table Talk*; he became pastor in the mining region of Joachimstal and wrote a series of sermons based on the imagery of mining, *Bergpostilla: Oder Sarepta* (Nuremberg, 1578). In the biography, he refers frequently



lost weight as he neared death, there is little about his children or his wife, and his marriage is not mentioned in the chronicle of the year 1525. Mathesius and Johann Sleidan provided material for a handy briefer biography; although its author, Nikolaus Selnecker, originally came from Melanchthon's circle, his story also cast Luther's life as a constant struggle against the devil and made much of the prophecies surrounding him. He also repeatedly used the authorial "I," reporting what he himself had seen and heard of Luther.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time that these biographies were creating the narrative of Luther's life, the *Table Talk* appeared, edited by Johannes Aurifaber. This collection of Luther's dinnertime conversations, recorded by his students, dealt with an unconventional mix of topics—doctrine, politics, observations on men's and women's bodies—reproducing the rhythms of his speech, often coarse but always striking. It was a daring venture; small wonder that Lutherans were at first divided about the wisdom of publishing it at all.<sup>32</sup> It has been a monumental work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship to collate, edit, compare, and catalogue Luther's *Tischreden*, stripping back the accretions to come as close as possible to the reformer's words. Yet if we want to understand where Aurifaber's collection of 1566 fits into the tradition of Lutheran biography, we need to return to the original text, considering it as a book in its own right, and placing it in its contemporary intellectual context in the publishing world of the later sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The success of Aurifaber's collection (published at Eisleben, where Luther was born and died) can be measured by the speed with which he lost control over his bestseller: there was a pirated Frankfurt edition the very next year, and the *Table Talk* soon became part of the large

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to Luther's childhood as a son of a "Bergmann," as he puts it, presenting him as rather closer to labor than his smelter-master (effectively mine owner) father actually was, and relating this to his prophetic role: "Gott wolte auß Japhets vnd Thubals nachkommen vnd Deutschen Saraptanern vnnnd Berleuten/ sein Kirche am ende der Welt reformieren," fol. 3 r; he also uses mining as a metaphor (195 v). Spangenberg had a similar interest in mining, and his massive chronicles of Mansfeld, where Luther spent his childhood, include great detail on the subject. He also explores the allegorical meanings of mining in his biography of Luther, describing God as the "Oberste Bergherr" and the Christians as "Dingehewer"; Cyriakus Spangenberg, *Theander Lutherus* (Oberursel, 1589), fol. 354v. Spangenberg began the project with *Warhafftiger Bericht von den wolthaten/ die Gott durch D. Martin Luther seligen/ fürnemlich Deuschland erzeigt/ vnd von der Schendlichen groben vndanckbarkeit/ für solche grosse gaben* (Jena, 1561). The importance of mining to Luther's identity has not been fully appreciated hitherto. For important new findings, see Michael Fessner, "Die Familie Luder und das Bergwerks- und Hüttenwesen in der Grafschaft Mansfeld und im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel," in Rosemarie Knappe, ed., *Martin Luther und Eisleben* (Leipzig, 2007), 11–31; and Andreas Stahl, "Baugeschichtliche Erkenntnisse zu Luthers Elternhaus in Mansfeld und seiner Bewohner," *ibid.*, 353–390.

<sup>31</sup> Nikolaus Selnecker, *Historica Narratio et Oratio* . . . (Leipzig, 1575), translated as *Historica oratio: Vom Leben vnd Wandel des . . . Herrn . . . Martini Lutheri*, trans. P. Heuslerus (Leipzig, 1576). See Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet*, 70–74. I have used the version that prefaces the 1577 edition of Luther's *Tischreden*.

<sup>32</sup> Helmut Junghans, "Die Tischreden Martin Luthers," in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Sonderedition der kritischen Weimarer Ausgabe. Begleitheft zu den Tischreden* (Weimar, 2000), 26; and see Johannes Schilling, "Bibliographie der Tischredenausgaben," *WA* 59: 747–760. I shall deal elsewhere with the history and iconography of the image of the reformer at the table in the Frankfurt editions of 1567 and 1568, which merits an article in its own right.

<sup>33</sup> For ease of reference, I shall cite from the facsimile edition, *Aurifaber: Tischreden oder Colloquia Doct. Mart. Luthers. Faksimile. -Druck der Originalausgabe 1566, mit einem Nachwort von J. Adler* (Leipzig, 1968) [hereafter cited as Luther, *Tischreden*, 1566].

publishing scene there, co-published by, among others, the leading Frankfurt publisher, Sigmund Feyeraabend.<sup>34</sup>

What is immediately striking about the work—and has irritated later scholarly editors—is the grouping of the *Table Talk* not by date but by theme, a structure that Aurifaber adopted from the original unpublished collection of conversations noted by various students in a mixture of German and Latin.<sup>35</sup> This enabled the book to function as a devotional text that gave the reader access to Luther's theology in easily digestible chunks. If ever any book exemplified Andrew Pettegree's idea that books can be brand names, objects that one owns not to read but to proclaim one's confessional identity, it is the *Tischreden*.<sup>36</sup> Designed to be dipped into rather than read at a single sitting, it also made Luther's person an inseparable part of his theology, part of the Lutheran "package." And it could be bought in various formats: the fat quarto version, in two volumes; the elegant large-size folio with red ink for emphasis and classy capitals. There were competitors: a revised selection was made in 1571 by Andreas Stangewald in Frankfurt and printed by Thomas Rebart's heirs, arranged into forty-three chapters. It was succeeded by a Leipzig edition that included Selnecker's biography of Luther, together with a vivid large frontispiece bust portrait.<sup>37</sup> The version by Stangewald was the one that went on to dominate later Luther reception, lasting through the eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> But the original Aurifaber selection under eighty heads was undoubtedly the most current sixteenth-century version in the crucial half-century after Luther's death.<sup>39</sup>

Aurifaber's volume begins with passages on the Word, followed by a series of chapters that lay out the central themes of Luther's theology. But section 23 brings a change of direction, as a brief chapter on angels gives way to a hefty chunk of texts on the devil, followed by a litany of chapters on enemies of various kinds: the pope, monks, and enthusiasts of every stripe. The tone then shifts again, with chapters on the Christian life, marriage, and the world, before degenerating into a series of much shorter sections. This structure preserves a characteristic trait of Luther's personality: his tendency to polarize. In Luther's theology we get the kingdom of this world

<sup>34</sup> Junghans, "Die Tischreden Martin Luthers," 27; and see Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet*, 152–154.

<sup>35</sup> On the importance of the *Loci communes* method in systematizing Luther's thought for later readers (and expressly used in the *Tischreden*, as the title page of the two-volume version of 1567 indicates), derived from Melancthon, see Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet*, 195–224.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 156–159.

<sup>37</sup> Nikolaus Selnecker, "Historica Oratio," in Martin Luther, *Colloquia oder Christliche nützliche Tischreden* . . . (Leipzig, 1577), fols. c (iv) r–g (vi) v. I have consulted copies of the *Tischreden* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the British Library in London, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the Lutheralhalle Wittenberg, the Marienbibliothek Halle, and the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

<sup>38</sup> See VD 16, VD 17, and Junghans, "Die Tischreden Martin Luthers"; Schilling, "Bibliographie der Tischredenausgaben"; Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet*, 153. The binding of the British library copy of the 1577 edition has an image of the stout Luther on the cover tooled into the leather.

<sup>39</sup> There are fifteen extant sixteenth-century editions of Aurifaber, as compared to only five of the revised Stangewald/Selnecker version. See VD 16; Junghans, "Die Tischreden Martin Luthers"; Schilling, "Bibliographie der Tischredenausgaben"; Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet*, 152–154. A Latin version of the *Table Talk* was published in 1571, translated by the pastor Heinrich Peter Rebenstock, but it appeared in one edition only. The first English version is the translation by Captain Henry Bell, published in 1652, republished in 1659 and 1791. It loosely follows Aurifaber's original, with eighty rather than forty-three headings. It too has an engraved illustration, featuring a bulky Luther, on his own, with neither table nor companions. *Dris. Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia; or, Dr. Martin Luther's Divine Discourses at his table, &c . . . Collected first together by Dr. A. Lauterbach, and afterwards disposed into certain common places by J. Aurifaber . . .* (London, 1652).

and the Kingdom of God, law and gospel, works and faith, and so on. A great deal of his intellectual energy is devoted to identifying two terms, and allying himself with one of them while denigrating the other. In most editions, the key chapter on the devil comes around the middle, so that the volume—intended to be leafed through rather than read at a sitting—easily opens there.<sup>40</sup> Why should Aurifaber have given it such prominence, and what was its legacy?

To answer this question, we need to consider its relation to the Frankfurt publishing scene more closely. In the same year he published his 1569 edition of the *Table Talk*, Feyerabend also printed a similar large-size handsome collected edition of Devil Books, bringing together a series of moralizing tracts caricaturing different sins.<sup>41</sup> Each has its own peculiar devil: there is the House Devil, the Adultery Devil, the Gorging Devil, the Drunkenness Devil, even the Trousers Devil, which mocks the fashion for wide Turkish-style trousers. Nor was Feyerabend the only Frankfurt publisher to turn a penny by publishing the *Table Talk*: Nicholas Basse, another Frankfurt printer, also produced editions of it in both German and Latin. Basse happened to have a sideline in reprinting classics of demonology; in 1576 he had produced a German version of Lambert Daneau's treatise on witchcraft, together with the much older fifteenth-century skeptical treatise by Ulrich Molitor, which stresses the importance of illusion in witchcraft.<sup>42</sup> Hardly a current authority, this was a back number reprinted to cash in on the vogue for books on witchcraft, and he followed it up in 1580 with a selection of old witchcraft treatises in Latin, including the hoary *Malleus* of 1486. In 1586, he again mined the same rich seam by publishing yet another volume in the handsome folio format of the *Tischreden*: a collection of books of demonology. Edited by Abraham Saur, the collection is loosely Lutheran and includes many texts that are daringly skeptical about the reality of witchcraft, such as an extract from Johann Weyer's *De praestigiis daemonum*, together with Saur's own impassioned plea for fairer trials of witches, which includes dramatic extracts from several trials (a selling point advertised on the cover).<sup>43</sup> Evidently there was something of a publishing vogue in these Protestant circles for books dealing with witchcraft and the devil.

By organizing the *Tischreden* thematically, and including a chapter specifically on the devil, Aurifaber highlighted the importance of Satan in Luther's theology. He also created a section that could readily be exploited by those who were interested in the devil. And this is exactly what happened. It has long been known that the Devil Books were a predominantly Lutheran form of moralizing, in which the message about sin was sugared with a coating of humor.<sup>44</sup> But less familiar is the very direct

<sup>40</sup> The exception is the two-volume edition, in which the section comes at the end of volume 1. The well-thumbed copy of the 1570 Urban Gaubisch Eisleben edition at the Marienbibliothek Halle evidently had an owner who did exactly this, for the sections on the devil are among the most heavily underlined.

<sup>41</sup> Sigmund Feyerabend, *Theatrum diabolorum* (Frankfurt, 1569).

<sup>42</sup> Lambert Daneau, *Zwey Gesprech: Das erste/ Von Zäuberern/ welche man Lateinisch/ Sortilegos oder Sortirios, nennet . . . Das ander/ Von Hexen vnd Vnholden/ anfenglich vor CXIII. Jaren lateinisch von VLIRICO MOLITORIS . . .*, trans. Conrad Lautenbach (Frankfurt, 1576).

<sup>43</sup> Abraham Saur, ed., *Theatrum de veneficis* (Frankfurt, 1586); Jakob Sprenger [sic], *Malleus maleficarum* (Frankfurt, 1580); and he also republished Bodin's famous treatise on witchcraft in Latin in 1590: Jean Bodin, *Io. Bodini Andegavensis De magorum daemonomania . . .* (Frankfurt, 1590). In 1575 and 1586, he published Johannes Weyer's skeptical *De praestigiis daemonum* in German translation; and he published Johann Gödelmann's slightly skeptical witchcraft treatise in 1592.

<sup>44</sup> See Ria Stambaugh, ed., *Teufelbücher in Auswahl*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1970–1980); and see Lyndal

way in which Luther's own sayings on the devil fitted into this printed literature of entertainment. Indeed, part of the attraction of the *Tischreden* lay in its entertainment value, especially in the sections that dealt with the devil.

Driving home the idea that faith can protect against any devil, the Luther of the *Table Talk* tells a funny story. A doctor of medicine sees a child baptized and is very taken with the power of the declaration of faith, saying that if only someone had said those words for him, he would never have feared the devil. The bystanders reassure him that these are exactly the words that were used at his own baptism; thus fortified, he maintains that he will no longer fear Satan. As if to take him at his word, the devil soon appears on the wall in the form of a goat. The doctor promptly seizes the goat by the horns and the body disappears, leaving him with the trophy of horns in his hands. So far, so good: here we have a story that stresses the power of faith and gently mocks the learned doctor, who has to be told by simple folk what happened at his own baptism. But a typical Luther story always has at least one twist. So impressed is a bystander with the doctor's feat that he tries to do the same, only to find that the diabolic goat, too strong for him, breaks his neck. Only faith can master the devil. This story is hardly meant literally, and it owes a good deal to tales about Claus the Fool. It performs something of a sleight of hand, too, for pre-Reformation baptisms included powerful exorcisms, formulas that Luther did not at first relinquish. Although the ostensible moral is the power of faith, one can almost read the original moral underneath: a demonstration of the power of exorcism.<sup>45</sup>

Other stories hardly seem to have a clear message at all: there is the fiddler who is found dead, his arms outstretched in the shape of a cross, after confessing that he had signed himself to the devil for five years. Even stranger is the story of the Emperor Friedrich, who invites a magician to dinner, then conjures ox hooves and claws onto the hands of his hapless guest. Embarrassed by his claws, the poor man can hardly bear to eat. Offering to conjure something for the emperor in return, he magically causes a tumult outside. As soon as the emperor sticks his head out the window to investigate, huge antlers grow on his head so that he cannot fit it back through the window. The moral? Each devil is stronger than the last. Wonderfully anti-authoritarian as the joke is, it hardly makes one frightened of either the devil or the magician.<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, the fiddler leads a sequence of tall tales about the devil, tricks and illusions that seem to be there for their own sake.<sup>47</sup> We even meet a peasant who offers to let a monk eat his fill of a cartload of hay, and the greedy brother polishes off half

Roper, "Drinking, Whoring and Gorging: Brutish Indiscipline and the Formation of Protestant Identity," in Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1994), 145–170.

<sup>45</sup> Luther, *Tischreden*, 1566, fol. 289 v; WA TR 6: 208, line 25, No. 6815.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., fol. 308 r; and see WA TR 2: 97, lines 19–34, No. 1425; Luther told it in 1532.

<sup>47</sup> Luther, *Tischreden*, 1566, fol. 296 r. So, for example, there is the story of the monk and the cardinal who stay overnight in a haunted inn. The two go off to sleep, but the demon pulls the hair around their tonsures, and each mistaking him for the other, they fall to fighting. At last one of the monks bids the devil be gone in the name of God, and they return to the monastery. No sooner have the monks arrived back than they find the devil waiting for them, so they leap to the conclusion that they have managed to get him under their power by the force of their verbal commands. They put the devil into a monk's cowl, adding a bell on top to make him easily recognizable, and pack him off to the kitchen to work, where various adventures ensue. The marginalia seek to impose some kind of message on this shapeless

the load. Next we meet the angry debtor who grabs the leg of the Jew to whom he owes money—only to have the leg come off in his hand.<sup>48</sup> Such stories had huge appeal, and we find them again in none other than the Faust book of 1587, where the townsman Faust performs the incredible eating feat, while the angry debtor of Luther's story is replaced with a proverbially dishonest horse-seller. Faust is the ultimate trickster, the monk and the Jew rolled into one. We know that the writer of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* had Feyerabend's collection of demonology, the Devil Books, and also the *Tischreden* at hand when he compiled the story of the Lutheran doctor of theology who sells his soul to the devil.<sup>49</sup>

Recent biographers have taken the role of the devil in Luther's theology very seriously. For Heiko Oberman, the key to Luther's personality was that he felt himself caught between God and the devil. So essential was this to his theology in Oberman's view that his invigorating biography makes us understand Luther as someone for whom the devil was a real presence. Indeed, Oberman argues that Luther's preoccupation with the imminence of the Last Days and the End of the World was not the product of his later years as he became old and embittered, but can be found right at the outset of his career.<sup>50</sup> Oberman contrasts Luther's conception of life as a struggle between God and the devil with his mother's belief that her next-door neighbor was a witch. This is "medieval witchcraft"—and he explicitly uses the term "medieval" here, going on to point out that Luther in a sense intensified the medieval belief in the devil by greatly increasing the scope of his activity in the world. This view of Luther has colored much of the subsequent historiography of witchcraft, with Protestantism's emphasis on Satan being commonly viewed as a precondition of the witch-hunt in Protestant areas. The witchcraft case of 1540 in Wittenberg can be adduced to suggest Lutheran credulity, while the Devil Books and the general moralization of sin are considered part of the broader obsession with the devil in late-sixteenth-century German culture.<sup>51</sup>

But the implied distinction that Oberman makes here between "medieval witch-

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narrative: "Devil in a monk's cowl" and "No-one should tease the Devil." But what stays in the mind is the vision of the poor devil wearing the foolish bell on his head. *Ibid.*, fol. 298 r.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 307; this comes in the brief section on *Zauberei*.

<sup>49</sup> It is interesting that Nicholas Basse, who printed works of demonology, also printed the Latin version of the *Tischreden* in 1571 together with Hieronymus Feyerabend (VD 16 L 6768), and that he was printing the Faustbuch of 1587 in 1593, 1596, and 1597 (originally published by Spiess in Frankfurt): VD 16 F 651, 652, 653. On the sources for the Faustbuch, see also Hans Rupprich, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation, 1520–1570* (Munich, 1973) (= Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, eds., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 4, pt. 2), 193–197; Faust also conjures antlers onto the head of a luckless knight. See also, on these connections, Jörg Haustein, *Martin Luthers Stellung zum Zauber- und Hexenwesen* (Stuttgart, 1990), 146–147.

<sup>50</sup> Heiko Oberman, "Teufelsdreck: Eschatology and Scatology in the 'Old' Luther," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988): 435–450; Oberman, *Luther*; see also, for a more measured assessment that stresses the importance of apocalypticism in Luther, Thomas Kaufmann, *Martin Luther* (Munich, 2006), 107–115. Volker Leppin's biography, *Martin Luther* (Darmstadt, 2006), relates the importance of the devil to apocalypticism, as does Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther: Confessor of the Faith* (Oxford, 2009).

<sup>51</sup> Representative here is Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), 103–105. On the Wittenberg case, see Haustein, *Martin Luthers Stellung zum Zauber- und Hexenwesen*, 141–144. Four individuals were burned as witches; Luther himself was not present in Wittenberg at the time, but he knew about the case. For a discussion of the illustrated broadsheet by Cranach the Younger, see Lyndal Roper, "Introduction," in Roper, *The Witch in the Western Imagination* (Charlottesville, forthcoming).



craft” and the reformer’s “battle against the Devil” through faith does not quite hold water, for it is Luther who tells the story about his mother’s belief.<sup>52</sup> It is not so much evidence about her superstition as a story with a slightly funny edge about social appearances, for poor Luther’s mother has to pretend to be polite to her neighbor the witch in case she might harm her children. As Oberman points out, it is hard to know what to make of this story; and Aurifaber may have felt the same, for he puts it into a very brief section on sorcery (*Zauberei*).<sup>53</sup> Moreover, belief in witches was hardly distinctively “medieval,” for it was the second generation of the Reformation that saw by far the largest European witch-hunts. Oberman is right that Luther’s devil is different; but when he presents Luther as the theologian who intensified medieval belief in the devil, transforming it into something more profound, he misses its humor, reverses the chronology of the witch-hunt, and overemphasizes the role that the devil plays in Luther’s life and theology.

Luther’s devil is fundamentally unlike that of the witch-hunters who came after him. For demonologists such as Jean Bodin and Nicolas Rémy, the devil is everywhere, and he seduces witches into diabolic intercourse, flies through the air with them on diabolic goats, and lures them to Sabbaths where they feast on infant flesh. The mental world of the demonologists is overshadowed by demons and terrifying conspiracies of witches hell-bent on destroying mankind. By contrast, the texts about the devil printed in Frankfurt in the second half of the sixteenth century by Feyerabend and Basse do not really amount to conventional demonology, for the Devil Books depend for their effect on our ability to imagine a host of different devils, each one funnier than the last, while Saur’s compendium of demonological writings includes many works that are ambivalent or even skeptical about the reality of witchcraft.<sup>54</sup> Although the passages in the *Tischreden* dealing with the devil emphasize his power, they form part of what was a fundamentally ambiguous set of writings about witchcraft and Satan. Indeed, it is striking that the Luther of the *Tischreden* actually has very little to say about witches: barely three pages are devoted to sorcery, and even these contain almost nothing about witches. The publishing flurry about the devil in Frankfurt is far from a simple testimony to Lutheran credulity in witchcraft, and though Luther certainly believed that there were witches, his view of them cannot be equated with that of the witch-hunters who followed a generation later.<sup>55</sup>

In fact, Luther’s remarks about the devil in the published *Tischreden* are hard to

<sup>52</sup> Oberman, *Luther*, 102–103 for Hannah Luther, and 104–105, esp. 105: “Consequently he, unlike any theologian before or after him, was able to disperse the fog of witches’ sabbath and sorcery and show the adversary for what he really was: violent toward God, man, and the world.” See also, on this passage, Cyril Edwards, “The Elf, the Witch and the Devil: Lexical and Conceptual Shape-Shifting in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” in Nancy Bredendick, ed., *Mapping the Threshold: Essays in Liminal Analysis* (Madrid, 2004), 120. The original conversation comes from 1533; WA TR 3: 131–132, No. 2982b.

<sup>53</sup> Several of the best “devil” stories are actually in the appendix: that flies are like the devil (615 v); the student who swears to give his soul for a glass of wine (616); the soldier and the innkeeper (616 r–v); and the maid and the devil who sits by the stove (619). Many of these were taken out of the appendix and moved to the section on the devil in later editions; see the 1568 Eisleben edition printed by Simon Hüter (Halle Ufr.14) or the Frankfurt edition of 1569.

<sup>54</sup> Basse’s collection, edited by Abraham Saur, includes Johann Weyer’s skeptical tract. Feyerabend had already published Weyer in a stand-alone volume.

<sup>55</sup> See Haustein, *Martin Luthers Stellung zum Zauber- und Hexenwesen*, for a nuanced and sophisticated discussion of Luther’s attitudes toward witchcraft. On demonology and the literature of entertainment, see Lyndal Roper, “Witchcraft and the Western Imagination,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 117–141.



categorize. The section begins with an allegorical description of Satan's appearance based on the Ten Commandments: the devil's "head" is his contempt for God, sinning against the First Commandment; his "ears" signify his refusal to listen to the preachers; his "chest" is his disobedience to his parents, sinning against the Fourth Commandment; and so on. If this is a physical devil, he is hardly in conventional human guise. Several of the stories are autobiographical, referring to Luther's time in the Wartburg or his periods of depression while he was a monk.<sup>56</sup>

The devil appears in virtually everything Luther wrote, whether sermons, polemics, or treatises—his letters are littered with references to Satan. Yet Luther's devil is hard to pin down. He is not so much an external agent, whose assaults can overwhelm, and who is engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to overturn Christendom, as he is a spiritual presence.<sup>57</sup> This is not to say that he is not real: Luther describes battling with temptations in 1527, and that struggle certainly had physical dimensions. But it is not the same as the diabolic gymnastics that fifteenth-century saints reported, where the devil lifted them in the air, threw them around the room, and left them black and blue with bruises. Rather, Luther's encounters featured ringing in the ears and fits of sobbing.<sup>58</sup> They were somatic disturbances rather than literal diabolic assaults, still less illnesses caused by witchcraft. (Indeed, during his stay at the Wartburg, Luther wryly referred to his constipation as his "relic of the cross," imbuing his suffering with religious meaning.)<sup>59</sup> Luther's devil causes melancholy and illness because he likes to attack Christians in general. Yet he never seeks to seduce, as he did with accused witches; nor does he have the telltale cloven hooves or pointed tail. Indeed, we never get a clear picture of what he looked like. Whereas demonologists seem overwhelmed and anxious about the power of the witches, see-

<sup>56</sup> This dimension was further strengthened by the inclusion in the Selnecker editions of a Life of Luther by Selnecker from 1577 on. Interestingly, Melancthon's own brief reflections on Luther's biography also testify to the importance of his personality: "These beginnings of the greatest things gave him great authority, especially since the teacher's character was one with his teachings, and his speech seemed born, not on his lips, but in his heart. This admiration of his life produced great changes in the minds of his audience, so that as even the Ancients said, *His character was, almost, so to speak, the strongest proof.*" Elizabeth Vandiver, Ralph Keen, and Thomas D. Franzel, eds. and trans., *Luther's Lives: Two Contemporary Accounts of Martin Luther* (Manchester, 2002), 18.

<sup>57</sup> See Carlos M. N. Eire, "'Bite This, Satan!' The Devil in Luther's *Table Talk*," in Marc Forster and Benjamin Kaplan, eds., *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment* (Aldershot, 2005), 70–96. See also, on Luther's attitude toward angels and apocalypticism, Philip M. Soergel, "Luther and the Angels," in Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006), 64–82.

<sup>58</sup> See Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–32*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis, 1990) (= *Martin Luther 2*), 204–206, for an excellent discussion of how Luther's circulatory problems were linked with his spiritual temptations; and on the illness of 1527, see WA Br 4: 221–222, lines 8–12, July 10, 1527, Luther to Spalatin; and WA Br 4: 222, lines 13–14, July 13, 1527, Luther to Nikolaus Hausmann; and for the extremely full account by Bugenhagen, see WA TR 3: 381–390, No. 2922b, and also 80, No. 2922a for Luther's own version. Here Luther says little about the devil himself, although the temptations were certainly diabolic. As they proceeded, he prayed constantly, saying, "Let Thy will be done," but also exclaiming, "O, wie werden die schwerer ein jammer anfahren nach meinem tod! Ich hett noch de baptismo wollen schreiben," thus linking the diabolic attacks with his divine duty to attack the Anabaptists, whom he saw as agents of the devil (WA TR 3: 81, lines 1–5).

<sup>59</sup> WA Br 2: 354–355, lines 27–28, June 10, 1521; 387–390, line 31, September 9, 1521. An interesting exception is WA TR 3: 131, line 27–132, line 2, under No. 2982b, when in answer to whether Christians can be harmed by *Zauberei*, Luther says he believes that his own illnesses "nicht allwege natürlich seien, sondern dass Junker Satan seinen Muthwillen an mir übet durch Zäuberei"—but he goes on to say, "Gott aber errettet seine Auserwählten von solchem Uebel"; more usually, Luther's view is that illnesses may come from Satan, but God gives us medicines to combat them as well as faith to resist.

ing them as engaged in a conspiracy against which nothing, not even the divinely instituted office of judge, is proof, Luther on the whole seems cheerily assured of victory over the devil. And though Oberman is surely right that the discourse about the Last Days can be found in Luther from early on, it seems to be more of a metaphorical framework than a literal belief.<sup>60</sup>

What happened to the *Tischreden* later, when the somewhat baggy eighty headings of Aurifaber's original were reorganized by Stangewald in 1571 (and following him, Selnecker in 1577) into a shapelier forty-three sections? Aurifaber had begun the section on the devil with allegorical, rather than realistic, descriptions of Satan: "A Godless person is a Counterfeit or Image of the Devil" and "The Image of the Devil Derived from the Ten Commandments." But the new version weighs in with a set of stark opening passages about the devil's tyrannical might, placing a paragraph about the imminence of the Last Days very prominently at the beginning, under its own banner headline—Aurifaber had merely tagged this onto one of Luther's sayings much later in the section. Selnecker and Stangewald moved the allegorical passages on the devil's appearance to the middle, where they are less conspicuous. The effect of these and other editorial reorganizations is to create a more tightly argued section that leans rather more toward a vision of Luther and Lutheranism as dominated by the struggle with a real, not metaphorical, devil, an image that was much more in tune with the new witch-hunting of the later sixteenth century. This is the version of Luther that was ultimately to prove longer-lasting, but it is significantly different from the original.<sup>61</sup> Luther, of course, offers material for many different Luthers—this was why both Philippists and Lutheran loyalists could claim to be his heirs. But if we obliterate the role of humor in his conception of the devil, or miss his ability to link animality and Satan without condemning the body, we will have misunderstood him. Although Luther's struggle with the devil is cosmic, it is also comic.

WHENEVER LUTHER TALKS about the devil, the anal is not far off. Although Aurifaber systematically tones down the cruder of Luther's original expressions, he does not eradicate the reformer's anal humor altogether, and so it becomes an integral part of the personality transmitted through the *Tischreden*. We read how Luther compared Satan to the fly who chooses the cleanest white paper to wipe his bottom on, just as the devil prefers to alight on the most virtuous—an image that cuts the devil down to size and makes him manageable, while equating his doings with filth.<sup>62</sup> Spiritually, Luther is here showing contempt for the devil by insulting him. But Luther

<sup>60</sup> For a different view, see Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–46* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983). On apocalyptic themes in later Lutherans, including Selnecker, see Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 124–137; and Robin Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), esp. 1–12, 30–59 on Luther, which shows that although Luther did occasionally play with dating the forthcoming Apocalypse, he generally thought that its date was not known, and that it functions as a structuring framework for his thought. See also Kolb, *Martin Luther*, 168, who shrewdly points out that in Luther's particular variety of apocalypticism, "These battles continue in individual lives": that is, they are not just about the course of human history but about individual spiritual life.

<sup>61</sup> Luther, *Colloquia* . . . (Leipzig, 1577), fol. 86 v; the edition also moves the sections on the devil forward to chap. 9.

<sup>62</sup> Luther, *Tischreden*, 1566, fol. 615 v.

also uses the excremental as a weapon to attack the devil: when scripture and prayer fail, the best way to be rid of the devil is to fart at him.<sup>63</sup> This idea is taken a step further in the punch line of the story of the woman who is plagued by a poltergeist at night: lifting the bedclothes, she serves him with a gigantic fart, commanding him to grab it as a staff and go on a pilgrimage to Rome “to your idol the Pope and get an Indulgence from him.” The passage descends into a string of insults that lump the pope, the church, pilgrimages, and indulgences into one satisfying comic whole. Plagued by the devil, who reminds him of his sins to make him doubt Christ’s love, the Luther of Aurifaber’s *Tischreden* combats this melancholy by saying to the devil, “I’ve puked and pissed, record that among my sins,” and telling him to “wipe that on your fat mouth.”<sup>64</sup>

Admittedly, we know from the other variant recordings of Luther’s *Table Talk* that Aurifaber substitutes the milder “puked” for “crapped,” but he has hardly deleted the reference to bodily functions.<sup>65</sup> His audience, too, would have been very familiar with the notion of the gross, farting body, for this was part of contemporary literary fashion. Grobian, the oaf who does the opposite of what manners dictate, had made an appearance as “St. Grobian” in Sebastian Brant’s *Narrenschiff* of 1493, but the idea reached its fullest flowering in the work of the Lutheran pastor Friedrich Dedekind (1524–1598). Published first in Latin, it went into many editions and soon had a German translation as well as a female counterpart in the form of Grobiana.<sup>66</sup> This literature was being printed and sold at the same time as the *Tischreden*, and it came from the same Lutheran milieu; it would also have contributed to shaping the way in which Luther was read.

In his published writings, Luther’s use of anality is morally ambiguous. Sometimes he links the devil with excrement, writing how, under the papacy, “We too were formerly stuck in the behind of this hellish whore, this new church of the pope,” or referring to Rome as the latrine “where all the Devils shit,” or apostrophizing his opponents: “so make in your pants, hang it round your neck, then make a jelly of it and eat it like the vulgar sows and asses you are!”<sup>67</sup> Yet he could also write that before the Fall, “there was no stench in excrement,” and in his sermons and in lectures on Genesis, he regularly reaches for bodily metaphors, including references to

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., fol. 280 v.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., fol. 290 v–r; fol. 304: “geschmissen und gepinckelt”; “daran wische dein Maul.”

<sup>65</sup> For a different view, see Junghans, “Die Tischreden Martin Luthers,” 32. But while it might be true that Aurifaber tones down the anal references, he does include them, while his inclusion of more than two hundred passages from *Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden* in the *Tischreden* actually intensified this aspect of Luther’s rhetoric.

<sup>66</sup> Dedekind’s sources included Erasmus and Brant. He remained preoccupied with the subject, producing several more volumes during his life. Kaspar Scheidt’s translation of Grobian appeared in 1551 and adds new material, while Wendelin Hellebach translated Dedekind’s third version of the Grobian stories, which was printed in Frankfurt in 1572; Rupprich, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation*, 216–219. Editions appeared throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, many of them in Frankfurt, and from a range of presses.

<sup>67</sup> *Luther’s Works* (St. Louis, 1958–1986), ed. Hilton Oswald, H. J. Grimm, Helmut Lehmann, H. Lundeen, et al., 55 vols., 41 (= *Church and Ministry III*): 206 (*Wider Hans Wurst*), WA 51: 499b; “Cloaca diabolorum, Da alle Teuffel hin scheißen,” WA 47: 411, line 10; *Luther’s Works*, 41: *Church and Ministry III*, 187 (*Wider Hans Wurst*), WA 51: 471, lines 11–13: “so thut in die Bruch und henget sie an den Hals, und machete davon euch ein galreden und fresset, ir groben Esen und Sewe.” So also, for example, throughout *Against the Roman Papacy an Institution of the Devil*, Luther refers to the “ass-fart pope”; and in other polemics, he christened Caspar Schwenckfeld “Stenckfeld.”

defecation, as part of his exegesis.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, in his lectures on John's gospel, he even goes so far as to draw a parallel with excretion so as to explain how something so vile as heresy can arise from scripture: "But if you can be satisfied with your body and properly distinguish between it and what comes out of it; if you are not so mad and foolish as to find fault with the body for what comes out of it but praise it—because it is a fine, healthy body which can cleanse itself so well, because you can blow your nose well, because your belly purges itself well— . . . why can you not make the same distinction here?"<sup>69</sup>

At other times, as we have seen, excrement is a powerful weapon to be used against the devil, rather like the psychoanalytic view of the child's use of feces in omnipotent fantasies. Here the published *Table Talk* reflects a persistent theme in Luther's conversation: so, for example, he spoke in 1533 of how, when at night he meets the devil who "wants to dispute with me," "when the argument that the Christian is without the law and above the law doesn't help, I instantly chase him away with a fart."<sup>70</sup> This attitude has its visual counterpart in "The Papal Belvedere" of 1545, in Cranach and Luther's *Depiction of the Papacy*, where German mercenaries famously fart at the pope.<sup>71</sup> It could be argued that this is classic magical thinking, and that Luther, like the infant, imagines that he can use his own bodily products to do anything. So, far from breaking the spell of the devil, Luther's references to defecation would themselves be a magical ritual, part of the penumbra of such folk beliefs as the idea that if you light a witch-smoke, you can identify a witch because she will be forced to defecate, or that one should put gargoyles on churches to ward off demons. Such an interpretation, however, would miss the powerful streak of debunking that is always central to Luther's creativity. In Luther's work, the excremental can also be closely related to play, and to humor.<sup>72</sup>

One of our own difficult intellectual inheritances is the populist version of Freudianism that considers the anal stage as one we pass through on our way to a more developed "genital" stage of development. Freud here was thinking in Darwinian terms, as if we evolve to a higher plane only when we leave the anal stage behind.<sup>73</sup> Yet the anal stage is also profoundly important to psychic health, and the humor of regression that anality represents is also linked to play. Luther thinks through his body. For him, the spiritual and the somatic are always intertwined: so, writing of his impending death, he says that he will climb into his coffin and "give the worms a stout doctor to eat"; and early on, when he experienced melancholy, he lost weight,

<sup>68</sup> *Luther's Works*, 1: 110, Lectures on Genesis; WA 42: 84, line 10.

<sup>69</sup> *Luther's Works*, 24: *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John: Chapters 14–16*, 206; WA 45: 648, lines 32–35.

<sup>70</sup> *Luther's Works*, 54: *Table Talk*, 78, No. 469; WA TR 1: 204–205, lines 30–31, No. 469 (1533).

<sup>71</sup> *Abbildung des Papsttums*, 1545, WA 54: 346–373 for text only and on editions; see R. W. Scribner, "Demons, Defecation and Monsters," in Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, 277–300, for discussion of the work and images.

<sup>72</sup> Luther also approvingly reported Bugenhagen's countermeasure against the devil who was interfering with the butter: "da fur der Pommer zu, verhönet den Teuffel, scheys ins putter fas, tunc desiit Sathan" (WA TR 3: 356, lines 5–8, No. 3491), cited in Hausteiner, *Martin Luthers Stellung zum Zaubern und Hexenwesen*, 137. On the importance of play, see D. W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (London, 1971), esp. 9; the transitional object, so important to play, may stand for feces.

<sup>73</sup> I am indebted to Ruth Harris for this point.

an experience that led him later to advise people to eat, drink, and even, "if it helps, think about girls" so as to spite the devil.<sup>74</sup>

Luther's anal rhetoric, of course, has also offered plenty of material for those who want to psychoanalyze him or who regard him as psychically disturbed. It is not surprising that psychobiographers should have been drawn to him.<sup>75</sup> Although Freud has virtually nothing to say about Luther—Protestantism was simply not part of the mental furniture of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna—others soon applied his ideas. Preserved Smith, writing on the eve of World War I, developed a sub-Freudian-tinged reading of Luther's character. The psychiatrist and hospital consultant Paul Reiter attempted a diagnosis of Luther, concluding that he suffered from manic-depressive psychosis with predominant depressive phases. This extraordinary work was published in two volumes, the first appearing in Copenhagen in 1937 and the second under Nazi occupation (the name Levin having been dropped from the publisher's imprint) in 1941.<sup>76</sup> The most famous psychoanalytically influenced biography appeared in 1958: eight years after his classic *Childhood and Society*, Erik Erikson applied his paradigm of adolescent development to Luther.<sup>77</sup> Erikson's work has rightly come in for attack, for its interpretive frame of the youthful "identity crisis" that he took from his work with disturbed teenagers distorts Luther's major crises, which did not take place in his youth. What is remarkable is how old Luther was when his career as a reformer began: he was thirty-three when he posted the 95 Theses, thirty-seven when he was excommunicated by the pope, and forty-one when he married.

The psychobiography of the 1950s has deservedly gotten bad press, although Martin Brecht, in his authoritative biography of the 1980s, perhaps goes too far when he refuses to permit any speculation about, for instance, Luther's relationship with his parents.<sup>78</sup> After all, we have better materials for Luther's psychic life than is the

<sup>74</sup> "wenn ich wieder heim gen Wittenberg komm, so will ich mich alsdann in Sarg legen. und den Maden einen feisten Doctor zu essen geben," held to be a prophecy of his impending death; WA TR 6: 302, lines 10–15, No. 6975 (it is included in Aurifaber's *Tischreden*). On melancholy, see, for example, WA TR 4: 505–509, esp. 507, lines 23–24, No. 4787; and on this passage, see Roper, "Venus in Wittenberg," 88. On thinking about girls, see WA TR 1: 49, line 26–50, line 1, No. 122: he advises those experiencing attacks of the devil to eat, drink, and seek company. When he himself suffered spiritual temptations and fainting fits in 1527, he was careful to drink and make sure he had company; see WA TR 4: 81–90 for Bugenhagen's report of Luther's illness. In a letter to Hieronymus Weller, who was suffering from attacks of the devil, Luther advised him to drink, joke, and sin; WA Br 5: 518–520, lines 43–64, July 1530. Luther's attitude was sufficiently well known for Rabus to pay unconscious tribute to it by including Luther's counsel to a sick person suffering from melancholy in his biography; Rabus, *Historien*, fols. clxxviii–clxxxvi. See also on melancholy Oberman, *Luther*, 309–313.

<sup>75</sup> This began very early; as Peter Macardle has shown, even in the early eighteenth century there was a biography that diagnosed Luther positively using the humoral system, as a mixture of sanguine and choleric temperaments; Macardle, "The Well-Tempered Reformer: Heinrich Martin Thümmig's 'Psychoanalysis' of Martin Luther (1717) and Its Contexts," in Neil Thomas, ed., *German Studies at the Millennium* (Durham, N.C., 1999), 64–94.

<sup>76</sup> Paul Reiter, *Martin Luthers Umwelt, Charakter und Psychose, sowie die Bedeutung dieser Faktoren für seine Entwicklung und Lehre: Eine historisch-psychiatrische Studie*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1937–1941). In the same year that Reiter's second volume appeared, Erich Fromm published *The Fear of Freedom*, which included a Jungian study of Luther.

<sup>77</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York, 1958).

<sup>78</sup> Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis, 1985–1993), 3 vols., vol. 1: *His Road to Reformation, 1483–1521*; vol. 2: *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*; vol. 3: *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*; see, e.g., 1, 6–8. This is the authoritative modern biography. For an excellent and psychologically astute short recent study, see Kaufmann, *Martin Luther*; for an original approach to Luther, see Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2005); and for a persuasive new interpretation, see Leppin, *Martin Luther*.



case for almost any other figure of the sixteenth century. Although we have only autobiographical fragments, we have acres of writing, volumes of letters, and the *Table Talk*. The temptations which that material offered to biographers are evident even in Lucien Febvre's extraordinary biography of Luther, which was published a decade after the First World War, and is essentially a French reckoning with German culture. He mocks would-be psychoanalytically inclined biographers who use it to provide a comforting demonstration of the Freudian theory of libido and repression: "A Freudian Luther: we can imagine in advance what he will look like, and if an unshockable Luther-researcher were actually to produce such a depiction, one wouldn't be curious to make its closer acquaintance. Couldn't one just as easily construct a Lutheran Freud, that is, to prove that the now famous Father of Psychoanalysis himself represents one of the most enduring characteristics of the German spirit, which embodied itself in Luther so powerfully?"<sup>79</sup> Febvre's sensitive analysis of Luther's inner life effectively does just this, playing the two off against each other to arrive at an anatomy of "the German spirit." But shrewd as Febvre often is about the nature of Luther's spirituality, his work is marred by his intense love-hate relationship with Teutonic culture. This is what drives the work forward, but his essentializing of Germans is anachronistic, typical of the preoccupations of French intellectuals with German "barbarism" in the wake of World War I.

Perhaps the most brilliant dissection of anality in Luther was provided by Norman O. Brown, writing in 1959. As he puts it, "the Devil is virtually recognized as a displaced materialization of Luther's own anality, which is to be conquered by being replaced where it came from."<sup>80</sup> Brown's incisive interpretation does exactly what Febvre had teasingly demanded thirty-five years earlier: it Lutheranizes Freud, arguing that Luther prefigured psychoanalytic understandings of the role of sublimated anality in the structure of civilization; and Brown goes on to claim that his aversion to "filthy lucre" made Luther hostile to capitalism.<sup>81</sup> Ingenious though this interpretation is, however, Luther never regards excrement as purely negative or as diabolic in origin; no grandson of a peasant could. As part of God's creation, excrement is also something good, a positive substance that can help to banish the devil. (Indeed, during the period when he was in hiding at the Wartburg, Luther unabashedly described his relief when his bowels moved, seamlessly moving on to discuss those other forms of creativity, manuscripts and writing projects.)<sup>82</sup> Brown's view of Luther's fondness for anal rhetoric as a character trait in need of diagnosis is in any case deeply anachronistic, for it fails to take account of the ubiquity of such language in

<sup>79</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Martin Luther*, ed., trans., and afterword by Peter Schöttler (Frankfurt, 1996; original French ed. Paris, 1928), 46.

<sup>80</sup> Norman O. Brown, *Life against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History* (1959; repr., Middletown, 1985), 209.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 225–226, 228–229.

<sup>82</sup> Thus Luther passes from informing Spalatin that he had received everything, constipation pills and manuscripts alike, to telling him that he had emptied his bowels; or from discussing his digestion to the topic of the manuscript of the *Postillen*, which he also depended on Spalatin to publish in Wittenberg. In yet another letter, he rebukes Spalatin and others for having failed to get his manuscripts in order for the printer and then complains about his bowel movements—his inability to publish paralleling his inability to defecate. WA Br 2: 364, lines 3–8, July 15, 1521; 368–369, lines 24–30, July 31, 1519; 377–379, lines 4–5, August 6, 1521; on the friendship between Luther and Spalatin, see Lyndal Roper, "To his most learned and fondest friend": Reading Luther's Letters," forthcoming in *German History*.



sixteenth-century German culture. We need to be wary of absorbing a psychological model that views anality automatically as an index of disturbance. Erikson diagnoses Luther's anal defiance of the devil as part of a pathology, and he even has to invent a toilet-training crisis so as to provide a developmental explanation of Luther's character. From here it is but a short step to inventing further traumas, such as the fit in the choir (an invention taken from Luther's Catholic opponent Cochlaeus, who devised it to argue that Luther was possessed by the devil) or the encounter with God in the privy, which, as we now know, took place not in the cloaca, but in the cloaca tower of the monastery.<sup>83</sup>

Used differently, psychoanalytic insights might enable us to understand Luther's personality better as a whole, and to grasp the way in which his personal charisma was linked to his physical presence. This is surely worth doing, for Luther is one of those rare writers who could express his deepest emotions and theological convictions through the medium of the body; and since psychoanalysis is about the relationship between the mental and the physical, and the inner and outer worlds—after all, excrement is the first thing we produce into the world outside our bodies—it should be well placed to help us interpret one of the greatest exponents of that interrelationship.

Luther's pleasure in anal rhetoric is not a character defect. Neither is it hidden or repressed anality—he is remarkably unbuttoned about sex, the devil, and excrement, all matters about which European culture subsequently developed strong taboos. And tempting as it might be to pen a character sketch that linked his anality with his moral absolutism, authoritarianism, and passionate hatreds, that would be less than half the story.<sup>84</sup> There is no evidence whatsoever that he remained stalled in the anal phase, unable to graduate to the genital; everything we know testifies to his happy and productive married life. In his case, a marked tendency to split the world into good and evil, friend and foe is balanced by his equally strong impulse toward integration and his ability to work with others.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, he was a far cannier politician than he is often credited as being, and he was typically careful in the heady early days of the evangelical movement in Wittenberg to wait before introducing radical reform, so that he could carry others, including the elector, with him. Passionate idealizations—of Luther by his friends, and on his part, too—certainly played their role in the dynamic of the early Reformation. And though he could be a grand hater (especially to those he believed betrayed the Lutheran message), he characteristically balanced different temperaments and positions within his circle of friends, letting Nikolaus von Amsdorf, for instance, represent a cruder, more vig-

<sup>83</sup> Vandiver, Keen, and Franzel, *Luther's Lives*, 55; Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 1: 122; and see the recent archaeological exhibition at Halle on the monastery and Luther's rooms; and Harald Meller, ed., *Fund-sache Luther: Archaeologen auf den Spuren des Reformators* (Stuttgart, 2008). See, however, Oberman, *Luther*, 154–155, for a brilliant commentary on Luther's statement in the preface to his *Latin Works* that his *Turnerlebnis* took place in the cloaca. Luther's language deliberately links his recognition of salvation with the privy, the devil's haunt; but this is a rhetorical strategy, not a pathological obsession. See, however, for a different view, Leppin, *Martin Luther*, 108–110.

<sup>84</sup> I am not able to deal here with Luther's attitude toward sexuality, which will be the subject of a forthcoming essay.

<sup>85</sup> On splitting, see Melanie Klein, *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works, 1946–63* (1975; repr., London, 1988); Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works, 1921–1945* (1975; repr., London, 1988); Klein, *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*, trans. Alix Strachey (1975; repr., London, 1989).

orous Lutheran position as against Melanchthon's humanist theology, while remaining friends with both.<sup>86</sup> He offered a religious worldview that did not separate soul and body but incorporated a robust, redoubtable, and often mucky physicality. Indeed, we might reverse Brown's dictum, for far from the devil being "a displaced materialization of Luther's own anality," Luther is able to joke about both the devil and excrement, and he integrates his anality into his theology rather than just projecting it onto others.

LUTHER'S PHYSICALITY WAS integrally connected to some of his deepest theological insights. It was central to his rejection of monasticism and its abhorrence of sexuality, eating, and drinking.<sup>87</sup> It was also, one might suggest, profoundly linked to his intransigence on the issue of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, making it impossible for him to compromise with Ulrich Zwingli at Marburg and to find common cause against the Catholics, however advantageous to the movement that might have been.<sup>88</sup> His insistence on the physical materiality of the Eucharist divided him from both Catholics and Zwinglians: for Catholics, the bread appears to be bread, but its essence is transformed into the body of Christ; for Zwinglians, the bread remains bread, but it symbolizes the body of Christ; for Luther, the bread was at once a material thing and the body of Christ. Tellingly, when Zwingli and Luther debated the issue, Zwingli adduced John 6:63: "The flesh profiteth nothing."<sup>89</sup> Luther's position is well conveyed in the words attributed to him at Marburg: "The word says that Christ has a body. This I believe. The word says that the body of Christ ascended into heaven and sits on the right hand of God. This I also believe. The word says that this same body is in the Supper, and I believe this. Why should I discuss whether it is outside of a place or in a place? This is a mathematical argument. The word of God is above it, for God created mathematics and everything. He commands us to have faith in this matter."<sup>90</sup> Even if human rationality cannot comprehend how it is that Christ can be present in the bread and the wine, it remained true, Luther argued; it was a theological truth surpassing reason. It is surely not too farfetched to connect this insistence on the materiality of the Eucharist and the reality of Christ's presence to Luther's generally positive attitude toward the physical.

In the battle between Carnival and Lent, so often held to encapsulate the confessional struggle of the sixteenth century, Protestantism is usually equated with the cadaverous figure of Lent, and old-style Catholicism with rotund Carnival.<sup>91</sup> Even if it could be applied to Calvinism, such a contrast could not be more misleading about Lutheranism, for central to the visual and literary culture of Lutheranism was

<sup>86</sup> See, on the friendship with Amsdorf, Robert Kolb, *Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565): Popular Polemics in the Preservation of Luther's Legacy* (Nieuwkoop, 1978).

<sup>87</sup> Brecht is particularly insightful on the connection between Luther's illnesses, his circulatory problems, his depression, and his anti-monastic writings. See Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 2: 204–211.

<sup>88</sup> See the excellent discussion in Kaufmann, *Martin Luther*, 111–113.

<sup>89</sup> See Oberman, *Luther*, 237.

<sup>90</sup> This formulation comes from one of the at least seven accounts of the Colloquy, the anonymous "Rhapsodies on the Marburg Colloquy," in *Luther's Works*, 38 (= *Word and Sacrament IV*), 81; "Rhapsodie colloquii ad Marburgum," WA 30 III: 157, lines 22–28.

<sup>91</sup> See, for example, Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), 207–243; and Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. 61–64, 140, 149–153.

the corpulent body of the reformer himself. From very early on, Luther's physicality, his appetites, illnesses, jokes, love of good German beer, sexuality, and digestion, and later the progress of his final illness and death, were part of his image. So far did this extend that at his funeral sermon for Luther (which immediately went into print), Bugenhagen chose to recall how, when Luther's brother-in-law was on his deathbed, he laughed and talked of how he would make a return visit to Luther one evening, "where we'll have a good bite to eat together and I'll talk with you about lots of jolly things." The death scene of Luther's hallucinating brother-in-law, unable to realize how ill he was, is a long digression that sits oddly in Bugenhagen's sermon, for its ostensible point is that Luther thought this was a good death. But there was a deeper reason why Bugenhagen was driven to tell the story. Unable to meet in this life, "now they could carry out the plan in eternal life." The vision of Luther and his brother-in-law eating and chatting in heaven prefigures the idea of the *Table Talk* (whose publication had then not even been thought of) and allows Bugenhagen to express the centrality of eating, talking, and fleshly pleasures to Luther's spirituality.<sup>92</sup> And it was precisely this which Luther's obsessive opponent, Cochlaeus, could not take: writing his own commentary on Luther's funeral and the publications surrounding his death, he mocks his followers' reverent attitude to Luther at prayer: "What kind of sanctity or sort of miracle is there in this, that every evening after a supper lavishly prepared and abundantly partaken of, with his belly distended by food and drink, he looked out of the window of his dwelling and prayed for a little while," commenting on how Luther "loll[ed] in his place" at dinner, and "Not only in dinners, however, but even in lunches, from which meal most of the holy Fathers and monks have always abstained, except on Sundays and feast days."<sup>93</sup>

Deeply anti-monastic (to Cochlaeus's abiding disgust), Lutheranism could espouse an attitude to the body that sought not to transcend physicality but to embrace it, in all its aspects. It is no accident that the development of the figure of the oafish Grobian should have come out of a Lutheran milieu, or that it was a Protestant author, Johann Fischart, who translated Rabelais into a swollen epic twice the length of the original.<sup>94</sup> What did Luther's solidity represent? There is something comforting, almost parental, in his expansive body; indeed, when Melanchthon came to sum up the man's character in his funeral speech, he termed him a "father." Luther's fleshiness enabled him to be a popular but also human hero, in a way that Melanchthon, forever the sallow academic, could never emulate. It also conveyed power: the Saxon electors who protected him were political heavyweights whose physical

<sup>92</sup> Johannes Bugenhagen, "Eine Christliche Predigt/ vber der leich vnd begrebnis/ des Ehrwürdigen D. Martini Luthers . . ." (Wittenberg, 1546), facsimile ed. "*Vom Christlichen abschied*," fol. C i (v): "Ich wil widder zu euch kommen/ auff den abend ein mal/ da wöllen wir zusammen gute Collation halten/ vnd ich wil denne von vielen frölichen sachen mit euch reden/ Zwar jzt mögen sie beide solchs ausrichten im ewigen leben/ da sie beide hin gerheiset sind."

<sup>93</sup> Vandiver, Keen, and Franzel, *Luther's Lives*, 347–348. Cochlaeus also comments, "On the 17th day of February, after he had taken his supper in public with others—a supper where they had eaten plentifully and which had been cheerfully lengthened with jokes—on that same night he died"; *ibid.*, 346. On Cochlaeus, see Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe*; as she points out, Cochlaeus is in many respects a better-founded and more informative biography than the celebratory Lutheran texts.

<sup>94</sup> Roper, "Drinking, Whoring and Gorging."

size reflected their power. This was why the Cranach workshop's representation of the monumental Luther was such a stroke of genius and proved so enduring.<sup>95</sup>

HOW ARTISTS AND WRITERS chose to show Luther mattered, because the image of the reformer was central to how the Reformation was propagated and how Lutheran identities were created. Lutheran churches across Saxony and beyond were equipped with portraits of Luther: in Weimar, a triptych (one of the few to hark back to images of the young Luther) shows him as monk, as Junker Jörg, and as mature reformer; and an altarpiece by Cranach the Elder in the same church displays a massive Luther, his feet planted firmly on the ground, below Christ on the cross. (His friend Cranach, next to whom he now stands, was probably inserted later.)<sup>96</sup> In the city church of Pirna, Luther, depicted as an evangelist alongside Melanchthon, graces the painted roof; in Halle, a painted stone relief bust of the mature reformer based on the familiar printed woodcuts forms the centerpiece of the magnificent decorative balcony in mannerist style that spans the entire church.<sup>97</sup> With self-conscious anachronism, Luther's figure, dressed incongruously in sixteenth-century clothing, is imported into biblical scenes or used to express key doctrinal truths, as St. John is baptized by Jesus against the backdrop of modern Wittenberg, or, for the Nuremberg woodcut of a similar theme, the town's skyline with the towers of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz replaces the spires of Wittenberg.<sup>98</sup> In such images, Luther's portly, easily recognizable outline disrupts the painting, a jarring feature that does not suit our modern aesthetic of integrated works of art. Instead of eliciting pious prayer from the believer, as the image of a saint might, these images deploy Luther's likeness as a badge of confessional allegiance. They are, to borrow the word Hanne Poulsen uses to describe Cranach's portraits of Luther, "iconic."<sup>99</sup> And they formed part of an ocean of objects outside as well as inside churches—medals, glass roundels, drinking vessels,

<sup>95</sup> See also Sergio Luzzato, *The Body of Il Duce: Mussolini's Corpse and the Fortunes of Italy* (New York, 2005; orig. Italian ed. 1998): I am grateful to Jan Lambertz for this reference.

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, portrait of Luther, Marienbibliothek Halle, by a follower of Cranach, mid-sixteenth century; Nikolaikirche Jüterbog, full-length portraits of Luther and Melanchthon from the seventeenth century; St. Georg Mansfeld, full-length portrait of Luther, 1540, Cranach school. For a description of the triptych, see Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 389, who says that its images are "such as one sees in earlier altarpieces featuring episodes of a saint's life" but goes on to point out that the doggerel beneath that refers to key dates and events in Luther's life is more suited to a school than a church. Indeed, this is more accurate, I would argue, because these are educational images rather than images that convey sanctity.

<sup>97</sup> See Klaus Kaden et al., eds., *Die Stadtkirche St Marien zu Pirna* (Pirna, 2005). See in particular on this cycle Margit Kern, *Tugend versus Gnade: Protestantische Bildprogramme in Nürnberg, Pirna, Regensburg und Ulm* (Berlin, 2002). Luther faces a smaller medallion with Jonah and the whale, representing the local reformer Justus Jonas. The entire church was rebuilt on a Lutheran program in the 1540s, and it offers a superb example of the new Lutheran aesthetic. I am indebted to Dr. Andreas Stahl of the Landesdenkmalamt, who showed me this church. See Sabine Kramer and Karsten Eisenmenger, eds., *Die Marktkirche Unser Lieben Frauen zu Halle* (Halle, 2004). For other examples of this kind of art, see John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1999).

<sup>98</sup> See Christensen, *Princes and Propaganda*, 102–110.

<sup>99</sup> Hanne Kolind Poulsen, "Between Convention, Likeness and Iconicity: Cranach's Portraits and Luther's Thoughts on Images," in Andreas Tacke, ed., *Lucas Cranach, 1553/2003: Wittenberger Tagungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450. Todesjahres Lucas Cranachs des älteren* (Leipzig, 2003), 205–216.

tooled leather bindings, all emblazoned with the image of Luther—which made up the cultural furniture of Lutheranism.<sup>100</sup>

It has been argued that Lutheranism owed far more than it cared to admit to older, Catholic varieties of religiosity, to magic, and even to cults of the saints.<sup>101</sup> But this is to attribute far too much significance to just one among what was a wide and diverse array of early images, and to an iconography of the young Luther that did not survive beyond the 1520s. (Tellingly, in 1557, when the illustrators of Rabus's biography came to depict the young Luther before Cajetan, they showed him as stout, even though he was thin at the time.)<sup>102</sup> It also overlooks the real visual revolution that Lutheranism accomplished as it redrew the relation between flesh and spirit. The images from the 1530s onward showed the mature, weighty reformer as a human being with human appetites, not a saint with a divine spark. For the art historian Joseph Koerner, these images of the mature Luther document the "routinization of charisma" that took place during the years of struggle between Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans over Luther's legacy, but they were not simply products of the post-humous confessional wars. They had been circulating since the 1530s and were central to how Lutheranism represented itself from the start.<sup>103</sup> And though they drew on older iconographic traditions, they did not reduce Luther to prophet, doctor, or mythical figure.<sup>104</sup> For he appears not as an archetype, nor as transmogrified into the spiritual role he exercises, but as himself, the broad, instantly recognizable Dr. Luther.

From the beginning, Luther's personality overshadowed what was to become the Lutheran Church, the "Wittenbergian Church," of which Mathesius described himself a "citizen," the earthly institution to which he owed his deepest allegiance.<sup>105</sup> Luther's charisma held the church together, and his relationships—his friendships and his enmities—undergirded the movement and gave it emotional dynamism. Fundamental to that personal charisma was his physical presence; his rock-solid fleshiness reassured and comforted. To a remarkable degree, Luther was at ease with his own stoutness, anality, and sexuality: who else could have written "If you want to reject your body because snot, pus, and filth come out of it, you should cut your head

<sup>100</sup> See, for examples, Joestel and Strehle, *Luthers Bild und Lutherbilder*; Joestel, *Luthers Schatzkammer*; and see Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Inv. No. Gb 206 (*Lutherglas mit Futteral*); Inv. No. T4230 (*Ein Stück von Dr Luthers Rock*); Knape, *Martin Luther und Eisleben*, 92, for a painting of Luther and Melanchthon on glass; for a collection of Luther medals, see Kunstsammlung of the Wartburg; and see Allmuth Schuttwolf, *Gotteswort und Menschenbild: Werke von Cranach und seinen Zeitgenossen*, 2 pts. (Gotha, 1994), pt. 2: 29–30, for early medals. One of the most interesting of the many depictions of Luther is that commissioned by Katharina von Bora as the Lutherportal in his house. On one side of the portal on the underside there is a relief bust of Luther; on the other, the Luther rose.

<sup>101</sup> See R. W. Scribner, in particular "Magic and the Formation of Protestant Popular Culture in Germany," in Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001), 323–345; and "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World,'" *ibid.*, 346–366. See also Scribner, "Luther Myth"; Scribner, "Incombustible Luther"; and Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 14–36.

<sup>102</sup> Rabus, *Historien*, fol. x. Luther put on a little weight after the Heidelberg disputation, but his tendency to stoutness developed later; Oberman, *Luther*, 326.

<sup>103</sup> Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 388.

<sup>104</sup> On these forms of representation, see Scribner, "Luther Myth," and Kasten, "'Was ist Luther?'" The prophet motif was probably the most successful of these, and there were collections of Luther's "prophecies," sometimes appended to editions of the *Tischreden*. Mathesius also employs the model of Luther as a prophet throughout.

<sup>105</sup> Mathesius, *Historien*, fol. 194 v.



off"?<sup>106</sup> This side of his personality is evident in the stream of remarks his students carefully recorded, and was authentically conveyed in the published *Table Talk*, while his stoutness was part of the image of the reformer after the 1530s, as a new visual devotional style was rapidly created.

After Luther's death, the process of writing his biography began, first with Melanchthon, then with Rabus, Mathesius, Selnecker, Spangenberg, and others. These biographies also conveyed Luther's strong physicality and recounted his many illnesses, attributing religious meaning to them as trials and martyrdoms. And they formed part of the devotional culture into which the *Tischreden* fitted so seamlessly—the literary and print culture that also produced Grobian and Faust, the visual culture that prefaced Luther's works (including the *Tischreden*) with images of the "stout doctor," and the fabric of Lutheran churches, each with its own picture of the great reformer.<sup>107</sup> For all that Luther could retain from his monastic formation the conviction that sex was sinful, just as all human actions are, he nonetheless had a remarkably frank attitude toward it, and to flesh itself. His physicality accorded with the central emphases of his theology. One of the things that set Luther apart from many other Christian thinkers is his remarkably positive attitude toward the body, in all its aspects.

<sup>106</sup> *Luther's Works*, 24: *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John: Chapters 14–16* (1538), 206; WA 45: 648, lines 21–22.

<sup>107</sup> See, for example, Mathesius, *Historien*, 188 v, and 214 to end.

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# Suicide in Late Colonial Africa: The Evidence of Inquests from Nyasaland

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MEGAN VAUGHAN

IN THE EXTENSIVE LITERATURE on the history of suicide, the societies of the African continent barely feature, except in brief discussions of folk beliefs and practices.<sup>1</sup> A simple explanation for the relative lack of attention given to this issue is that historically African societies have been assumed to have very low rates of suicide. But that assumption itself needs historicizing. The statistical evidence for suicide in most African countries is extremely weak, and longitudinal data is almost nonexistent, so while there are reasons to suggest the need for a reevaluation of suicide rates in Africa, it is not currently possible to provide one. However, the intellectual history of suicide in Africa can shed light on the issue, as can some evidence from the British colony of Nyasaland (now Malawi) in the late colonial period.

In contemporary southern and eastern Africa, concerns over apparently rising suicide rates are being expressed both by mental health professionals and in the popular press. It is tempting to argue that these parts of Africa are experiencing the equivalent of the intensification of anxiety about suicide that surfaced periodically in early modern and nineteenth-century Europe—a kind of “moral panic.”<sup>2</sup> As in

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<sup>1</sup> In his monumental study of suicide in Europe in the Middle Ages, Alexander Murray discusses African beliefs about suicide in a section on pollution; Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2: *The Curse of Self-Murder* (Oxford, 2000). African practices are also mentioned briefly by Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), 44–46. There is, however, a growing literature on suicide and slavery in the Atlantic world: Louis A. Perez, *To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); William D. Piersen, “White Cannibals, Black Martyrs: Fear, Depression and Religious Faith as Causes of Suicide among New Slaves,” *Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (1977): 147–159.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Minois, *History of Suicide: Voluntary Death in Western Culture*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore, 1999); MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*. On the debate about industrialization and suicide rates in nineteenth-century England, see Olive Anderson, “Did Suicide Increase with Indus-

early-eighteenth-century discussions of the “English malady,” so in many of these recent reports on eastern and southern Africa suicide is represented as a symptom of a wider social and moral crisis, as a challenge to “traditional” values, a sign of the “anomie” consequent on modernization.

Psychiatry professionals in eastern and southern Africa are often quoted in the press as stating unequivocally that suicide rates are on the increase, but their publications in professional journals are generally cautious and point to the grave limitations of the data available to them.<sup>3</sup> Establishing current suicide rates is extremely difficult for most parts of the region, gaining access to reliable longitudinal data even more so. But professional interest in the issue is undoubtedly increasing.<sup>4</sup> This is particularly noticeable in the case of South Africa.

Studies of suicide in contemporary South Africa benefit from both a system of data collection that has vastly improved in recent years and a small but important literature on the history of suicide in that country.<sup>5</sup> Even so, there are large discrepancies in reported rates.<sup>6</sup> Although suicide rates remain highest for the “white” population, there is general agreement in the South African literature that statistics from the apartheid period were particularly unreliable for mortality in the “black” population and almost certainly underestimated the rate of suicide in that group. There is also general agreement that the suicide rate among young black men is increasing.<sup>7</sup>

In general, the press reports on suicide in South Africa reflect wider concerns over developments in the country since the ending of apartheid and anxiety over high rates of violence. This is not to deny that suicide rates may be increasing among some communities in South Africa—the available evidence suggests that they are—but it is simply to point to the way in which this issue is being framed and discussed publicly.

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trialization in Victorian England?” *Past and Present* 86 (1980): 149–173; and Howard I. Kushner, “Suicide, Gender and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth Century Medical and Social Thought,” *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 3 (1993): 461–490.

<sup>3</sup> Lourens Schlebusch, *Suicidal Behaviour in South Africa* (Scottsville, South Africa, 2005); Eugene Kinyanda et al., “Suicide in Urban Kampala, Uganda: A Preliminary Exploration” (unpublished paper, cited with Dr. Kinyanda’s kind permission); Charles Dzamala, Danny A. Milner, and N. George Liomba, “Suicide in Blantyre, Malawi (2000–2003),” *Journal of Clinical Forensic Medicine* 13 (2006): 65–69.

<sup>4</sup> In March 2008, Professor David Ndeti (Nairobi) and Dr. Eugene Kinyanda (Makerere University, Uganda) and his colleagues established an African Network for the Study and Prevention of Suicide and Suicidal Behaviors; and in Malawi, Dr. Felix Kauye and his colleagues at the Zomba Mental Hospital are launching a nationwide research project on the incidence of suicide.

<sup>5</sup> On the nature and reliability of South African data, see Stephanie Burrows, “Suicide Mortality in the South African Context: Exploring the Role of Social Status and Environmental Circumstances” (doctoral diss., Karolinska Institute, Sweden, December 2005). On the history of suicide in South Africa, see Kerry Ward, “Defining and Defiling the Criminal Body at the Cape of Good Hope, c 1652–1795,” in Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, eds., *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2006), 36–59; Julie Parle, *States of Mind: Searching for Mental Health in Natal and Zululand, 1868–1918* (Scottsville, South Africa, 2007), chap. 5; Fatima Meer, *Race and Suicide in South Africa* (London, 1976). Meer employed an unusually rich archive of inquest records for her sociological analysis of suicide in apartheid South Africa.

<sup>6</sup> Overall, suicide rates for South Africa in the period 1979–1981 were estimated at 8.4 per 100,000 for men and 2.2 for women, rising to an estimated 24.6 per 100,000 and 6.9 per 100,000 by 2000. See Burrows, “Suicide Mortality in the South African Context,” and Schlebusch, *Suicidal Behaviour*, for an analysis of the South African statistics.

<sup>7</sup> The highest figures quoted seem to be for the Umtata region of Transkei, where B. L. Meel reported rates of 38.6 per 100,000 in 2000. Meel, “A Study on the Incidence of Suicide by Hanging in the Sub-Region of Transkei, South Africa,” *Journal of Clinical and Forensic Medicine* 10 (2003): 153–157.

Although there is a genealogy of colonial thinking underlying analyses of suicide in Africa, it would be oversimplifying to argue that these issues are confined to questions of "race." Arguments around the interpretation of suicide are complex, and form part of a much more extensive intellectual history. Suicide can be interpreted as a supreme act of will and defiance or as a fatal gesture of despair, as a mark of the autonomy of the self or as evidence of the subjection of the individual to forces beyond his or her control.<sup>8</sup> In modern times, and particularly since the publication of Emile Durkheim's *Suicide*, it has been the subject of sociological analysis, supported by the collection of social statistics.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the development of modern psychiatry has contributed to a "medicalization" of suicide and characterizations of the suicidal mind as sick, despairing, or overwhelmed by inverted anger, depending on theoretical orientation.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, some historical and cross-cultural analyses call into question the status of suicide as a single category of analysis.<sup>11</sup> But there is a specific trajectory to thinking about suicide in Africa.

The current interest in the subject of suicide in southern and eastern Africa is all the more striking when viewed against a longer history of colonial thinking on what came to be known as the "African mind."<sup>12</sup> In both professional and lay colonial writing on African psychology, "Africans" were generally held to be a happy-go-lucky "race" of people with few cares in the world, and what cares they had they were likely to attribute to the actions of others, via the medium of witchcraft or the intervention of spirits, rather than to their own actions. African people, it was argued, did not suffer from introspection and guilt, and so one rarely encountered depressive illness among them. And since suicide was linked to depression in this literature, rather than to aggression, it followed from this that they rarely killed themselves. This was less a theory than a discourse, but it has had a long and vigorous life.<sup>13</sup> The political utility

<sup>8</sup> Susan K. Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia* (Cambridge, 2006), Introduction; Jeffrey R. Watt, ed., *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004); Lisa Lieberman, *Leaving You: The Cultural Meaning of Suicide* (Chicago, 2003); Thomas Szasz, *Fatal Freedom: The Ethics and Politics of Suicide* (Westport, Conn., 1991); Al Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (London, 1971); George Howe Colt, *The Enigma of Suicide* (New York, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (London, 1970); Unni Bille-Brahe, "Sociology and Suicidal Behaviour," in Keith Hawton and Kees van Heeringen, eds., *The International Handbook of Suicide and Attempted Suicide* (Chichester, 2002), 193–207.

<sup>10</sup> John T. Maltzberger and Mark J. Goldblatt, eds., *Essential Papers on Suicide* (New York, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Such questions are raised in relation to the honor suicide of the Japanese tradition, but have a wider application. To what extent should politically motivated acts of reckless heroism be defined as suicide, and when should suicide be seen as an act of resistance or an act of submission? The cross-cultural literature is vast. An early and insightful review of the cross-cultural study of suicide and the theoretical issues implied is Arthur E. Hippler, "Fusion and Frustration: Dimensions in the Cross-Cultural Ethnopsychology of Suicide," *American Anthropologist* 71 (1969): 1074–1087. A fascinating study of suicide and nationalist sentiment is Perez, *To Die in Cuba*. On "revolutionary suicide" in Russia, see Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia*; on "suicide as resistance" in China, see Sing Lee and Arthur Kleinman, "Suicide as Resistance in Chinese Society," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Seldon, eds., *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance* (London, 2000), 221–240. On the relationship between suicide and sacrifice in the Western tradition, see Minois, *History of Suicide*.

<sup>12</sup> Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 5; Sloan Mahone, "East African Psychiatry and the Practical Problems of Empire," in Sloan Mahone and Megan Vaughan, eds., *Psychiatry and Empire* (Basingstoke, 2007), 41–67; Jock McCulloch, *Colonial Psychiatry and the "African Mind"* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> The most famous proponent of these views was J. C. Carothers, who argued that Africans were essentially tribal people with collective identities who had not yet evolved a clear sense of the individual and of individual responsibility. Carothers was employed by the late colonial administration in Kenya

of these ideas in the context of colonialism is clear. Africans were not fully formed individuals, and were incapable of taking responsibility for their own actions. Their fears and anxieties were externalized, their own misdeeds and harmful thoughts projected onto others. Unfamiliar with the experience of guilt, lacking the internal world of introspection, they rarely fell into anything approaching suicidal despair.<sup>14</sup>

In 1967 Raymond Prince published a review of the literature on depressive illness in Africa, dating back to 1895. He pointed out the biases in reporting during the colonial period and argued tentatively (and maybe even slightly tongue-in-cheek) that the political changes of independence were likely to bring about both a greater willingness on the part of a new generation of African psychiatry professionals to label certain states “depression,” and a real increase in rates of depressive illness: “I believe that we can look forward to seeing increasing numbers of depressions in Africa and no doubt even depressions with a prominent component of guilt and self-deprecation.”<sup>15</sup>

It is relatively easy to dissect and dismiss the biases of the “colonial mind” on the subject of depressive illness in Africa, but as Prince implied, there are some enduring theoretical and methodological questions concerning the cross-cultural definition and diagnosis of depressive illness, which continue to occupy mental health practitioners and researchers.<sup>16</sup> Even if one concludes that depressive illness has been under-diagnosed in Africa, one should be aware of the dangers of extending the “empire of depression.”<sup>17</sup>

Studies of suicide in the colonial period were for the most part simple extensions of the argument about the rarity of “real” depressive illness in African subjects. The very low rates of suicide quoted by these studies were, as Henri Collomb and René Collignon pointed out in their review of the literature, highly questionable.<sup>18</sup> In reviewing the evidence for the place of suicide in African cultural models and value systems, Collomb and Collignon found that in many African communities suicide was viewed as a quintessentially “bad” death, one that denied the perpetrator a place in the spirit world of the lineage. But there were also marked variations in approaches, even between neighboring peoples, with some groups viewing suicide not as a crime but as an act of bravery. In highly stratified societies in Africa, suicide as reparation for dishonor was not uncommon, but “shame” was also a more widespread sentiment

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in the “re-education” of Mau Mau detainees. Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*; Mahone, “East African Psychiatry.”

<sup>14</sup> The first systematic study that questioned the view that depressive illness was rare in Africa was Margaret Field’s important book *Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Ghana* (London, 1960). Field studied a cocoa-producing area of Ghana where a large number of new healing shrines had been established. The women who visited these shrines typically confessed to misdeeds, often involving witchcraft. Field argued that these women were, in fact, psychologically “depressed.” Not everyone agreed with her analysis, but the work was important in inviting a different interpretation of witchcraft.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond Prince, “The Changing Picture of Depressive Syndromes in Africa: Is It Fact or Diagnostic Fashion?” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 1 (1967): 190.

<sup>16</sup> Vikram Patel, Jane Mutambwira, and Sekai Nhiwatiwa, “Stressed, Depressed or Bewitched? A Perspective on Mental Health, Culture and Religion,” *Development in Practice* 5, no. 3 (1995): 216–224.

<sup>17</sup> Gordon Parker, in “Head to Head: Is Depression Overdiagnosed?” *British Medical Journal* 335, no. 7615 (2007): 328; David Healy, *The Anti-Depressant Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Henri Collomb and René Collignon, “Les conduites suicidaires en Afrique,” *Psychopathologie Africaine* 10 (1974): 55–113.



allegedly motivating suicide.<sup>19</sup> Collomb and Collignon concluded that “shame” rather than “guilt” characterized African societies, producing a somewhat more sophisticated version of the familiar argument about the absence of guilt in African subjects. They also referred to the role ascribed to supernatural forces in some African explanations of suicide. This had been noted by, among many others, M. D. W. Jeffreys, who argued on the basis of African material that a fourth category of suicide should be added to Durkheim’s typology. He called this “Samsonic” suicide, in which the subject commits suicide with the specific aim of taking revenge on another. The motivation for this form of suicide rested on the belief that the spirit of a man could return after his death.<sup>20</sup>

Supernatural forces were also prominent in the anthropological case studies contained in Paul Bohannan’s pathbreaking 1960 volume *African Homicide and Suicide*.<sup>21</sup> Bohannan aimed not only to evaluate the available African evidence against Durkheim’s analysis of suicide, but also to test out the theory that there was an inverse relationship between suicide and homicide.<sup>22</sup> Most of his contributors found it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions on these issues, given the limits of their statistical evidence, but their case studies were revealing of social attitudes toward suicide. To varying degrees, the communities studied feared the consequences of suicide and performed modified burial rites on the bodies of suicide cases.<sup>23</sup> In her contribution, Jean La Fontaine reported that the Gisu people of western Kenya considered suicide to be an evil act. It was not intrinsically evil, it seems, but evil in the sense that it was thought to result from an undesirable and dangerous set of circumstances characterized by bad relations between individuals, or between individuals and their ancestors. Suicide was also considered to be contagious, and contact with the body of a suicide was regarded as extremely dangerous. La Fontaine argued that the Gisu believed that only the ancestors could make people kill themselves, and they could do it in one of two ways: either by making those individuals feel so ashamed of some antisocial act that they felt impelled to commit suicide, or by involving them in arguments with their close kin, so that they would ultimately kill themselves out of *litima*. *Litima* is translated by La Fontaine as “temper”: a liability to fits of anger and violence that can be inherited across generations.

<sup>19</sup> On the importance of ideas of honor in African history, see John Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge, 2005), which contains numerous references to suicide and codes of honor. On politically motivated suicide, see also Olufunke Adeboye, “‘Iku Ya J’esin’: Politically Motivated Suicide, Social Honor and Chieftaincy Politics in Early Colonial Ibadan,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14 (2007): 189–225. Questions of shame, honor, and fate also feature prominently in interpretations of suicide in Chinua Achebe’s novel *Things Fall Apart* (New York, 1959): Alan R. Friesen, “Okonkwo’s Suicide as an Affirmative Act: Do Things Really Fall Apart?” *Postcolonial Text* 2 (2006), <http://postcolonial.org/index.php/pct/article/view/453/354>; as well as in Wole Soyinka’s play *Death and the King’s Horseman* (1975).

<sup>20</sup> M. D. W. Jeffreys, “Samsonic Suicide or Suicide of Revenge among Africans,” *African Studies* 11, no. 3 (1952): 118–122. “Magical thinking” in relation to suicide is hardly unique to African societies, however. Many psychoanalytic accounts of suicide draw attention to its fantastical elements. Emile A. Gutheil, “Dream and Suicide,” in Maltzberger and Goldblatt, *Essential Papers on Suicide*, 118–130; Viggo W. Jensen and Thomas A. Petty, “The Fantasy of Being Rescued in Suicide,” *ibid.*, 131–141.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Bohannan, ed., *African Homicide and Suicide* (Princeton, N.J., 1960).

<sup>22</sup> Andrew F. Henry, Jr., and James F. Short, *Suicide and Homicide: Some Economic, Sociological and Psychological Aspects of Aggression* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954).

<sup>23</sup> Some of these rites bear an uncanny resemblance to those described for pre-Christian Europe, including burial at a crossroads.

As La Fontaine's contribution indicated, any thorough study of suicide in African societies would rest on an understanding of notions of personhood and related ideas about relationships, not only among the living, but also between the living and the dead.<sup>24</sup> That these ideas go beyond the conventional colonial representation of the "African mind" is evident from a corpus of sensitive anthropological work. Any comprehensive historical study would have to include the impact of both Islam and Christianity on attitudes toward suicide, and any intellectual history of suicide in Africa would also need to go beyond a study of "traditional" beliefs and practices (important as those may be) to encompass political and legal discourses. It may have sounded fanciful to suggest, as Prince did, that with the coming of political independence Ghanaians would be more likely to kill themselves, but as much comparative literature shows, political discourses can have a profound effect in legitimizing or delegitimizing suicidal acts.<sup>25</sup>

The theoretical and methodological issues raised by a historical study of suicide in Africa are daunting, though hardly uniquely so. The history of suicide is in part a history of subjectivity, and no history of that sort is ever going to be straightforward. Colonial evidence is undoubtedly biased in a number of ways, but the nature of that evidence is itself part of the intellectual history of suicide in Africa, though by no means the whole of that history. This is an under-researched field, and one that could be enormously enriched by further oral historical and social anthropological work. Some of the challenges arise out of the nature of the evidence available for suicide in African societies, but others are common to the analysis of the phenomenon of suicide wherever and whenever it occurs. Inevitably constrained by the nature of their evidence, historians of suicide must also decide whether the analysis of suicide should be primarily sociological or intellectual, whether it should engage in a possibly anachronistic form of psychological speculation or view such speculation as an obstacle in the way of understanding.

Some of these large questions can be negotiated through the analysis of a specific body of evidence—colonial inquests from Nyasaland. This archive is a component of the intellectual history of suicide in one region of Africa, so any such analysis must be addressed to the question (raised by historians of other parts of the world) of how far the inquisitorial system itself came to influence social attitudes toward, and possibly even definitions of, suicide. Despite the formal nature of this evidence, it also displays a hesitant and porous quality, inadvertently revealing aspects of suicide cases that were not easily contained within dominant colonial scripts and that might point to a more complex picture of the intellectual history of suicide in this region.<sup>26</sup> The inquest did give rise to a certain kind of forensic psychological approach to suicide, but how influential this was is extremely hard to know. There are parallels

<sup>24</sup> Jean S. La Fontaine, "Person and Individual: Some Anthropological Reflections," in Michael Carithers, Steven Collins, and Steven Lukes, eds., *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History* (Cambridge, 1985), 123–141; Michael Jackson and Ivan Karp, eds., *Personhood and Agency: The Experience of Self and Other in African Cultures* (Washington, D.C., 1990); Paul Riesman, "The Person and the Life-Cycle in African Social Life and Thought," *African Studies Review* 29, no. 2 (1986): 71–138.

<sup>25</sup> Perez, *To Die in Cuba*; Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia*; Minois, *History of Suicide*.

<sup>26</sup> This is an issue raised in the much larger literature on the history of colonial legal systems, and in theoretical debates on the nature of the colonial archive and of colonialism itself. Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J., 2008).

between the processes at work here and the “secularization” of suicide in Europe and the replacement of “passions” by the “emotions” in modern European thought, but the particular circumstances of colonial Africa produced a complex picture, the full dimensions of which remain to be fully explored.<sup>27</sup>

Of course, the task of the historian is not to add his or her musings on the psychology of historical subjects to those already imposed by this kind of regime. But suicide must be understood within specific social, political, and economic contexts, so a sociological analysis of at least a very basic sort is called for. It is not necessary to impose a formal categorization on suicide cases, but certain assumptions are inevitable with respect to such things as the gender dimensions of suicide and the apparent role of poverty and ill health in some cases. Although such an approach is undoubtedly open to criticism, it does offer the possibility of inserting the history of suicide in Africa into a wider comparative history, revealing not only marked differences but also striking similarities between societies.

Historians of suicide in different times and places have drawn attention to the nature of the archival material at their disposal and the role of statistics in the history of suicide.<sup>28</sup> The sample available for this analysis is small—just 123 cases, drawn from records of inquests held in colonial courts in Nyasaland between the late 1940s and the late 1960s, predominantly between 1948 and 1959. Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, became a British protectorate in 1891, and although some inquest records exist for the 1920s and 1930s, they are few in number. The existence of many more records from the late 1940s can be largely explained by the increasing presence of the colonial state in the lives of its subjects in the post–World War II period.<sup>29</sup> More specifically, the holding of inquests and the more systematic recording of their proceedings was a consequence of the passage in 1948 of an Ordinance Relating to Inquests.<sup>30</sup> This ordinance aimed to improve and systematize procedures for the reporting of “violent or unnatural” deaths, and the referral of these cases, when appropriate, to the judicial system. It empowered local colonial administrative officers to act as coroners and required them to hold inquests into any “violent or unnatural” deaths reported to have occurred within their jurisdictions. It also made it the duty of anyone finding the body of someone who appeared to have suffered such a death to report it to the native authority or to the police or an administrative officer.<sup>31</sup> Failure to do so made one liable to conviction under the ordinance and to

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Durkheim, *Suicide*; J. Maxwell Atkinson, *Discovering Suicide: Studies in the Social Organization of Sudden Death* (London, 1978); Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia*, chap. 7; MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*. Alexander Murray also discusses at length the nature of medieval documentation on suicide; Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *The Violent against Themselves* (Oxford, 1998).

<sup>29</sup> On the late colonial state and its “development” objectives, see Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>30</sup> Ordinance No. 9 of 1948: Ordinance Relating to Inquests, in Sir Donald Kingdon, ed., *The Laws of Nyasaland*, rev. ed., 6 vols. (London, 1957), 1: 326.

<sup>31</sup> A “native authority” was a chief who had been accorded official recognition by the colonial state. Under the “indirect rule” system in place in Nyasaland and in other British colonies in Africa, native authorities were given a range of new powers, including tax collection and adjudication of cases through a codified customary legal system. Inquests, however, were a matter for the coroner’s court, presided over by a colonial officer. On colonial law in Nyasaland, see Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985).

a possible prison sentence or fine. In practice, the native authority or the headman of the village in which the death had taken place would have to persuade the family of the deceased to postpone the burial while a message was sent to the nearest colonial administrative center or police station. A medical officer would then be required to examine the body and make a report to the coroner, and other relevant evidence would have to be gathered from witnesses. Finally, an inquest would be held at the district headquarters, sometimes at a very great distance from the site of the incident, at which the witnesses were required to appear.

When James Malunga, who lived in a village in Fort Johnston District, hanged himself from a tree on the morning of October 24, 1952, the inquisitorial system seems to have been followed almost to the letter.<sup>32</sup> The body was found by his wife, hanging some twenty paces from the house that they shared. By the time it was seen by the court messenger (a paid assistant to the chief), it had already been cut down and moved to a bed in the house. On the following day, it was examined by a medical officer who had been sent from Fort Johnston, some distance away. The inquest on Malunga's death opened in Fort Johnston on November 7 and was presided over by the district commissioner acting as coroner. On November 26, the district commissioner forwarded his record of the inquest to the attorney general in the colonial capital, Zomba. At sixteen pages, it is not a very extensive document, but it is, superficially, at least, impressive in its thoroughness and attention to detail. It includes three official forms: Form B (Death Report to the Coroner), Form D (Report of the Medical Practitioner), and Form E (The Inquisition), as well as "Exhibit A: A Roug [*sic*] Sketch of Scene of Hanging" drawn by the court messenger and ten pages of evidence recorded from the proceedings of the inquest. Only a small number of inquest records from this period included a "rough sketch" by an enthusiastic African police constable, but in other respects this is not an untypical record. A few included suicide notes, adding another dimension to the written record.

Archives can mislead. Although the very existence of these records is an indication of the greater ambition of the late colonial state in this part of Africa, there is no evidence that the colonial rulers of Nyasaland had any particular prior interest in why and at what rates their subjects killed themselves. Suicide was generally held to be rare among Africans, and in all likelihood the administrative officers of Nyasaland shared this view, if they thought about the subject at all. However, one of the effects of the implementation of the 1948 ordinance was to bring suicide cases to their attention, and when faced with these cases, many officers exhibited a perhaps surprising level of interest in what some termed the "motives" for suicide. Although the inquisitorial system undoubtedly "medicalized" suicide to a degree, it also produced a particular kind of forensic psychology and a quest for truth.<sup>33</sup> Once the (possibly contentious) decision had been made by the village headman to report a death as "unnatural," a colonial machinery of sorts cranked into action. Malunga might have anticipated that his taking of his own life would not pass unnoticed among his family, friends, and neighbors, and that they would be likely to ask a number of

<sup>32</sup> I have changed names to preserve privacy. National Archives of Malawi [hereafter NAM], J5/11/8/2: Inquests, Fort Johnston District, 1952. I have also used the contemporaneous place names and colonial spellings throughout.

<sup>33</sup> For an incisive discussion of the inquest in English history, see Ian A. Burney, *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830–1926* (Baltimore, 2000).

questions about it, but he probably did not know that his death would occasion so much form-filling, nor that the scar of the old crocodile bite above his left ankle would be noted and recorded. Nor was he likely to have anticipated the depth of questioning to which his family, in particular his two wives, would be subjected by a colonial officer.

It is impossible to know what proportion of suicide cases reached the coroners' courts of Nyasaland in this period. Practical implementation of the ordinance would have been hindered by the remoteness of many rural communities, especially in the northern parts of the country, and by poor communications. Medical officers were extremely thin on the ground, and it became clear quite early on that the demand that all bodies of people who had died suspiciously should be medically examined was impractical. What is more difficult to discern is the degree of resistance, reluctance, or cooperation offered by Nyasaland villagers to those attempting to enforce the ordinance. Village communities, then and now, had their own forms of "inquest" into deaths that appeared unnatural or unexpected. A dead body could not be easily hidden from public scrutiny, and with the exception of the very elderly, most deaths attracted some kind of questioning attention.<sup>34</sup> But what evidence we have also suggests that, to varying degrees, communities in Nyasaland traditionally buried the bodies of suicides quickly, with abbreviated rites.<sup>35</sup> In this context, we can assume that many would have regarded the medical examination of the body and (though this happened more rarely) an autopsy with fear, if not horror. Nyasaland, like other parts of the region, was rife with "bloodsucking" rumors, some of which directly implicated the agents of the colonial state.<sup>36</sup> Interference with dead bodies, particularly those of suicide cases, was a serious matter. All of these considerations lead us to conclude that many, if not most, suicide cases would have been hidden and would not have reached the colonial coroners' courts.

The fact that these were colonial courts, presided over by a representative of the late colonial state, raises further important issues. In their study of suicide in early modern England, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy employed the records of coroners' courts precisely because they were local institutions, composed of ordinary men, and therefore revealing of changing public reactions to suicidal deaths.<sup>37</sup> The proceedings of colonial courts cannot be assumed to have expressed the legitimate views of the communities they served, particularly in the period when many Nyasaland subjects were actively protesting against the intervention of the colonial

<sup>34</sup> J. W. M. van Breugel, *Chewa Traditional Religion* (Blantyre, 2001), chap. 4; Samuel Chingondole, "The First and Second Funeral Rites in a Mang'anja Traditional Society" (Diploma in Theology diss., St Peter's Major Seminary, University of Malawi, 1993); A. Z. Manda, "The Death Ritual among the Tonga of Nkhata Bay District" (research paper, Theology and Religious Studies Department, University of Malawi, 1988).

<sup>35</sup> Interviews on attitudes toward suicide were conducted in Malawi in January 2008 by Pearson Mphangwe and Chikondi Lipato, final-year students studying psychology at Chancellor College, University of Malawi. Forty-five individuals were interviewed. I initiated the research, which was then overseen by Ms. Mathero Nkhambamba of the Psychology Department, Chancellor College. I also conducted interviews with coroners, police officers, and mental health professionals in May 2008. The detailed findings of these interviews form the subject of a separate paper. In general, informants were keen to emphasize that they accepted and welcomed the system of inquests on suicide cases and to distance themselves from "superstitious" beliefs about suicides.

<sup>36</sup> Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

<sup>37</sup> MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*; Michael MacDonald, "The Secularization of Suicide in England, 1660–1800," *Past and Present* 111 (1986): 50–100.



state in their daily lives.<sup>38</sup> It goes without saying, then, that these court records need to be read with sensitivity to the suspicion, anxiety, and fear that many participants probably experienced when their most intimate family affairs, and their grief, were subjected to a colonial inquisition. Despite the obvious power asymmetries at work, however, it is important not to assume that these records are the product of a self-evidently antagonistic encounter between colonial rulers, on the one hand, and hostile subjects, on the other.

Merely correcting for colonial “bias” would not be an adequate approach to this evidence. By the late 1940s, many people in Nyasaland identified to some degree with the modernizing ambitions of the late colonial state, some while simultaneously protesting against colonial rule. Nyasaland’s local educated elites were for the most part modernizing Christians, keen to reform their societies and to distance themselves from a range of “traditional” beliefs and practices, including witchcraft. Suicides were often connected to witchcraft accusations within communities and families, or to the transgression of traditional taboos. Insofar as colonial inquests and postmortems offered an alternative analysis, their proceedings may, at times, have been welcomed, although it is not possible to argue this with any certainty.<sup>39</sup> Colonial administrators who acted as coroners do not appear to have had any specific mission to uncover and adjudicate suicide cases. Suicides came to their attention by default rather than by intention. Communities in Nyasaland shared the general view of most communities, and of their colonial rulers, that suicide was a highly regrettable occurrence. There was, in other words, no “clash of cultures” at this very general level, although there may have been a great many misunderstandings, mistranslations, and straightforward incomprehension in specific courtroom exchanges. It must be borne in mind that colonial coroners were in practice heavily dependent on the African intermediaries who presented evidence to them, and to varying degrees on translators.<sup>40</sup> In some cases, colonial coroners appear to have been keen to make their personal views on cases known, but in many more they were content to bow to local judgment on these matters, as long as this was compatible with the law. Under colonial law, attempted suicide was a crime, but colonial coroners appear to have had little appetite for enforcing this aspect of the law. There were no particular financial consequences for families if a person was found by the court to have committed suicide, and if any shame attached to the family of a suicide, it was likely to have been experienced with or without the coroner’s verdict.<sup>41</sup> In short, colonial coroners

<sup>38</sup> By the late 1940s, a nationalist movement was well under way in Nyasaland, and in the 1950s there was an escalation of protest focused on the Central African Federation. Some of the inquests on suicides in the 1950s sit in the archive alongside inquests on individuals who were killed while protesting.

<sup>39</sup> This is the view put forward by many of those interviewed in Malawi in January 2008. It cannot, of course, be held to be representative of the colonial system.

<sup>40</sup> Colonial officers in Nyasaland were required to pass language examinations, but the depth of their linguistic knowledge varied. Administrators were frequently moved from place to place, and since many different languages were spoken in Nyasaland, this meant that linguistic competence in one area did not always transfer to another. Translators are rarely mentioned in colonial documentation, but they were usually clerks employed by the administration. They played a critical role in the courtroom and in other areas of the colonial machinery.

<sup>41</sup> In the history of suicide in Europe, the issue of sequestration of the property of a suicide, and the financial consequences for their families, looms large: Murray, *The Curse of Self-Murder*; Minois, *History of Suicide*; MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*.

did not approach these cases with any obvious agenda, either to criminalize suicide or to “enlighten” local views of suicide.

Of the total of 123 cases in the sample under consideration here, 90 were cases of male suicide and 33 were cases of female suicide—a ratio that accords fairly well with global figures. With very few exceptions, both men and women committed suicide by hanging themselves, often with homemade pieces of rope and string, or sometimes with belts.<sup>42</sup> So clear was the association between “rope” and suicide that if people who appeared unhappy or unwell were seen with a piece of rope or string, they were followed and monitored by family members.<sup>43</sup> While both women and men hanged themselves, it is striking that women usually took themselves away, to their gardens or into the bush, before killing themselves, while men were most often found hanged inside or very close to their houses. Drawing any conclusions from this fact would be hazardous, but it would appear that this was a more public act for men than it was for women, and that women may have been more sensitive to the possibility that their bodies might pollute the home and harm their families.

There are no “typical” suicide cases, but the death of James Malunga, whose body we have already encountered, is not untypical. Malunga, whose age was estimated at around fifty-four, was described as belonging to the Yao ethnic group, which dominated the southern end of the Lake Malawi region where he lived. His body was found by his wife Amana early in the morning, hanging from a tree not far from their house. His daughter ran to the village headman to tell him what had happened, and the headman sent a message to the chief, Native Authority Kalembo. When Kalembo’s head court messenger arrived for work that morning, he was told by the chief to fetch the dispenser from the clinic and go with him to the neighboring village to investigate a suicide. In his evidence to the court, the messenger said that he had gone to the village with the dispenser and inspected the body of Malunga, who was known to him, then returned to the chief’s headquarters. The chief had told him to report the matter to the authorities at Fort Johnston. The dispenser wrote a letter to the medical officer. The messenger then traveled to Fort Johnston (presumably by bicycle, though we are not told) and delivered the letter to a police officer before returning to Kalembo. Later that day the medical officer, Alexander Holmes, arrived at the village from Fort Johnston with a European police officer and an African constable, Michael Phiri. Phiri later reported to the court that on arrival in the village, he removed the body from the house and took it to the tree where it had been found. He measured the distance between the ground and the branch from which it had been found hanging and inspected the body for any marks. He also measured the distance between the house and the tree. He then drew a sketch map of the scene. While the medical officer examined the body, Phiri talked to witnesses and seems to have begun a line of questioning that later became central to the inquest:

<sup>42</sup> The exceptions are two cases of men who knifed themselves, two cases of women (both deemed “insane”) who set fire to themselves, one woman who took a ritual poison, one woman who ingested rat poison, and one man who ate insects that were known to be poisonous. There were a number of cases of drowning that may have been suicides but were judged inconclusive.

<sup>43</sup> The most common method of suicide in Malawi today is ingestion of pesticide, which appears to have been a fairly recent change.

I was told by the younger brother of the deceased that he had two wives and this was the first wife he was with at the time of his death. He also told me that he had gone to his second wife two weeks ago and had recently been brought back by his daughters because he had been unsettled in his mind, not speaking properly. We also called the second wife of the deceased and she confirmed that he had not been well when he was staying with her, and had not been speaking properly. She did not tell us in what way he had been speaking abnormally.

In court, the question of Malunga's state of mind in relation to his second marriage was taken up and pursued. Both wives were questioned. His first wife, to whom he had been married for thirty-six years, said that her husband had only recently taken a second wife, and that when he returned from the other woman's home, he "looked ill" and "spoke with unconnected words, like a child." In every other way, she said, he appeared normal. Malunga's second wife told the court:

My husband came to live with us about three weeks ago. I had not known him for very long before we were married, only about three weeks before he came to live with me . . . When my husband came to live with me he seemed well, but one day after he came he complained that his heart was not well. At this time he did not show any strangeness in his speech, but after three days he said he wished to go to his first wife as his heart was not well, but he did not go. He remained at my house for three weeks and he seemed all right all that time and did not [seem] to have anything wrong with his speech . . . We never had any trouble between ourselves or any quarrels. He did not speak to me of any worry or trouble that was on his mind. I cannot think of any reason why the deceased, my husband, should have committed suicide, and I am quite sure that I never noticed any strangeness in my husband's speech, all the time he was with me.

The evidence of the medical report was conclusive that this was a case of suicide, but the coroner pursued the question of Malunga's mental state at the time. In part this can be explained by the fact that the coroner had the option of ruling that Malunga had committed suicide "while the balance of his mind was disturbed," although it is not at all clear that this verdict would have made any material difference to the family or to anyone else. Rather, it seems that the evidence first collected from the witnesses by the African constable, Phiri, had set in motion a quest for understanding on the part of the coroner. This quest centered on whether Malunga's speech was impaired when he returned from his second wife's home. For the coroner, this would have been evidence of possible insanity. The witnesses, however, would have been more likely to interpret it as evidence that someone, perhaps one of his wives, had bewitched him. The testimony of Malunga's younger brother, filling out the picture of Malunga's state of mind, bridges these two interpretations:

I often saw my brother during these last years and I knew he had taken a second wife. I visited my brother once when he was living with his second wife and he seemed quite well then. I know that my brother was worried because his first wife did not wish him to marry again. The Village Headman and myself were agreeing that it was all right for any husband to take another wife but I do not know why he wished to do so. There were no quarrels between my brother and his first wife on this subject. My brother once told me that his heart was not well but I never noticed anything else about his health. All the family were agreeing to his new marriage, except his first wife. I cannot think of any reason why he would commit suicide, except that he was worried his first wife did not agree to the marriage.

In Malunga's brother's testimony, a picture emerges of a troubled man who, despite having gone through all the appropriate customary procedures, was worried that by taking a new (and presumably younger) wife, he was in some way harming his first wife. Since his brother, his first wife, and other members of his family declared themselves to the court to be Muslims, we can probably assume that Malunga was also a Muslim, so there is no question here of Christian guilt over polygamy. Nevertheless, he seems to have been deeply concerned. Several witnesses recalled that he had told them that his "heart was not well," which was a translation of a common term in chiYao (and other local languages) referring to what we might call emotional or psychological disturbance.<sup>44</sup> Malunga's brother mentions in his testimony both this aspect of the case and the evidence of Malunga's strange speech patterns, implying that his understanding of Malunga's problems encompassed both a sense of internalized guilt and anxiety and also the possibility that some supernatural force was at work, possibly a curse. Different witnesses placed different weight on different aspects of the case. Malunga's second wife strenuously denied that he had developed problems with his speech while staying with her, while his first wife emphasized that point.

The coroner, Arthur Clayton, recorded a verdict of suicide without further comment. Later he was mildly reprimanded by the attorney general, who wrote on the cover letter to the record of the case: "Please inform the Coroner that at the conclusion of the evidence he should record a short summary of the evidence and his verdict thereon (Jervis, on Coroners, 8th Edition p114.)." Perhaps Clayton was sensitive enough to conclude that the complex reasons behind Malunga's suicide were not easily reducible to a "short summary of the evidence." The historian rereading the evidence, however, should take heed.

Not all colonial coroners were as circumspect as Clayton was in this case. Many summed up their cases with quite lengthy speculations on the psychodynamics of their subjects. For example, at the conclusion of another case in which polygamy was deemed relevant, the coroner wrote:

Alicia Banda's whole outlook on life was completely altered when her husband married another younger woman after he had been married to her alone for 20 years. I realise of course that to marry more than one wife is quite normal in any village of the tribes found in this district, but at the same time this man had remained monogamous for a long time before marrying again. The husband is not a young man and now too old to go to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa to work. His deceased wife no doubt thought he would settle down (or had settled down—he last returned from South Africa in 1945) and quietly spend the rest of his life with her in the village. He no doubt gave most of his attention to his new wife. This was too much for his old wife who ceased to speak with people in the village. When she was left alone all day, probably just with the children, whilst all the other adults went (of all things!)

<sup>44</sup> *Mtima* means "heart" (located in the chest) in chiYao, but also the center or core of anything. The word is appended to verbs to describe emotional and moral qualities, for example, to describe someone who is brave (*-nonopa mtima*) or good-tempered (*-simana mtima*). A number of phrases including the word *mtima* describe a disturbed state of mind: *mtima uli myasi-myasipe* (to be disturbed at heart), *-nyelenyenduka mtima* (to be sore at heart, grieve). G. M. Sanderson, *A Dictionary of the Yao Language* (Zomba, 1954). We can presume that one of these phrases was used by the witnesses to this case.

to a funeral, she took the opportunity of creeping away into the bush and taking her own life, in the only way she knew.<sup>45</sup>

These empathetic considerations led the coroner to conclude that Alicia Banda had committed suicide “whilst her mind was temporarily disturbed.” In another case focused on marital relations, from 1966 (by which time Nyasaland had become independent as Malawi), the coroner, who was of Nigerian origin, reflected at length on the pain of loneliness experienced by an elderly man who had been abandoned by his wife: “The deceased was not used to being left alone. He had enjoyed the company of his wife for such a time that at the declining age of 70 years to be left alone without any comfort was too hard for him to bear and so he committed suicide.”<sup>46</sup>

Marital relationships feature centrally in around a quarter of the 123 cases, although often in conjunction with other factors. Placing cases into broad sociological categories is already making assumptions about the very history under investigation here. Nevertheless, if we are going to attempt any analysis of the relationship between individual dynamics and social context, then a degree of initial crude categorization is unavoidable. Precisely because marriage was such a central institution of life in Nyasaland, it was also often a source of tension. Different marriage forms existed in different parts of the country, but all had in common the close involvement of kin. In some of the cases described here, especially those from southern parts of the territory, a matrilineal form of kinship dominated and matrilocal marriage was the norm. Elsewhere, particularly in the north, marriage was patrilocal and secured by bridewealth payments. Although there were distinct and important differences between these broadly defined marital regimes, in practice these systems were more flexible than standard colonial anthropological accounts tended to imply. Indeed, in late colonial Nyasaland, the demands of a changing economy, and particularly of labor migration and land shortage, necessitated flexibility in the marriage system.<sup>47</sup> Different systems also shared the assumption that the central function of marriage was the production of children. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that many cases of suicide involved tensions within marriage, and pressures on individuals, arising from male impotence, (assumed) female infertility, and the deaths of children. Such cases often overlapped in complex ways, with accusations of adultery and fears of witchcraft. They were also frequently inseparable from guilt. For example, one man committed suicide in front of his five children after confessing that he had been committing adultery with his sister-in-law. The crucial fact that emerged from the evidence was that his wife was in the early stages of pregnancy at the time. Male adultery during a wife’s pregnancy was thought to be harmful to the unborn child. The man had done the right thing by confessing and by offering to obtain a local medicine for his wife that would ensure the baby’s safety, but as the coroner concluded, it seemed that a sense of remorse had overwhelmed him.<sup>48</sup> In an unusually explicit suicide note, another man explained that he had been the victim of a jealous

<sup>45</sup> NAM, J5/11/17/1, Inquests, Mzimba District, No. 2 of 1951.

<sup>46</sup> NAM, Inquests, Mlanje District (uncatalogued), No. 14 of 1966, 15-11-6F, Box 12327.

<sup>47</sup> Megan Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine: Gender and Famine in Twentieth-Century Malawi* (Cambridge, 1987).

<sup>48</sup> NAM, J5/11/7/1, Inquests, Kasungu District, No. 6 of 1955.



woman's witchcraft powers. In love with one woman and intending to marry her, he had slept with another. It was, he said, just a brief, unimportant affair, but she thought otherwise and had rendered him impotent, making it impossible now for him to marry his girlfriend. "It's with deep regret," he wrote, "that I am bidding farewell to all my relatives. I am sad to inform you that I am dead, stay well. I hold the woman responsible for my death, and as you can see, she has cut my life short."<sup>49</sup>

Many cases told a story of men's anger with and violence against their wives, sometimes induced by an accusation or suspicion of adultery, often aggravated by alcohol. The fact that these particular cases culminated in male suicides makes them unusual but also revealing.<sup>50</sup> There is nothing specific to the societies of colonial Nyasaland about the sequence of events in which a man arrives home from a beer-drinking party, complains that there is insufficient food to eat, and then beats his wife, sometimes murdering her.<sup>51</sup> Men's anger at women and frustration at the poverty of their households emerges clearly from these accounts, but the fact that some men went on to kill themselves after these incidents reveals an additional dimension of anxiety about how their actions would be judged within their communities. One woman recalled the sequence of events that led her husband to kill himself. One day he accused her of committing adultery and beat her on the backs of her hands: "I was not hurt, but I cried . . . We both sat on the verandah. My husband said that he was sorry. He said that if people saw me crying like that they would think that he was not a good husband. He seemed sorry and ashamed." The woman reported the beating to the senior relatives who acted as advisers to the marriage, known as *ankhoswe*. She then returned home and the two of them fell asleep, but in the middle of the night she awoke to find her husband cutting her ear. She screamed. Her brother heard her, ran in from a neighboring hut, and took her to hospital. The next day her husband hanged himself.<sup>52</sup> Another woman recalled how she and her husband had often quarreled because they had no children, but "even when we were quarrelling, my husband was very fond of me." Each time they quarreled, things were "patched up" by the *ankhoswe*, but one weekend things came to a head and, tired of hearing her husband call her "bad names," she left the home to go and stay with her grandfather, intending to return later. Her husband killed himself a few days later.<sup>53</sup>

Men who were angry with their wives sometimes became violent against them and then turned their anger on themselves. Other men committed suicide as a result of grief over the deaths of their wives. A young woman from Cholo District described how, after the death of her mother, her father "has been caring for nothing and only

<sup>49</sup> NAM, J5/11/15/2, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 12 of 1952.

<sup>50</sup> Stacey Hynd studied the same archive that I used for her examination of homicide cases. She found that most men who killed or injured their wives did not commit suicide. Hynd, "Fatal Families: Narratives of Spousal Killing and Domestic Violence in Murder Trials in Kenya and Nyasaland, c1920–1957," in Emily S. Burrill, Richard L. Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry, eds., *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Athens, Ohio, forthcoming 2010).

<sup>51</sup> There were many such cases, but one, in Mlanje District (formerly Mlanje), provoked the coroner to comment about the husband that "he must have been in an evil temper because even when the food was ready he refused it more than once and then ejected his wife . . . It therefore appears that in a fit of anger, or perhaps more from sheer perversity, he hanged himself." NAM, J5/11/5/2, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 7 of 1952.

<sup>52</sup> NAM, J5/11/15/3, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 11 of 1954.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5 of 1957.

eating a little food.” Samuel told his workmates that he wanted to kill himself because his wife had died. His European employer “told him to be reasonable and pointed out his responsibilities to him, but he did not appear to be much impressed.” Samuel killed himself later that day.<sup>54</sup>

Powerful feelings were not confined to marital relations. Conflict with parents, siblings, children, and in-laws features in many cases, alongside grief. Sometimes these cases were compounded by accusations of witchcraft, most of which were directed at women. Josiah killed himself after a quarrel with his father at a beer-drinking party. In the course of the argument, he had accused his father of favoring his sister, while his father had accused him of being a witch and “making magic by night.”<sup>55</sup> Witchcraft featured explicitly in ten cases, but was implied in many others. Apparently terrified by the consequences of a witchcraft accusation, or in anticipation of one, some people decided to end their own lives. Alisia, for example, killed herself after her husband accused her of bewitching his pregnant second wife.<sup>56</sup>

Some women were implicated in the deaths of their own children. In communities where infant and child mortality rates were high, the death of a child may have been a regular occurrence, but it could still be devastating. After eight of her children had died, one woman took the ritual poison *mwabvi*, traditionally used to detect witches, and died. The coroner, convinced that “the accuser of witchcraft was the deceased herself,” passed (perhaps controversially) a sentence of suicide.<sup>57</sup> Another woman hanged herself shortly after her small son died of pneumonia. She had lost six other children previously. According to the coroner, the boy could have been saved if his parents had sought medical treatment, provoking him to reflect that this was “one of the many tragedies which occur in African villages as a result of ignorance and fear.”<sup>58</sup> A woman in Blantyre District described to the inquest how her daughter had anxiously nursed her sick nine-month-old child, who died after a few days. As the woman was laying out the child’s body, her daughter ran out of the hut; she was later found hanged in the garden. Her husband told the court that they had two other children and that “my wife was so full of grief she did not properly know what she was doing.”<sup>59</sup> A young woman described how her sister, who had four children, was devastated by the illness of her only daughter, telling her, “If my daughter dies I will die. If it was a boy it would not matter so much, but this is my only daughter.” The child died the next day, and the sister killed herself immediately after the funeral.<sup>60</sup>

A picture emerges from these cases of close communities and dense networks of relationships. Close relationships were clearly essential to individual well-being, but they were also the cause of anguish.<sup>61</sup> Few conflicts were “private,” and so any shameful event within a family, or implication of wrongdoing, was liable to be reflected in

<sup>54</sup> NAM, J5/11/4/1, Inquests, Cholo District, No. 2 of 1951.

<sup>55</sup> NAM, J5/11/15/2, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 5 of 1953.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 12 of 1952.

<sup>57</sup> NAM, J5/11/1/7, Inquests, Blantyre District, No. 12 of 1956. This and other cases like it are not easy to analyze, but remind us of Field’s argument concerning women, witchcraft, and guilt in the Gold Coast. Field, *Search for Security*.

<sup>58</sup> NAM, J5/11/3/1, Inquests, Chiradzulu District, No. 1 of 1955.

<sup>59</sup> NAM, J5/11/1/4, Inquests, Blantyre District, No. 10 of 1952.

<sup>60</sup> NAM, J5/11/8/2, Inquests, Fort Johnston District, No. 3 of 1952.

<sup>61</sup> This is similar to the picture presented by T. Asuni for suicide in Nigeria; Asuni, “Suicide in Western Nigeria,” *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 5312 (1962): 1091–1097.

an individual's social reputation. But many cases also demonstrate that conflict, death, and transgressive behavior could induce powerful feelings of individual guilt and remorse.

A significant number of inquests in this sample are built around narratives that privilege economic factors. Rural society in Nyasaland in this period was increasingly differentiated.<sup>62</sup> Some households had become wealthier than their neighbors as a result of success in cash-crop production or access to education and wage employment. Others struggled to survive. Extreme poverty was shameful, reflecting on the moral reputations of both men and women. Women who could not put together a "decent" meal every day were likely to incur the anger of their husbands, but they could also attract either the disapproval or the support of their neighbors, depending on how they were viewed as individuals. Poverty was familiar in Nyasaland, but destitution was relatively rare and occurred only when economic vulnerability combined with social ostracism, or during an unusually severe famine, such as that of 1949.<sup>63</sup> The tax demands of the colonial state not only added to the economic pressures on poor households (although tax exemptions did exist for the sick and elderly), but also made their poverty very public. Jeannie's husband was a tax-defaulter. They had been married since she was a young girl and had five living children (two others had died). In more than fifteen years, he had never paid his tax, she said, and he had always run away from home at the time of tax collection, so that it was she who was arrested by the tax *askari* or police. She lived in visible poverty, and her house was falling down. Eventually the village headman took matters into his own hands and reported to the chief that Jeannie was "husbandless" and therefore should not be pursued for tax. Jeannie's husband was unhappy with this "divorce," but his brother told him that if he wanted the marriage restored, he would have to pay the tax owed, and then his name could once more be entered in the tax ledger as a "husband." On one or two occasions thereafter, usually when drunk, the husband was seen "making ropes" (that is, preparing for his suicide). His friends took the ropes away from him, but eventually he succeeded in hanging himself.<sup>64</sup>

Most cases of suicide of the very poor also featured some element of ill health.<sup>65</sup> Of the 123 total cases, 20 featured a physical illness of some description, and a further 12 concerned individuals who were defined by witnesses as "insane."<sup>66</sup> When people were chronically ill or disabled, they also ceased to be economically active and were therefore dependent on their relatives and neighbors. Although this form of social support was the norm in these communities, high levels of dependency did not always come without psychological consequences. Witnesses typically described men who had formerly been active breadwinners for their families reduced to "just hoeing," or worse, unable to do anything at all. Some were wracked by pain; others had their

<sup>62</sup> The late 1940s and 1950s were a period of economic growth in Nyasaland and of significant (though still relatively small) investments in education and other forms of "development." On differentiation in the Southern Province in this period, see Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine*.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> NAM, J5/11/15/1, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 7 of 1951.

<sup>65</sup> As Murray writes in his account of suicide in medieval Europe, "Among the very poor it remains for the most part a matter of guesswork whether destitution, on its own, ever sufficed as a motive for suicide." Murray, *The Curse of Self-Murder*, 159.

<sup>66</sup> The burden of care for the long-term sick and disabled in contemporary Botswana is described by Julie Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination in Botswana* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006).

mobility reduced by illnesses such as leprosy.<sup>67</sup> Young men returned from stints as labor migrants in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa with industrial injuries. Others were repatriated because of their disturbed behavior and subsequently killed themselves. Some elderly people grew “tired” of the struggle to live. One elderly woman committed suicide immediately after the funeral of her niece, who had been her caregiver.<sup>68</sup> Witness after witness described their efforts to care for and comfort the physically ill, or to accommodate the behavior of the mentally disturbed. Maria’s husband, who was around sixty years of age, suffered from both leprosy and epilepsy. He had lost a toe and was unable to work. One day, after experiencing a fit, he told his wife, “I have suffered so much and I do not know what to do.” She replied, “Don’t worry, this sickness has come to you and we will have to wait to see what God does.” That night they did not go to sleep but sat “discussing his troubles.” In the morning he seemed “very depressed” and ate only a little food, “looking at the ground.” Later that day, he was found hanged.<sup>69</sup>

Although ill health and poverty provided the context for a substantial proportion of the suicides in this sample, other cases featured more successful members of society and the pressures consequent on their involvement in the cash economy. Worry about debt was mentioned by witnesses as the salient fact in several cases of the more economically successful. Cases of debt were closely connected to social reputation, and were sometimes compounded by allegations of financial impropriety in church and professional associations that had sprung up among Nyasaland’s educated elite. A man in Mzimba District committed suicide after accidentally burning down a neighbor’s maize store and the church where he was an elder.<sup>70</sup> Another man was troubled by a debt of £4.00. His creditor had threatened to “take him to the Boma and sell him there as a slave.”<sup>71</sup> A prominent schoolteacher killed himself after allegations of misuse of funds connected to the Teachers’ Association, of which he was an officer. He left a number of suicide notes, in which he strenuously denied that he was responsible for any wrongdoing but implied, nevertheless, that the financial problems of the association had brought shame on him, his family, and the church of which he was a member. Rather than give evidence in the case, he had decided to end his life. To his colleagues he wrote:

Always a teacher does not stand before a Court and give a false statement . . . I did not take anything belonging to the Association. You members will witness me. My life is going to come to an end in order that Mr Harry may speak about this case of his happily. Let the judges not trouble my wife as she knows nothing about my death . . . there is a clear reason, that is I may put the Mission to shame by giving evidence about this case. It was not necessary to do so but it is on account of being ashamed as stated above.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Other illnesses frequently mentioned are yaws, tuberculosis, epilepsy and rheumatism, bilharzia, and “blindness.” Clearly these “diagnoses” should be treated with caution. More often witnesses merely refer to pain—especially pain in the legs and stomach and “headaches.” One case refers to “toothache.”

<sup>68</sup> NAM, Inquests, Dowa District (uncatalogued), No. 32 of 1967, 1-17-11F, Box 17382.

<sup>69</sup> NAM, J5/11/15/3, Inquests, Mlanje District, No. 4 of 1954.

<sup>70</sup> NAM, J5/11/17/1, Inquests, Mzimba District, Inquest held on October 17, 1954 (number of inquest illegible).

<sup>71</sup> “Boma” was the word used to designate a colonial administrative center, but it could also mean “government.” Ibid., Inquest held on June 29, 1954.

<sup>72</sup> NAM, J5/11/22/1, Inquests, Zomba District, No. 22 of 1948.

He wrote a separate letter to his wife, instructing her to “keep my children comfortable” and (somewhat ironically) telling her not to give up hope because “there are troubles but here is always a chance in future.” In two letters he referred specifically to the way his body should be treated after his death: “I pray you not to trouble my body” and “Do not allow my body to be troubled. I shall be buried where my father was buried.” These were probably references to traditional practices related to the treatment of the corpses of suicides, which were feared and sometimes buried away from the village.<sup>73</sup> This was an unusual example of a highly literate person attempting to employ the suicide note to determine how his death would be interpreted.

The suicide notes of the literate add a particular dimension of reflexivity to the archive, as has been noted for other contexts and times.<sup>74</sup> But most were in fact very brief instructions on the disposal of property or lists of money owed and owing—simple wills, in effect. Some notes consisted of one phrase along the lines of “I am going, goodbye” or “Dear Mother, I have gone, I have killed myself.”<sup>75</sup> Very few explicitly blamed others for leading them to suicide, but there were some that, though oblique, appear to be accusatory: “I am very sorry mother, misunderstanding always leads to bad things. When child tells out what makes him angry, it is always better to appease him.”<sup>76</sup>

Although the precise relationship between social context and an individual’s decision to take his or her own life remains inaccessible, it is clear that people in the communities featured in these inquest records attributed agency to those who committed suicide, but to varying degrees, depending on the circumstances. When supernatural forces were invoked in these narratives of suicide, it was in relation to individual dynamics. Honor, shame, and reputation emerge as strong elements in these stories, but so does guilt. In their review of the suicide literature on Africa, Collomb and Collignon argued that African societies were “shame” societies rather than “guilt” societies, but it is hard to disentangle these two elements in the material presented here.<sup>77</sup> There is certainly plenty of evidence of individuals’ being “unwell in the heart” and falling into dejection and introspective despondency, although whether this can (or should) be labeled “clinical depression” is a complex, important question and not for the historian to decide. Rather than employ this material as evidence for the incidence of a pathological condition, perhaps we can read it more productively by viewing it as one element in a complex history of subjectivity.

It is quite obviously the case that the nature of the colonial inquest and the procedures and investigations leading up to it privileged some forms of evidence and explanation over others.<sup>78</sup> Apart from medical and other physical evidence, the inquest produced a kind of forensic psychology, which invited speculation on the inner

<sup>73</sup> Notably absent from these cases, as recorded in the inquests, is any speculation, by either Christians or Muslims, about the fate of the souls of suicides. There is also no indication that Christians here believed suicide to be the work of Satan.

<sup>74</sup> MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, chap. 9; Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia*, chap. 6; Minois, *History of Suicide*, 287.

<sup>75</sup> NAM, J5/11/19/1, Inquests, Nkhata Bay District, No. 2 of 1953.

<sup>76</sup> NAM, J5/11/4/1, Inquests, Cholo District, No. 1 of 1949.

<sup>77</sup> Collomb and Collignon, “Les conduites suicidaires en Afrique.”

<sup>78</sup> Although Ian Burney’s *Bodies of Evidence* deals with a very different context, I have found its discussion of the history of inquests in nineteenth-century England to be very useful.



workings of the individual's mind and which may well have downplayed other factors present in the thoughts of witnesses (if not of the suicidal individuals themselves), particularly spiritual beliefs. The inquest, in common with other legal procedures, required that witnesses produce linear and consistent narratives. Although there are very few cases in this sample in which homicide was openly suspected, we can assume that in many others witnesses felt that they were under suspicion or were being implicitly blamed for events. Their accounts, therefore, are likely to have placed more emphasis on the independent agency of the person committing suicide than they might have done in another context.

How far the inquisitorial system itself influenced local attitudes toward suicide in this period is impossible to know. Certainly it would be too simplistic to argue that this is a story of either the "medicalization" or the "secularization" of suicide in colonial Africa. It seems likely, however, that the processes and procedures of the inquest system have had some influence on ideas about suicide in these societies.<sup>79</sup>

Colonial Nyasaland became independent Malawi in 1964. British coroners were gradually replaced by Malawian nationals, and in the early years of independence by magistrates from other parts of Africa.<sup>80</sup> There is some indication that, as time went on, the kinds of summaries of cases that colonial coroners had been encouraged to produce came to be regarded as superfluous and perhaps misleading. In 1968, for example, a coroner in Blantyre was reprimanded by state counsel for his overlong reports and his speculative comments: "I am unable to find evidence in this file to support the finding that the deceased hanged himself 'When his mind was disturbed due to long miserable life due to lameness.'"<sup>81</sup> Whether this marked a new and decisive change in the nature of the suicide inquest in Malawi and in what were regarded as acceptable "bodies of evidence" must await further research.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> In interviews with police officers and magistrates in Malawi, this point was emphasized. They argued that Malawians not only accepted inquests on suicide cases (and the postmortems that were sometimes entailed) but positively welcomed them, as they provided "objective" evidence and relieved families of some of their guilt. Psychology and psychiatry professionals are more skeptical of these views, arguing that a large number of suicide cases are deliberately hidden from the authorities. Interview by author with Magistrate, Zomba, May 13, 2008; interview by author and Mathero Nkhambamba with police officer, Zomba, May 15, 2008; interviews by author with staff and students at St. John of God, College of Mental Health Sciences, Mzuzu, May 26–29, 2008. The coroners' summaries, with their retelling and interpretation of cases, may also have had an impact on witnesses if they were read aloud at the end of the case. Judging by their literary construction, however, it seems more likely that they were not read aloud but were written after the inquests were over.

<sup>80</sup> Extending the present study into the postcolonial period would undoubtedly enrich it. Accessing more recent inquest material is not straightforward, however, and I do not have a sufficiently large number of cases from the period to enable me to produce any general argument.

<sup>81</sup> NAM, Ministry of Justice, Revision of Cases and Inquests: Blantyre Inquests: Letter from State Counsel, J. H. Mkandawire, to Resident Magistrate, Blantyre, October 10, 1968 (uncatalogued), 18-3-6-R, Box 12320.

<sup>82</sup> The term is Ian Burney's; *Bodies of Evidence*.

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*AHR Forum*  
**The State in South Asian History**

Introduction

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In recent years, the history of South Asia has been among the most interesting and fertile fields of historical research and writing. Spurred by theoretical and methodological influences coming from subaltern and postcolonial studies as well as a renewed interest in imperial and transnational history, historians of this vast area of the globe have been in the forefront of some of the most significant advances in historical scholarship, attracting the attention of a wide range of historians, at least in the English-speaking world. This is the case in part because of language—not only is most of this history written in English, but most of its sources are in English as well—and in part because its concern with imperial and postcolonial experiences, especially as seen “from below,” resonates widely with historians of many periods and regions.

The three articles and comment that make up this *AHR* Forum offer a perspective on the history of South Asia that, if not entirely novel, focuses on a somewhat neglected feature in most work in this field, namely, politics in the largest sense: political identity, political processes, and values associated with political participation and governance. They all also acknowledge, in these different imperial and postcolonial contexts, tensions between indigenous or local values, categories, and understandings and those of a more cosmopolitan, imperial, or distant provenance—tensions that informed the very nature of politics and political experience. Read together, they force us to appreciate the particularly complex nature of political cultures in a colonial and postcolonial context.

David Gilmartin’s “Rule of Law, Rule of Life: Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India” explores the way Indian democracy was understood and defined in terms of the contradictory values of universal participation, on the one hand, and particular caste identity, on the other. In “Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Migration in the Advent of British Rule to Sri Lanka,” Sujit Sivasundaram investigates another sort of tension, between the British efforts to create an ethnic identity and political organization for Sri Lanka, as distinct from South and Southeast Asia, and the historical, cultural, and social realities of that South Asian island. Mithi Mukherjee, in “Transcending Identity: Gandhi, Nonviolence, and the Pursuit of a ‘Different’ Freedom in Modern India,” argues that Gandhi’s political orientation and values drew upon Indic traditions, which offered very different understandings of freedom from Western conceptions of that term. Finally, in his comment, “‘History Is Past Politics’? Archives, ‘Tainted Evidence,’ and the Return of the State,” Todd Shepard suggests that these articles reflect a longstanding but interestingly complex process by which historians have dealt with politics and the state, especially in the wake of cultural and postcolonial history.

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*AHR Forum*  
Rule of Law, Rule of Life:  
Caste, Democracy, and the Courts in India

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DAVID GILMARTIN

THE STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL ROOTS of democracy has attracted much scholarly attention. Indeed, it has been a central theme in the development of systematic historical comparison, dating at least from the publication in 1966 of Barrington Moore's landmark volume *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Moore's work was deeply grounded in an appreciation of the distinctive cultural and historical legacies inherited by different societies. Yet his analysis, which influenced a considerable body of subsequent scholarship, hinged on a structural, class-based analysis of democracy's roots in distinctive class coalitions and political institutions.<sup>1</sup>

This emphasis has also influenced work on India, which was one of Moore's original comparative cases.<sup>2</sup> But there is another approach to the comparative study of democracy—and of the operation of elections—that complements this one and focuses on the various ways that different societies have defined and managed democracy as a conceptual system. Democracy, it can be argued, emerges from the contradiction between an image of the free, rational individual as a foundation for the imagining of the unitary sovereign “people,” and the reality of the distinctive divisions, cultural identities, and conflicting interests called forth by the mobilization of a popular voice through elections. For the “people” to speak politically, democracy must claim legitimacy through an appeal to the universal—that is, to a de-cultured vision of the free individual that, at least in theory, morally transcends the particularity of politics—and yet it must inevitably function, through elections, in the

I would like to thank Sumit Guha, who originally suggested the topic of this article for a conference paper at the Association for Asian Studies. Later versions of the paper were presented to the South Asia Centre at Cambridge University, the Triangle South Asia Colloquium, and the North Carolina State University History Department. Thanks to everyone at these venues, and to the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*, for their helpful comments. I would particularly like to thank Mimi Kim, Anupama Rao, Ajantha Subramanian, John Mertz, and Jonathan Ocko for their comments on the article at various stages.

<sup>1</sup> Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966); George Ross, Theda Skocpol, Tony Smith, and Judith Eisenberg Vichniac, “Barrington Moore's *Social Origins* and Beyond: Historical Social Analysis since the 1960s,” in Theda Skocpol, ed., *Democracy, Revolution, and History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 1–24.

<sup>2</sup> The literature analyzing the structure and history of democracy in India is, of course, large and complex. For a discussion suggesting the continuing influence of Moore's framework for understanding the distinctive characteristics of democracy in India—and also for its ongoing limitations—see Patrick Heller, “Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lessons from India,” *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (2000): 484–519. Heller emphasizes the important differences (due to differing social configurations) in how democracy operates in different parts of India.

particularistic political and cultural worlds of everyday politics and power. Central to this contradiction, Ernesto Laclau has argued, is the larger paradox defining the relationship between the universal and the particular as foundations for community and social order. "Universality is incommensurable with any particularity," Laclau observes, "and yet cannot exist apart from the particular," a paradox, he notes, with deep religious roots in Europe (and, one might add, in India as well). It is, in fact, an acceptance (and institutionalization) of the very insolubility of this paradox that constitutes, for Laclau, the essential "precondition" of democracy.<sup>3</sup>

This paradox has been negotiated and rationalized in distinctive ways since 1947 as a framework for India's democratic system. Two aspects are vital. The first is the critical relationship in India's democratic structure between politics and law. India's constitutional structure has been predicated on an unusually active and important role for the courts in the judicial oversight of electoral practice and outcomes—a role that has become one of the defining features of Indian democracy. While elections are an arena of political competition par excellence, an arena in which the particularisms of identity and interest have had full play, the courts (and the National Election Commission) have continued to exercise an exceptional degree of electoral oversight based on a vision of the free, rational voter underlying the universalizing assumptions of popular sovereignty. An understanding of the relationship between law and politics is thus critical to an understanding of the distinctive form that the paradox of the universal and the particular has taken in structuring Indian democracy.

But critical also is a delineation of the relationship of this paradox to common Indian conceptions of the self. Visions of a national self in India defined by competing higher and lower capacities, associated with rational self-control on the one hand and passion on the other, have played a central role in normalizing the conception of the sovereign "people" as defined at once by universal moral principles of freedom and rational choice and by the particularisms of everyday culture and life. Such conceptions have hardly been fully defined, or indeed fully shared by Indian political commentators. But, loosely defined, a vision of the self, composed of antithetical but inseparable, higher and lower, elements, has played a central role in normalizing the relationship of law and politics as the conceptually opposing, yet conjoined, foundations for democracy in India. Perhaps most critically, conceptions of the self have provided templates within which ideas drawn from South Asian moral traditions and from India's British colonial past have intersected in shaping many of the constitutional assumptions about the universal and the particular that have come to shape India's democratic order.

THE JUDICIAL TREATMENT of the institution of caste—and in particular of caste's role in elections—provides a critical and illustrative window on the paradoxes of India's democracy. Caste is, on one level, one of India's preeminent—and distinctive—particularisms. Yet it has also emerged within the framework of India's constitutional

<sup>3</sup> Ernesto Laclau, "Universalism, Particularism, and the Question of Identity," *October* 61 (Summer 1992): 90.

order as a symbolic touchstone of the tension between the particular and the universal in the construction of Indian conceptions of popular sovereignty. To highlight caste's paradoxical place in democratic state-building in the Indian subcontinent, it is useful to step back and examine the role of caste in processes of South Asian state-building more broadly, for at the root of contradictions surrounding caste's role in democracy were more fundamental, historically embedded contradictions related to the very processes of South Asian state construction and legitimation. There is a considerable literature on the relationship of kingship and caste in Indic tradition, much of which highlights the tensions between the roles of the king as an orderer of worldly particularisms (including caste) and as a patron of ritual, renunciation, and Brahmins, linking the king to universal forces operating outside the social boundaries of the community.<sup>4</sup> But to underscore the multiple discourses shaping the role of caste in India's constitution-making, it is useful to begin by turning to an analysis of the paradoxical role of caste in the formation of India's twentieth-century twin, the state of Pakistan. This will underscore the critical tensions surrounding particularisms such as caste (or tribe) in processes of state-building not only within the Indic tradition, but also within the larger Islamicate world of which precolonial India was a part.

One can do no better than to start this discussion with the work of Ibn Khaldun, whose ideas crystallized in the fourteenth century the tensions between the universal and the particular—including the importance of particularisms such as tribe—in the process of Islamicate state-building. Ibn Khaldun observed that *asabiya*, or tribal, kin-based solidarity ("group feeling"), was usually critical to effective military power and to the practical establishment of new states. But state-building rested on a paradox. Once states were established, legitimation depended on universalist claims to sovereign power, resting on the mobilization of religious and civilizational ideals (and cultural patronage) that transcended, and in some ways undercut, the particularism of the tribal *asabiya* that underlay effective power. In Ibn Khaldun's argument, these contradictions explained the cycle of Muslim states.

Ibn Khaldun's work was based primarily on North Africa, but an examination of the rhetoric surrounding Pakistan's creation suggests the critical relevance of such contradictions to the analysis of twentieth-century South Asian state-building. The creation of Pakistan hinged, in critical respects, on the success of the Muslim League's campaign for the creation of a separate South Asian Muslim state in the last colonial elections of 1946. On one level, the League's success in these elections depended on its ability to draw on local connections and local interests, on *asabiya* based on family and kinship—and, most notably, caste, *biradari*, or tribal ties—to win votes. Yet, in contrast, the moral justification for Pakistan's creation as a Muslim state rested precisely on the potential claims of the new state to transcend these divisions and symbolically embody the moral identity and aspirations of the Muslim community as a whole. The only difference between this formulation and Ibn Khaldun's was that in the new political context of an election contest, these conflicting principles were asserted simultaneously, as contradictory and yet mutually necessary parts of a democratic campaign for a new state.

<sup>4</sup> See J. C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society* (Chicago, 1985).



"Caste" is a problematic term in some ways when applied to Muslim society. In the Punjab, the term *jat* or *zat*, meaning caste, was sometimes conflated with the more common term *biradari*, signifying ancestral brotherhood. But without dwelling on the differences in the precise meanings of these terms, there is little doubt that particularistic loyalties and connections were as important to twentieth-century state formation as tribal *asabiya* and military organization were in earlier centuries. Yet the Muslim League's campaign for a new state nevertheless appealed to universalistic principles not simply as a supplement to these local loyalties, but in terms that specifically cast the appeal for a Muslim state in sharp moral opposition to them. Rhetorical attacks on *biradari* and caste-based voting were linked to old Islamic historical paradigms pitting the assertion of everyday political interest (*dunya*, "the world") against the purer and higher appeals to Muslim community that justified Islamic sovereignty and moral authority (*din*, "faith"). Indeed, some Muslim League posters portrayed the appeal to caste, *biradari*, and tribe as akin to the moral disorder, or *fitna*, that divided the Muslim world in its early years.<sup>5</sup>

A paradoxical relationship between the universal and the particular thus lay at the very heart of the movement for the creation of the new Pakistan state. But the key to the movement lay in the way that this paradox, rather than being resolved, was, at least in part, naturalized by being assimilated to the long-standing conception of the Muslim person as itself fundamentally constituted by contradictory poles—by the tension between higher and lower capacities defined by *aql* (reason, civility, restraint), on the one hand, and by *nafs* (energy, spirit, passion), on the other. If everyday power relationships were, in fact, an inescapable part of the normal social order, so were passion, fear, and narrow self-interest—and the power of local kinship connections—essential to the construction of the self. In practice, these images of *aql* and *nafs* could not exist except in tension with one another, just as the state could not exist apart from the worlds of everyday politics that constituted it. At the same time, however, the state's claims to sovereignty stood apart from these everyday political worlds and were associated with a vision of a universalizing, unitary community linked to the people through what the poet Muhammad Iqbal referred to as their "ideal selves."<sup>6</sup> Such ideas ran as an undercurrent through much of the rhetoric of the Pakistan campaign in the days before the 1946 elections. "To achieve complete inner unity," the pro-Muslim League *Eastern Times* wrote, "it is necessary that all caste and tribal consciousness should be killed and effaced, until none is left who shall say 'I am a Pathan' or 'I am a Rajput' or 'I am an Arain.'"<sup>7</sup> In practice, no one imagined that these identities could actually be done away with, but the force of such statements lay in the fact that such identities could have no part (except as foils) in the imagining of a unitary national community whose existence could provide the foundation for a new state—whatever their roles in the actual political processes of state formation. To create Pakistan, all that was necessary, as Muslim League posters

<sup>5</sup> David Gilmartin, trans., "Muslim League Appeals to the Voters of Punjab for Support of Pakistan," in Barbara Metcalf, ed., *South Asian Islam in Practice* (Princeton, N.J., 2009), 419.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Iqbal's framing of this vision of the self, particularly with respect to Husain and Karbala, see Syed Akbar Hyder, "Iqbal and Karbala," *Cultural Dynamics* 13, no. 3 (2001): 339–362. The importance of this dialectic in the construction of the self is discussed in Barbara Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Eastern Times* (Lahore), October 13, 1943.

declared, was “purity of intention and cleansing of the heart,” leaving “greed” and “fear”—along with “*biradaris*, tribes, personal animosities and rivalries”—behind.<sup>8</sup>

Such contradictions were not lost on the observers of (and participants in) the Pakistan campaign. Muslim caste and *biradari* associations had proliferated in the twentieth century, and many of them had directed their efforts precisely toward trying to adapt caste identity to the higher ideals of Muslim community. A good example is provided by the *anjuman* (association) of the Arain *biradari* in the Punjab, which dated to the early twentieth century, and whose leaders had sought to recover for the Arain community a history, based on claims to Arab descent and commitment to *shariat* (Muslim law), that could position them within the larger, universalistic history of the Muslim *ummah*. As the president of the Arain *anjuman* declared in 1947, the association could play a role in politics by transcending *asabiya* and “tribalism” and offering a model of pure behavior to the larger Muslim community, just as a pure *sharif* (high or refined) family might offer a model to a larger tribe.<sup>9</sup>

In the context of state-building, however, such adaptations were extremely difficult to sustain. Although Muslim League leaders relied on Arain networks to win votes in many localities, they could only be intolerant of the formal assertion of tribal or caste identity in ways that threatened to undercut the rhetorical projection of a unitary moral foundation for the establishment of a Muslim state, defined by its very opposition to such particularistic loyalties. As *Al-Rai*, the weekly newspaper of the Arain *anjuman*, wrote:

God is our witness that we are involved in the crime of love,  
If it is a crime, then God will not forgive us.<sup>10</sup>

Like energy and passion (*nafs*), ascribed, kinship-based loyalties had an integral place in the construction of the full human being, just as they had in the full construction of political life. They could even be a focus for love. But they could have only a problematic place, in an act of imaginative state formation that was predicated on the tension between the everyday and an idealized self in the assertion of a new claim to state/popular sovereignty. In critical respects, we can see here Laclau’s paradox in action.<sup>11</sup>

SIMILAR TENSIONS MARKED THE PROCESS of constitution-making in India as well after 1947, particularly as they involved negotiating the image of a unified national and sovereign people within the reality of the overwhelming differences and divisions that defined Indian politics, not least the distinctions of caste. In India, too, the negotiation of these tensions was to some degree influenced by old Islamicate paradigms, and also by old Hindu ideas concerning sacral kingship and its relationship

<sup>8</sup> Gilmartin, “Muslim League Appeals,” 417–418, 422–423.

<sup>9</sup> Speech of Sardar Muhammad Shafi, *rais* of Ganja Kalan, All-India Arain Conference, Jalalabad (Bijnor District, UP), March 1947, in Ali Asghar Chaudhri, *Tarikh-i Ara’iyan* (Lahore, 1973), 172–173.

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Rai*, February 14, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> It should be stressed here that this analysis is not intended to encompass all aspects of the campaign for the creation of Pakistan, but rather to examine in particular the projection of the demand for a new state within the context of India’s electoral system.

to the social divisions of everyday politics.<sup>12</sup> Yet in contrast to Pakistan, these tensions were not constructed primarily within the moral frame of religious community. Far more than in Pakistan, All-India Congress leaders in India drew on a secular, constitutional language of state-making with strong roots in the history of Euro-American constitutionalism. Whatever the influence of indigenous moral ideas, and the Hindu cross-currents shaping competing visions of the nation, Indian leaders cast the discourse of democratic state-making in strongly secular terms.<sup>13</sup> The template of the self served, in fact, as a frame for bringing secular and moral/religious visions together.

Secular European traditions of course had their own long philosophical histories linking the construction of popular sovereignty with the construction of the self. As Charles Taylor points out, Rousseau, and many of those following him, had imagined the self as grounded in an inner dialogue, rooted in each individual's balancing of an inner moral voice (in accord with nature) with "the passions that are induced by our dependence on others." This lay at the heart of a theory of society built around the tension between the "general will" (in Rousseau's terminology, associated with a higher self) and the particularism of individual interest.<sup>14</sup> For English-educated Indian elites, such traditions came to India filtered largely through nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British liberal thinking, which stressed the importance of rational identification with the common good as a foil to the pull of selfish, individual interests, a conception that for many liberals had marked the defining tension of British democracy.

Yet such traditions also took a very particular form in India, shaped in part by the distinctive colonial forms in which liberal ideology had come to the subcontinent, and in part by interaction with indigenous moral framings of state construction.<sup>15</sup> Colonial liberal thinking had its own distinct emphases. The British had predicated their rule in India on a sharp conceptual opposition between individual rationality (associated with the state and the "rule of law") and "primordial" forms of loyalty and group solidarity, which they saw as defining Indian society. This opposition provided a powerful legitimizing justification for colonial domination. But these polarities, which had their analogues in Indian traditions, also played a critical role as Indian state-builders sought to reinvent the state in democratic terms. As Indian

<sup>12</sup> A careful tracing of the complex influence of these ideas is well beyond the scope of this essay. There was much ill-focused discussion in India's early years of democracy's roots in (ancient) Hindu tradition. That Islamicate ideas had undoubtedly influenced "Hindu" ideas of state-building in modern India is suggested by the work of Andre Wink on the Marathas. Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India: Society and Politics under the Eighteenth-Century Maratha Svarajya* (Cambridge, 1986). Some perspective on the complex fate of old Indian ideas on state-making in the modern period can be found in the essays in Martin Doornbos and Sudipta Kaviraj, eds., *Dynamics of State Formation: India and Europe Compared* (New Delhi, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> To put forward this contrast is not to deny the central importance in Pakistan's case also of secular, European constitutional ideas. It is rather to highlight the fact that India's dominant constitutional discourse did not conflate the nation with a religious community.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 228, 241. See also Patrick Riley, *The General Will before Rousseau: The Transformation of the Divine into the Civic* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

<sup>15</sup> The best account of liberalism's distinctive colonial forms is Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago, 1999). Mehta's work has been very helpful for this analysis, although his emphases are somewhat different from those at the heart of this essay.

leaders struggled to define the contours of India's emerging constitutional conception of popular sovereignty, they drew in important ways on the template of a national self as a foundation for the constitutional order. Just as the self was structured by the tension between "primordial" attachments and free, individual choice, the constitutional order was structured by the tension between democratic politics and a rationalized structure of law and bureaucratic developmental planning.

The importance of such ideas in India's constitution-making can be traced—if briefly and schematically—in an examination of the seemingly contradictory (though in the end reinforcing) ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru about the relationship of the self to political order. It was in Gandhi's thinking that the notion of parallel structures defining the self and the political order was most evident. Gandhi, like many leaders of the Pakistan movement, saw the disciplining power of the higher self as the key to the imagining of the "nation." His moral leadership of the nationalist movement in fact popularized an image of the quintessential, idealized Indian citizen as a self-disciplined man (or woman) of internalized conscience, in tune with moral order (*dharmā*), who in the process of struggling for personal self-realization through self-control over his own lower, and potentially violent, passions made possible India's own self-realization through nonviolent *satyagraha* and independence from the British. Parallel oppositions defining both the person and the body politic were thus critical in Gandhi's evocation of the idea of a unitary "nation," a parallelism that was perhaps most evident in the interlocking meanings he attached to *swaraj* (or "self-rule") as a term both for national independence and for personal self-discipline.<sup>16</sup> His thinking on the structuring of the person provided a critical backdrop for the constitutional conceit that the Indian "people," defined by an idealized vision of individual self-discipline, were a single moral entity and could speak with a single voice in giving India its constitution and its laws, even in the face of their own manifold particularisms and diversity.<sup>17</sup>

Gandhi, of course, was assassinated in January 1948, before India's constitution was written. But his ideas gained significant influence in the process of constitution-making as they were subsumed in Nehru's more pragmatic ideas about the construction of the Indian state. Gandhi, in fact, had remained suspicious of a strong central state as a potential threat to the moral autonomy of the individual. But in spite of some mistrust of Gandhi's more religiously inflected thinking, Nehru drew on the same sorts of structural oppositions to justify not only nation-building but state-building, and a distinctive vision of democracy as well. For Nehru, who was deeply influenced by British legal thinking, the "rule of law" (and state power) rested

<sup>16</sup> Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (New York, 1993), 12–29.

<sup>17</sup> Gandhi's ideas were, of course, deeply embedded in Hindu imagery. In contrast to the appeal for Pakistan (and to certain strands of Hindu nationalist thinking), however, he explicitly rejected any externally defined religious community (or distinctive, particularistic law) as a frame for his vision of universal moral principle. His view of Hindu law was illustrative: "Nothing in the Shastras which is manifestly contrary to universal truths and morals can stand; . . . nothing in the Shastras which is capable of being reasoned can stand if it is in conflict with reason." Gandhi, "Caste Has to Go," November 16, 1935, in Rudrangshu Mukherjee, ed., *The Penguin Gandhi Reader* (New Delhi, 1993), 222. This suggests an important comparison with Pakistan. The Pakistan movement was marked by tensions between the universality of appeals to Islamic moral models and a conception of "Muslim community" that was widely associated with a distinctive, substantive law (*shariat*) that had been strongly particularized by the structure of colonialism. This tension was to have a powerful and problematic effect in Pakistan's subsequent attempts at constitutional state-building, but that is a comparison that is beyond our focus here.

in critical ways on a vision of a higher self defined by the subordination of personal impulse to rational self-restraint, a tension reflected in the public realm in the subordination of power and self-interest to the higher principles and procedures of law. But a vision of “society” as shaped by intractable primordial identities was nevertheless also central to his thinking. If the sovereign “people” were constituted by each individual’s higher capacity for rationalism and self-control, then the need for a strong state was determined, in his view, by the inescapable presence of the irrational passions and particularistic divisions—fueled by poverty and lack of education—that defined both everyday society in India and the common individual. It was this reality that for Nehru, as for many of India’s other founders, made a strong secular state essential for the “people” to progress (and for India to materially “develop”)—even as the “developmental” state necessarily drew, through elections, on society’s particularisms to legitimize its democratic authority.<sup>18</sup>

The importance of such conceptions of the self in the moral framing of the constitution was suggested by a range of later commentators, however diverse the cross-currents of political debate that India’s constitutional state construction spawned. On one level, such framings suggested the continuing importance in a democratic system of guidance by those with higher education and self-cultivation.<sup>19</sup> As one of the later chief election commissioners, S. P. Sen-Verma, noted in a subsequent commentary on India’s great constitutional leap at independence to universal, adult suffrage, “In proportion as [a] democratic spirit” had brought to the political surface the “uncontrollable impulses in man’s thought and behaviour, a democratic form of Government cannot but be turbulent.” But for this very reason, he wrote, it was essential that men devise “institutions, means and devices to act as restraints until the time shall come—if it comes at all—when by some means individual self-restraint and self-control shall be a sufficient guarantee for the successful functioning of . . . democratic government.”<sup>20</sup> Sen-Verma’s use of the phrase “if it comes at all” captures precisely the rooting of the constitution’s legitimacy in the tension between the higher, universalizing ideals associated with “institutions” and law (and latent in the “people”) and a largely elite vision of Indian society, and of the imagined national

<sup>18</sup> For a good discussion of the “idea of the state” in the Indian constitution, and its relationship to the mistrust of “politics,” see R. Sudarshan, “‘Stateness’ and Democracy in India’s Constitution,” in Zoya Hasan, E. Sridharan, and R. Sudarshan, eds., *India’s Living Constitution* (Delhi, 2002), 159–178. On the “developmental” state, see also Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 200–219.

<sup>19</sup> For some members of the Constituent Assembly, the association of *dharma* with higher powers of self-cultivation, and thus with elite sensibilities, was in fact so strong that full recognition of the sovereignty of the “people” as a whole was open to serious debate. The comments of Brajeshwar Prasad in this regard are suggestive. Although he asserted that “Dharma is in consonance with the fundamental principles of Democracy,” and that “a State based on Dharma will never tolerate economic inequality or social injustice,” he nevertheless went on to declare that *dharma* “will never accord recognition to popular will as the basis of Government. For the will of man is nasty, brutish and short.” *Constituent Assembly Debates*, November 24, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> S. P. Sen-Verma, *Adult Franchise* (New Delhi, 1971), 10–11; emphasis added. Sen-Verma’s view here resonates with a common imperial view of India as always on the track of “becoming” yet never catching up with a modernity embedded in Europe’s experience as a master model. The power of such a view has been clearly delineated in Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 3–23. Yet it is important to note that the transposition of this from a political/cultural narrative of “modernity” into a narrative of the never-ending struggle within the self casts it in a somewhat different light.



citizen, as particularistic vessels within which those higher ideals were perpetually yet to be fully realized.

But if this formulation justified the precedence of those with superior self-cultivation—and a more developed sense of restraint and law—the logic of Sen-Verma's comments also suggested a metaphorical vision of the body politic as a single self in which higher and lower parts were inextricably intertwined. It was the inevitable duality in human nature that made both the control of the state and the law, on the one hand, and the recognition of the people's diverse particularisms, on the other, essential to the functioning of legitimate government, even as the gap between them defined a potential path for both personal and national social progress. As Subhash Kashyap, later secretary of the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament), put it, the concept of the sovereignty of the people was "in the raw" a dangerous thing. But constitutions, he argued, "are those dams by which the people tame and channelise their sovereign power by institutionalising it."<sup>21</sup> If the constitution and the "rule of law" derived their ultimate potency only from the people's energy and spirit (like a river, carrying nature's energy), their legitimacy depended on the appeal to higher powers of self-control and rationality. Like expertise and science in controlling and "developing" a river, such higher powers dictated the Constitution's (and the law's) importance in controlling and "developing" the people.<sup>22</sup> As in the religious tension between *din* and *dunya* in the Pakistan movement (and it is important here to stress the moral/religious understandings that were embedded in these secular ideas), these two sides to secular constitutionalism were in irresolvable tension, and yet joined by their dialectical relationship.

It was in this context that issues of caste took on particular significance as a critical sign of the tensions embedded in India's democratic state-making. Nowhere was this clearer than in elections, which constituted the most important arena for the continual reenactment of these contradictions. As one of India's preeminent particularisms, caste served, in law, as a moral foil to the universal principles of individual free choice that lay at the theoretical heart of Indian democratic principles. And yet, as a critical, constitutive element in the structuring of electoral competition in India, caste also served, in practice, as a form of solidarity that made the expression of a popular voice in elections possible.

Considerable scholarship has focused on how caste, as an extraordinarily adaptive institution, has responded to such seemingly conflicting roles. Much attention has been paid, for example, to historical processes of "Sanskritization," whereby caste leaders have stressed reformed and purified standards of caste behavior, in accord with universalistic Sanskritic (usually Brahman) models, in order to improve their status in the face of changing economic and political circumstances.<sup>23</sup> Scholars have also noted how caste, whatever its underlying ascribed, hierarchical assump-

<sup>21</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, *Citizens and the Constitution* (New Delhi, 1997), 36.

<sup>22</sup> The use of natural and environmental metaphors here suggests the larger naturalization of the underpinnings of Indian democracy. The view of nature underlying this can be traced to engineering assumptions about rivers in the nineteenth century. See David Gilmartin, "Imperial Rivers: Irrigation and British Visions of Empire," in Dane Kennedy and Durba Ghosh, eds., *Decentring Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World* (London, 2006), 83–86.

<sup>23</sup> Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge, 1999); Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

tions, has changed in interaction with the “alternative, nonhierarchical social *imag-inaries*” that have been embodied in electoral democracy, sometimes becoming, as Frank Conlon has put it, a “vehicle to modernity.”<sup>24</sup> Focusing on caste’s adaptations to the politics of modern India, many historians and social scientists have stressed its centrality to India’s electoral processes as a key to popular mobilizing. As Satish Saberwal has written, “The presence of thousands of groups, some small some large, held together in the caste order, has been a key resource in making electoral politics work in India.”<sup>25</sup>

But in constitutional terms, the significance of caste to India’s political structure lay not just in its adaptability (and social constructedness), but equally critically in its legal construction as a marker of the paradoxical relationship between the universal and the particular defining the meaning of democracy. In practice, caste was in some ways officially recognized in the constitution—for example, through reserved seats for scheduled castes and tribes.<sup>26</sup> But its most powerful constitutional significance lay in its role as a symbol of those inherited particularisms that were in deep tension, as one legal text put it, with a constitution that “proclaims equality of status and opportunity and envisages an egalitarian society based on fraternity.”<sup>27</sup> As an identity category conceptualized as ascribed and primordial, caste seemed to challenge not only equality, but also the very image of the free, rational, individual voter that underlay the concept of the people’s sovereignty. As Justice M. H. Beg

<sup>24</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot, “Sanskritization vs. Ethnicization in India: Changing Identities and Caste Politics before Mandal,” *Asian Survey* 40, no. 5 (2000): 758; emphasis in original. Frank Conlon, “Caste by Association: The Gauda Sarasvata Brahmana Unification Movement,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 33, no. 3 (May 1974): 365. For a broader study of caste’s adaptiveness in these terms, see Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India* (Chicago, 1967), 17–154.

<sup>25</sup> Satish Saberwal, “Introduction: Civilization, Constitution, Democracy,” in Hasan, Sridharan, and Sudarshan, *India’s Living Constitution*, 13. The ubiquitousness of caste in politics was suggested by the fact that, even in many court cases, references to caste appeared simply as part of the inevitable political background for judicial discussion of a range of other electoral issues. For a good example, see *Raghubir Singh Yadav v. Gajendra Singh and others*, 43 ELR 214 (Allahabad High Court, 1969). Here caste was simply background noise that was an inevitable part of elections. For a similar view of *biradari* in a case from the Punjab, see *Partap Singh v. Nihal Singh Takshak and others*, 3 ELR 31 (PEPSU Election Tribunal, 1953).

<sup>26</sup> This was itself an illustration of how a universal constitutional principle, that of equality, was asserted as an ideal even as the real world dictated that caste inequality had to be recognized to maintain that ideal. Even as the state rejected in constitutional principle discrimination based on caste, it had to issue “caste certificates” to identify caste background as a mandatory element in a candidate’s qualifications to stand in constituencies reserved for scheduled castes and tribes. This was so contrary to the law on the corrupt nature of electoral appeals relating to caste that the courts at times had to take specific notice of the obvious contradiction. See, for example, *Reghu Mahesh alias Regu Maheswar Rao v. Rajendra Pratap Bhanj Dev and another*, 2004 1 SCC 46 (Supreme Court appeal from Andhra High Court). For the larger legal and political background to the problem of caste reservations in India, see Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India* (Delhi, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> Anand Ballabh Kafaltiya, *Democracy and Election Laws* (New Delhi, 2003), 229. As one Supreme Court judge explained, “The Constitution has provided for a form of government by the People’s representatives democratically elected on the basis of adult franchise irrespective of caste, creed, race, or sex.” *Lakshmi Charan Sen v. A. K. M. Hassan Uzzaman & others*, in Election Commission of India, *Landmark Judgements on Election Law*, 4 vols. (New Delhi, 1999), 2: 89. The Representation of the People Act specifically banned “the systematic appeal to vote or refrain from voting on grounds of caste, race, community, or religion or the use of, or appeal to, religious and national symbols.” For some of the British and colonial background on India’s election law, see David Gilmartin, “Election Law and the ‘People’ in Colonial and Postcolonial India,” in Dipesh Chakrabarty, Rochona Mazumdar, and Andrew Sartori, eds., *From the Colonial to the Postcolonial: India and Pakistan in Transition* (Delhi, 2007), 55–82.

declared in a Supreme Court decision in the 1970s, caste, like religion, was an identity that had the power to “generate powerful emotions depriving people of their powers of rational action.”<sup>28</sup> Appeals to caste in elections were expressly forbidden in Section 123 (3) of independent India’s earliest legislation regulating voting, the Representation of the People Act of 1951.<sup>29</sup> However much caste may have been adapted to the realities of India’s popular electoral politics, therefore, it also served, equally importantly, as an iconic marker of the ascribed, particularistic loyalties that represented the antithesis of the free individual on which the new states’ claim to democratic sovereignty rested.

As comments by Nehru suggest, some leaders experienced these contradictions directly and personally in the very conduct of elections. “Elections are a strange phenomenon,” Nehru declared in a public speech in 1951 as India’s first general elections approached. “They are necessary in a democracy and without them democracy cannot work.”<sup>30</sup> Yet he anguished over the fact that elections seemed to unleash particularistic passions that challenged the very principles on which they were based. “This election business is making me lose my faith in Indian humanity or, at any rate, in a large part of it,” he wrote in dismay to G. B. Pant, chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, in October 1951 as the first general election campaign heated up. “I could never have imagined that many of our people could have sunk quite so low as they have done.”<sup>31</sup> And in many cases, the electoral mobilization of caste was at the very heart of the problem. “Bihar is the supreme example, where, in spite of every pressure, the prospective candidates view each other with intense bitterness and enmity . . . The whole thing turns around caste divisions—Bhumiyar, Kayasthas, etc. I have felt recently,” he added, driving home his vision of the conflict between lower passion and higher rationality that caste’s role in elections crystallized, “as if I was in a den of wild animals.”<sup>32</sup>

Yet as Nehru and many other Congress leaders ultimately realized, such dilemmas were intrinsic to the very practice of elections. This was perhaps articulated most explicitly in an official assessment of the second general election in 1957 penned by Sadiq Ali, general secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. “Democracy,” he noted, “is a faithful mirror of the virtues and weaknesses of the people. It is also an effort to raise them, in a slow and steady manner, to a higher level of thought, feeling and action.” But although leaders might have hoped that secular rationality would act as a solvent on parochialisms such as caste, the actual conduct of elections showed that the reality was quite different. In practice, elections tended to “set in motion an opposite tendency,” Ali wrote, “and bring to the fore caste and communal considerations.” The conundrum was inescapable. “However high our ideals,” he de-

<sup>28</sup> *Ziyouddin Burhanuddin Bukhari v. Brijmohan Ramdass Mehra and others*, AIR 1975 SC 1788 (Supreme Court Appeal from Bombay High Court, 1975).

<sup>29</sup> Caste was listed in the act along with other prohibited grounds for appeals “to vote or refrain from voting.” These included religion, race, community, and (after 1961) language. The use of appeals to religious or national symbols “for the furtherance of the prospects of the election” of a candidate was also forbidden. P. C. Jain and Kirin Jain, *Chawla’s Elections: Law and Practice*, 8th ed. (New Delhi, 2004), Sec. 2, 152.

<sup>30</sup> Speech by J. Nehru to public meeting, Delhi, October 2, 1951 (original speech in Hindi), in S. Gopal, ed., *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, 2nd ser., vol. 16 (New Delhi, 1994), pt. 2, 102–104.

<sup>31</sup> Nehru to G. B. Pant, October 25, 1951, *ibid.*, 53.

<sup>32</sup> Nehru to Morarji Desai, October 27, 1951, *ibid.*, 56.

clared, “we have to reckon with social reality.”<sup>33</sup> This was the central paradox that elections represented. However important transformative, universalizing ideals were to popular sovereignty, electoral democracy required that electioneering also respond to the particularity and passion of *the way things actually were*.

IN THE SUBSEQUENT DECADES, these contradictions were confronted directly by India’s courts. The higher judiciary was dominated after 1947 by upper castes, and their attitudes, like Nehru’s, can to some extent be read as reflecting a desire by the middle and upper classes to use the electoral law to protect their political domination, even in the face of universal adult suffrage. But at the same time, judicial arguments about the role of caste in elections suggest a far deeper engagement with the underlying tensions that defined the electoral system and the concept of the people’s sovereignty. In the years following India’s independence, losing candidates commonly filed petitions with election tribunals, and later with the courts, seeking to overturn elections on the grounds of corruption, which included caste appeals.<sup>34</sup> A specific set of facts framed each case, and corrupt appeals to caste were often linked to other corrupt electoral practices.<sup>35</sup> In fact, cases relating to caste were only a small fraction of the totality of election cases that the courts dealt with. But an analysis of the structure of the judicial argument and rhetoric in caste-based cases provides a critical window on the negotiation of the universal and the particular that defined India’s constitutional structure.

This is not to say that Indian court decisions showed a single, consistent approach to such cases. But court judgments, in their very structure, encapsulated the tension between universalizing principles of electoral morality and the particularity of the specific political configurations that defined the actual conduct of each election. Court arguments grappling with election petition cases in fact crystallized the irresolvable tensions that elections embodied. On one level, most courts understood well the importance of the legal ban on appeals to caste in underscoring the universalizing principles of individual rationality on which elections—and the concept of the people’s sovereignty—were based. At the same time, however, they also recognized the importance for the actual operation of democracy of deferring to the people’s voice as it was encapsulated in the inevitably messy process of real electoral conflict. Attempts by the courts to reconcile these principles captured the distinctive ways that electoral law imagined the universal as being potentially grounded in the particularities of Indian society. Many courts sought to negotiate the law’s tensions by searching for relationships between caste and rational, “interest-based” attachments, in the process constructing caste not simply as a “primordial” attachment but

<sup>33</sup> Sadiq Ali, *The General Elections, 1957: A Survey* (New Delhi, 1959), 78–80.

<sup>34</sup> The constitution of election tribunals (usually with three judges) dated back to the 1919 reforms in India. Because of arguments surrounding the jurisdiction of the courts and the nature of appeals in election cases, these were done away with in the late 1950s, after which election petition cases were heard directly by the High Courts, with appeals going to the Supreme Court.

<sup>35</sup> Most important here were charges of corrupt appeals to religion, which prompted arguments similar to those surrounding caste. See, for example, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, “Passion and Constraint,” *Seminar* 521 (January 2003): 57, <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/521/521%20pratap%20bhanu%20mehta.htm>.

as a distinctive cultural vehicle within which the free will of the individual voter found expression. Judges thus sometimes found rational foundations for the electoral mobilization of caste in specific instances by linking it to voluntary organizations, such as political parties, or to class identities or local "interests." Still, in the end, few court judgments escaped entirely the oppositional juxtaposition of primordial irrationality (of which caste remained a central symbol) and the free rational choice of the individual. Judicial argument in fact provides a critical arena in which the irresolvable tensions underlying the political system were continuously reframed and replicated.

The contours of the tensions defining electoral jurisprudence can be traced through a long series of cases beginning almost immediately after the first general elections. A split election tribunal decision from Uttar Pradesh in the early 1950s illustrates these tensions clearly. In that case, a petition alleged that an election to the UP Assembly had developed largely along caste lines after a candidate of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (Peasants' and Workers' People's Party) appealed to lower-caste Gadarias to vote for him en bloc to try to defeat the alliance of high-caste "Brahmans, Thakurs [Rajputs], and Lalas [Banias]" who were supporting the Congress candidate in the constituency. Here there was clear evidence of caste's role in the election. As one offending KMPP slogan introduced into evidence put it: "Blacken the faces of the Brahmans, the Thakurs and the Lalas [i.e., disgrace them] and banish them from the Country." It would be hard to imagine a caste-based appeal more blatant than this—and yet, how to treat it under the law was another matter. Although the evidence seemed to suggest a clear violation of the Representation of the People Act, it also suggested caste's practical centrality to the electoral contest. Whether the candidate's appeal should be construed as corrupt was thus a matter of sharp debate.

For one member of the tribunal, the key to the case lay in the law's protection of electoral contests against the inherent corruption of primordial appeals that interfered with "the free exercise of electoral rights." The language barring appeals to caste in the Representation of the People Act had been inserted, he argued, in accordance with the protection of "the fundamental rights as defined in our Constitution," which in elections inevitably came into juxtaposition with "the ignorance of the people and the prevalence of caste system in our country." It was not just that caste appeals were divisive, but that the law prohibiting them embodied a higher principle central to democracy. The assumptions underlying this argument seemed to rely on a vision of the law and the courts as guardians of higher rationality, serving an educative function by making manifest to the people their own potential higher democratic capacity.

But the majority of the tribunal in this case emphatically rejected this argument and presented a different logic, suggesting clearly the contradictory pulls the courts faced. Whatever the dangers in caste appeals (which the law, of course, recognized), the importance of elections as a political exercise lay in the degree to which it could be plausibly argued that people were mobilized along lines of competition embedded in actual power realities. The key to the appeal to caste in this case thus lay in the degree to which it was embedded in a structure of local political competition that could be constructed by the court as transcending the appeal to caste as an irrational form of primordial loyalty. Caste-based exhortations to vote against "Brahmans,



Thakurs, and Lalas” could in no way be separated, they argued, from the political appeal to groups such as workers, peasants, and shopkeepers to unite against the power of vested interests, which was central, in their view, to an understanding of this election. In fact, the targets of the caste appeals in this case were not the upper castes per se, but, as the tribunal’s majority put it, the “capitalists, landlords, mill-owners and those engaged in the learned professions or pursuing other high walks of life.” To bar appeals intended to mobilize competition between such interest-based communities, they implied, would be to undermine the very freedom of rational electoral choice that the petitioners appealed to, the freedom that the prohibitions of the Representation of the People Act were intended to uphold. Here politics, which implied the operation of rational calculation embedded in local power realities, subsumed the particularity of caste passions and drew them into the universalizing realm of free rational choice. By a 2-to-1 majority, the tribunal rejected the petition and upheld the election.<sup>36</sup>

The contending visions in this case thus crystallized the dilemmas that the courts faced. Questions concerning the relationship of free, rational choice to local “interests” (and to everyday life) can in fact be found in the original debates that marked the passage of the Representation of the People Act in 1951. In supporting the original language of the act, B. R. Ambedkar, the prominent *dalit* (formerly “untouchable”) leader who had played a key role in drafting the constitution—and who, as Nehru’s law minister, had shepherded the original act through Parliament—noted the symbolic danger of allowing passions to undercut the value of elections. “A political party should not be permitted to appeal to any emotion which is aroused by reason of something which has nothing to do with the daily affairs of the people,” he said, seemingly linking the “daily affairs of the people” with rational, political interests. Here we can see clear echoes of Nehru’s thinking. Politics could easily be corrupted if it was not separated from primordial irrationality. But what, in actual cases, could such a distinction really mean? “What about political emotion?” one legislator asked. “Political emotion—enthusiasm—is all right,” Ambedkar responded, “but I think that any emotion other than political emotion should not be permitted.”<sup>37</sup> But how, in actual electoral practice, could courts distinguish when the appeal to caste was “political,” and thus a legitimate container for passion and emotion, and when caste was marked as India’s quintessential parochialism, its primordial irrationality specifically targeted as a foil to the free exercise of electoral choice and individual reason?

Such questions haunted subsequent court judgments, but they by no means stopped the High Courts—and the Supreme Court—from periodically striking down elections on the grounds that candidates had made direct, corrupt appeals for votes along caste lines. In making such decisions, they judicially underscored the idealized image of the free voter that remained central to the logic of electoral jurisprudence. A good example comes from a Bihar election case in 1969 that led to the unseating of a government minister. In that case, the reelection of a provincial Congress minister was challenged partly because he had appealed specifically in his election cam-

<sup>36</sup> *Shiv Dutt and others v. Bhansidas Dhangar and others*, 9 ELR 324 (Election Tribunal, Faizabad, 1954). The dissent is by M. U. Faruqi and the majority opinion by Raghunandan Saran.

<sup>37</sup> India, *Parliamentary Debates* 40, no. 16 (May 9, 1951): cols. 8365–8366.

paign to Rajput voters, who made up a reported 20 to 25 percent of his Bhojpur District constituency. As the court put it, his agents had canvassed on the grounds that “he was a Rajput, that if he was elected he would become a Minister, that one Satyendra Narain Singh, also a Rajput, would become the Chief Minister, and that with the two of them in the cabinet they would establish Rajput Raj in the state and advance the interests of Rajputs.” Citing this evidence, the Supreme Court upheld the High Court’s ruling that the election must be voided and a new poll held. “Indian leadership,” they wrote, “has long condemned electoral campaigns on the lines of caste and community as being destructive of the country’s integration and the concept of secular democracy which is the basis of our Constitution. It is this condemnation that is reflected in S. 123 (3) of the Representation of the People Act.” Indeed, the Supreme Court’s decision hinted—in spite of its overt reference to a perhaps rational realm of caste “interests”—at the vision of the law’s association with a higher, self-controlled personal morality that was in tension with the lower “temptations” that caste represented in the construction of the self. “In spite of the repeated condemnation, experience has shown that where there is such a constituency it has been unfortunately too *tempting* for a candidate to resist appealing to sectional elements to cast their votes on a caste basis.” The problem, in other words, was that the candidate had allowed the temptations associated with the protection of inherited, particularistic, caste-based privilege to overwhelm his own higher powers of self-discipline, and it was the law—and the courts—that had to rectify this failing.<sup>38</sup>

But this logic hardly resolved the underlying tensions in such cases, as was soon evident in another case from Bihar, this time involving a Bhumihar candidate who had appealed directly to caste solidarity to win a seat in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. Once again, the Patna High Court held that an overt appeal on the basis of caste represented a corrupt practice that “interfered” with the “purity of election” (that is, presumably, with the free, rational political choice of the voters), and threw out the election. But this case also suggested the contradictions in the structural assumptions of a law that tried to link such caste appeals unambiguously with anti-national fragmentation and lower passions. In this case, the winning candidate, a Bhumihar, had relied in part on the canvassing of Swami Bimlanand Saraswati, also a Bhumihar, who was accused of appealing for votes on the basis of Bhumihar solidarity. Swami Bimlanand was in fact the joint secretary of a school at Buxar founded in the name of the well-known *kisan* (peasant) leader Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, and was known for having published a Hindi caste history that, according to the record, extolled the Bhumihars as “the real Brahmins par excellence.” There is little doubt from the court record that the swami was tied into a long history of Bhumihar self-assertion that had brought together Sanskritizing, varna-based appeals for personal moral and behavioral uplift with new forms of formal caste organization that were linked to organized pressure in regional politics. There is, in fact, a large literature on similar transformations embedded in various regional and political con-

<sup>38</sup> *Ambika Saran Singh v. Mahant Mahadev Nand Giri*, 41 ELR 183 (Supreme Court appeal from Patna High Court, 1969); emphasis added. The case against the appellant, who claimed in his defense that other candidates in the constituency had also appealed to caste, was strengthened in this case by the fact that the losing candidate was a *sadhu* (mendicant) who claimed to have renounced his caste.

texts in India, underscoring the relationship between such caste appeals and the projection of a “higher self” that was embedded in reformulated caste histories, and linked to efforts to transcend local politics through large-scale caste mobilizations.<sup>39</sup> Caste itself had clearly been adapted in such reform movements to become a vessel for the personal assertion of the more universalistic values of the self, rather than its antithesis, thus seemingly calling into question some of the basic assumptions on which the law was based.

Yet the court even here held Swami Bimlanand Saraswati guilty of a corrupt caste appeal, at least partially on the grounds that his appeal seemed to stand in direct tension with the structures of party politics in the constituency. “Please destroy your rivalry among yourselves,” Bimlanand had reportedly told Bhumihaar voters, “and with one voice vote for Bishwanath Rai, who is a Bhumihaar Brahmin and who belongs to our caste.” And when one Bhumihaar reportedly challenged him by saying that he was put off by Bishwanath Rai’s political affiliation with the Samyukta Socialist Party (rather than the Congress), the swami responded that it was not an issue of the specific party or candidate, but simply the importance of caste solidarity that was at stake. “You should vote for Bishwanath Rai, your own caste, because one’s own caste gives help in time of need.” Here was a reply that suggested caste’s deep-seated appeal, but one that also, in its emphasis on an ascribed identity, seemed to fly in the face of the political rationality associated, at least in theory, with political parties and with the realm of rational “politics” and personal choice. In such circumstances, the court ruled, the appeal could be only a corrupt one, as it represented a clear challenge to the idealized assumptions on which the country’s electoral law—and, by implication, the image of the sovereign “people”—was based.<sup>40</sup>

Similar concerns marked other cases as well, including those relating to lower castes, scheduled tribes, and other, more marginalized groups. Indeed, in these cases we can see a specific concern on the part of the courts to discipline the particularisms associated with those perceived to be furthest, in terms of both class and geography, from the idealized, mainstream image of the self-controlled citizen. In a case from Madhya Pradesh in 1965, for example, involving a constituency with a substantial number of voters who were members of the scheduled Gond tribe, the High Court of Madhya Pradesh voided an election on the basis of an election pamphlet circulating in the constituency that appealed for votes for a candidate simply on the basis

<sup>39</sup> Indeed, as in the case of the Arain *biradari* in the run-up to the creation of Pakistan discussed earlier, this case suggested the difficulties in presenting caste appeals as the antithesis of higher ideals in any simple way. For some discussion of the broad connections between politics and caste-based reform movements in this particular region, see William R. Pinch, *Peasants and Monks in British India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 83–84, 131–136.

<sup>40</sup> *Sachidanand Singh v. Biswanath Rai*, 43 ELR 316 (Patna High Court, 1969). While the court found in this case that the appeal to vote “on the ground of caste” was corrupt, it distinguished this from a simple appeal “to a caste” to vote in a particular way. The latter had been held not to be corrupt in an earlier case involving an appeal to Yadavs (*Rustom Satin v. Dr. Sampooranand and others*, 20 ELR 221 [Allahabad High Court, 1958]). But for a similar case holding an appeal to Yadav caste solidarity to be a corrupt practice in Bihar, see also *Bhupendra Narain Mandal v. Ek. Narain Lal Das and others*, 26 ELR 407 (Patna High Court, 1964). In this case also, a key ingredient, as the court put it (in discussing a leaflet titled “An Appeal to the Yadav Brethren of the Saharsa Parliamentary Constituency”), was the degree to which caste was projected as an identity that transcended and was separate from any party program: “From the tenor of this document,” the judges noted, “it is clear that the emphasis is on the castes of the respective candidates and not on whether they were members of the Congress or the Socialist Party.” Here, too, the election was voided.

that he was “our Gond brother.” “When a person belonging to a particular caste appeals to the electors of the same caste to vote for ‘their caste brother,’” the Court declared, “we think he appeals to them to vote on the ground of caste,” and this was sufficient grounds for throwing out the election.<sup>41</sup>

Once again, such appeals were most objectionable when they could be legally constructed by the court as divorced from concomitant interest-based mobilizations. This was evident in a 1969 case from Churachandpur District in Manipur in the sometimes dissident borderlands of the Northeast. The ambiguities in this case were all the more evident in that caste, or tribal, mobilization was linked directly to a formal organization, the Hmar National Union, which, in alliance with the Paite National Council (of the Paite tribe), was supporting a Hmar candidate in a legislative assembly contest. Here, once again, local identities were clearly embedded in complex processes of community accession and reformation, linked both to political competition among tribal elites and to the conflicts and demands surrounding Manipur’s claim at the time to full-fledged recognition as a state within the Indian union. But the Supreme Court nevertheless found the open appeal to Hmar identity in the organization’s pamphlets and propaganda to be corrupt and actionable under Section 123 (3). “The appeal made in these pamphlets,” the court explained, “was not on the footing that if [the candidate], a Hmar, was voted by the two tribes, he would undertake work of general utility for the two tribes or try to redress their grievances, if any, or to reduce their economic, educational or other backwardness. If that was the basis of his campaign it may be possible to argue that such an appeal may not constitute corrupt practice.” Nor was there an assertion that “being a Hmar he would be the best judge of their [i.e., the Hmars’] disabilities, social, economic, or educational.” To the contrary, the appeal here was constructed by the court as based purely on the candidate’s claim to intrinsic Hmar identity. It was, by implication, a call to voters to ignore entirely the higher rational powers of individual freedom and choice that defined the people, and to vote only on the basis of their primordial caste identity. The court thus concluded that “the appeal was . . . clearly based on the ground of community and caste, and fell within the mischief of Section 123 (3),” and the election was therefore voided.<sup>42</sup>

It is impossible, of course, to know what political considerations may have entered into the judgment in such cases, for the courts were hardly immune from political pressures, and may have been influenced at times by the desire to reach a particular political end. But whatever the politics, it is the judicial language of these cases—and the tensions this language embodied—that is critical in pointing back to the underlying legal tension between the universal and the particular that defined the electoral system itself. The significance of this judicial language was perhaps best captured in a 1975 judgment by Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, one of the Supreme Court’s most important and activist constitutional thinkers of this era. The case was an appeal from the Guwahati High Court, relating to a contested assembly election

<sup>41</sup> The High Court also dismissed in this case the notion that “Gond” referred to a “tribe” rather than a caste and thus fell outside the prohibitions of Section 123 (3). Whether “Gond” was a caste name in the sense of an exclusive class in “Hindu society” was, the court implied, an irrelevant consideration. *Amichand v. Pratap Singh and others*, 27 ELR 135 (Madhya Pradesh High Court, 1965).

<sup>42</sup> *Lalroukung v. Haokholal Thangjom and another*, 41 ELR 35 (Supreme Court appeal from Judicial Commissioner, Manipur, 1969).

in the Dhing constituency of Nagaon District in Assam, and it crystallized, as Iyer noted, the broader difficulties of interpretation the courts faced.

In this case, the victorious candidate, who was a Muslim, was accused of having appealed for votes in Hindu tribal areas of the constituency on the basis that his mother was originally from a Hindu tribal family.<sup>43</sup> This was an appeal that was undoubtedly, as Iyer noted, “prone to excite the clan feeling in a vicarious way,” and was therefore potentially actionable under the Representation of the People Act. But it also highlighted the fact that virtually everyone in this constituency—in one way or another—carried particularistic caste or tribal or religious markings as a central element in their external identities. “In India,” Iyer wrote, “the religion or caste or community of the candidate may exude through his name, dress, profession or other external *indicium*.” How, then, he implied, could a political candidacy even be imagined independent of such particularistic cultural markers and identities, whatever the nature of the appeals made by politicians? “Does it mean that his candidature is imperiled by the inscription of his name or caste suffix in posters or pamphlets?” Clearly, he observed, the law required “something more substantial, intentional and oblique.” But the problem lay in the fact that elections were always fought in real, local cultural worlds, whatever the specific political stances or appeals of the candidates, and whatever the universalist visions of individual free will and rationality underlying the law. Here was evidence, he seemed to suggest, that the universal was always embedded in the particular. Faced with such realities, Iyer had no choice but to uphold the election, for to do otherwise would have been to reject the people’s voice altogether. “The verdict at the polls wears a protective mantle in a democratic polity,” he wrote. “The Court will vacate such ballot count return only on proof beyond reasonable doubt of corrupt practices.”<sup>44</sup>

And yet, this did not stop Iyer, even as he upheld the election, from going on to underscore the continuing importance of the conceptual opposition between the particular and the universal on which the law was based. At the heart of these tensions was the clash of what he called the “rule of law” and the “rule of life.” The “rule of law” embodied, by implication, the ideal of the unitary sovereign people, which drew on the idealized image of the community’s unity and the individual’s capacity for rational free choice. The “rule of life,” on the other hand, defined the inescapable realities of everyday social relations, culture, and compulsion, what Iyer called “the social inside in the raw.” It was the tension between these two, particularly as played out in the rough-and-tumble of elections, that made the jurisprudence of caste and elections so telling, for at stake was the meaning of the people’s sovereignty. As Iyer realized, in the real world it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at a judicial assessment of when appeals to caste identities entered

<sup>43</sup> *Abdul Hussain Mir v. Shamsul Huda*, AIR 1975 SC 1612 (Supreme Court appeal from Guwahati High Court, 1975). The case hinged not just on appeals to caste and tribe, but also on the appeal to religion (though the candidate’s originally Hindu tribal mother had in fact converted at marriage to Islam).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* “In a pluralist society like ours, a certain irremovable residuum of ‘minority complex’ will haunt the polls,” Iyer wrote, “as it may, perhaps in a lesser measure, in the United States or even the United Kingdom. A Jew, a black, a Catholic or an Indian or woman will, without special appeals in that behalf, rouse prejudices for and against in some countries.” The reality of particularistic difference in elections, in other words, was politically inescapable, whether overtly appealed to or not.



a rational realm of “interests” (and thus of free, rational choice) and when they did not. And yet, the conceptual distinction between the “rule of law” and the “rule of life” was central to democracy. It was, after all, in elections, and in the jurisprudence surrounding them, that the opposition between—and yet necessary interconnection of—the “rule of law” and the “rule of life” was continually re-dramatized and perpetually played out.

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF CASTE in Indian politics and in Indian life remains a complex and contested subject. That caste itself has proved to be a highly mutable—and socially constructed—institution, varying widely over time and place, and adapted to the politics of elections, remains a truism in the scholarly literature. But whatever its forms, the relationship between caste and elections provides an equally important window on the underlying principles of India’s constitutional democracy. Indeed, while we can see in tensions surrounding the legal place of caste in elections signs of the broader tensions marking democracy as a general phenomenon, we can also see in the relationship between politics and law, between electioneering and the courts, the distinctive forms that these tensions between the universal and the particular have taken in defining Indian democracy.

Many have argued that, since the 1990s, India has begun to experience a new democratic “wave,” based on a structure of expanding political mobilization among lower classes—a mobilization that has drawn heavily on caste organization and has given yet greater political importance to caste idioms.<sup>45</sup> Some have celebrated this as a key moment in India’s breaking away from the earlier patterns of elite-dominated democracy that had their roots in the colonial and Nehruvian eras. But others, particularly in the elite-dominated English-language press, have seen in these developments new challenges to the constitutional principles that originally structured Indian democracy.<sup>46</sup> As one commentator put it in 2001 in a consultation paper prepared for the Advisory Panel on “Electoral Reform and Standards in Political Life” for the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, “Exploiting caste sentiments and playing off one caste combination against the other with a political axe to grind, perhaps even more than religious bigotry, is the very antithesis of rationalism, but the monster of casteism has all of a sudden mysteriously gained wide respectability as a means of empowerment of the subaltern [in] India!” Criticism of political “casteism” has become, for many such commentators, not only a marker of a middle-class self-identification with the higher moral ideals on which India was founded, but also a warning against the growing threat to the country’s

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of this argument, see Ashutosh Varshney, “Is India Becoming More Democratic?” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 1 (February 2000): 3–25. For the idea of a new “democratic upsurge” in India, see Yogendra Yadav, “Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s,” in Francine R. Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava, and Balveer Arora, eds., *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy* (Delhi, 2000), 120–145.

<sup>46</sup> See Varshney, “Is India Becoming More Democratic?” 12–13. The concerns here are hardly confined to caste, but reflect concern with wider forms of corruption in government, parliamentary procedure, and electoral life.

democratic system from a new upsurge of primordial irrationalities, here associated with “subaltern” caste mobilizations.<sup>47</sup>

That such reactions are related to elite fears of mass politics, against which law is perceived as an institutional breakwater, is unquestionable. But it would be a mistake to see them entirely in class-based terms. The irony is that lower-caste activists have in many cases grappled with the same paradoxes and contradictions that have confronted middle-class commentators. This can be traced back to Ambedkar himself, who recognized clearly the paradoxes inherent in using caste to mobilize scheduled castes in the name of achieving a more egalitarian social order. At the same time that he supported official caste-based reservations as pragmatically essential to redress the substantive inequalities that pervaded India’s social life, caste remained for him the antithesis of universalizing principles of equality. This applied equally to elections and to the constitutional reservation of scheduled caste seats. By embodying an ideal of popular sovereignty, electoral democracy also embodied an ideal of equality that, for Ambedkar as much as for Nehru, symbolically transcended—and indeed served as a fundamental foil to—caste.<sup>48</sup> Such concerns, which have historical roots in many lower-caste uplift movements, have influenced a range of lower-caste activists.<sup>49</sup> They have, with increasing pragmatic effectiveness, used caste to mobilize voters to gain access to resources—and greater substantive justice—within India’s political system (often by subsuming appeals to caste within new political parties). Yet even as they have done so, they have confronted caste’s ambiguous valences, not only as a resource for practical electoral mobilizing, but also as an institution that stands in symbolic opposition to the universal principles of individual freedom and equality enshrined in the people’s sovereignty.<sup>50</sup>

Such developments, in fact, suggest the problems in analyzing these tensions strictly in structural or class terms, however important these are to understanding the trajectories of India’s modern democratic history. The potential problems in such analyses are evident in Partha Chatterjee’s attempt to draw an interpretive distinction between “civil society” (a largely middle-class phenomenon) and “political so-

<sup>47</sup> “Review of the Working of Political Parties Specially in Relation to Elections and Reform Options,” consultation paper drafted by Professor R. B. Jain for the Advisory Panel on “Electoral Reforms and Standards in Political Life,” in *Report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution*, under the chairmanship of Justice Venkatachaliah (New Delhi, 2002), vol. 2, book 1, 434. One should note here that such views were not just those of a secular elite, but reflected also the views of many in the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (which had appointed the commission), who decried lower-caste “casteism” while seeing upper-caste power as simply natural and not reflective of “casteism” at all.

<sup>48</sup> For a discussion of these issues, though from a slightly different perspective, see Anupama Rao, “Ambedkar and the Politics of Minority: A Reading,” in Chakrabarty, Mazumdar, and Sartori, *From the Colonial to the Postcolonial*, 137–156.

<sup>49</sup> William Pinch’s work on the connections between Vaisnava reform and caste uplift in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century North India indicates this. Pinch’s analysis of the Ramanandi order suggests how, paradoxically, caste had come to be viewed by some reformers as the amoral antithesis of universalizing *bhakti* (devotional) equality, even as it offered at the same time a vehicle for moral regeneration and caste uplift linked to Ram as a *kshatriya* (warrior) model. See Pinch, *Peasants and Monks in British India*, 99–107.

<sup>50</sup> For some hints of such influence, see Kanchan Chandra, “The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India: The Decline of Congress and the Rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Hoshiarpur,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 1 (February 2000): 36–38. The role of anthropologists has been important in understanding such contradictory constructions of caste; see, for example, Lucia Michelutti, *The Vernacularisation of Democracy: Politics, Caste and Religion in India* (London, 2008).

ciety" (a form of politics linked to struggles over governance that defines lower-class political action). On one level, Chatterjee's dichotomy captures an important political dynamic. But his distinction risks obscuring the importance of "civil society" not simply as a form of middle-class politics, but as an imagined political *ideal* for both upper and lower castes, rooted in the image of free individual rational choice—an ideal that is always in tension with the realities of identity and the compulsions of everyday conflict and life. Indeed, this distinction mirrors common conceptions, among upper- and lower-caste Indians alike, of the interrelated—and yet opposing—elements constituting the self. Visions of the self cannot, of course, be easily reduced in India's diverse society to a single model. But the generality of a vision of the self composed, in the loosest sense, of higher and lower capacities, of self-discipline and passion in tension—and yet both necessary to the full construction of the person—has provided a powerful framework for naturalizing the idea of a state legitimized by association with higher, universalizing principles, even as its practical creation (and democratic operation) depends on the operation of particularistic politics and identities. While it is undoubtedly true that juxtapositions of self-discipline and "uncontrollable impulse," of higher and lower selves, have sometimes tracked for middle-class (and upper-caste) commentators onto class and caste divisions—and in ways that have justified elite use of power and violence against lower-caste and marginalized groups—their interconnection within popular conceptions of a sovereign body politic belies any attempt to take such distinctions as simple descriptions of a fixed class-based reality.<sup>51</sup>

Rather, the "rule of law" and the "rule of life," to use Krishna Iyer's terms, must be seen as in an inescapable dialectic relationship. An examination of the electoral jurisprudence of caste provides a window on this relationship, and in doing so, it also underscores the ways in which the universal and the particular provide the inseparable and necessary—yet still antithetical—foundations for India's democratic system. Institutionally, the polarities of law and politics, courts and elections, have established the meaning of Indian democracy. Judicial and electoral arenas have operated on sharply opposing principles. While elections allow the realities of everyday power (the "rule of life") to find reflection in direct political competition, the "rule of law" holds the facts of everyday life up to the light of the ideal models of behavior embodied in constitution and statute. The power of highly parochial identities in Indian electoral politics and life (often conjured as "primordial," or what Justice Iyer called the "social inside in the raw") has been matched in India's constitutional system by the unusual emphasis on judicial oversight in the matter of elections, exercised by both the courts and the Election Commission (however limited the practical impact of this oversight has sometimes been).<sup>52</sup> In critical respects,

<sup>51</sup> Chatterjee in fact sees a growing opposition between the "universal ideal of civic nationalism," on the one hand, and the "particular demands of cultural identity," on the other, as symptomatic of a transition in India (under global pressures) from a system based on popular sovereignty to one based on "governmentality." But, as has been suggested here, this tension was, from the beginning, at the very root of popular sovereignty, and thus of democracy itself. Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World* (New York, 2004), 3–8.

<sup>52</sup> Although based initially on British models, judicial intervention in elections is now of far wider scope in India than in Britain (or in most other countries). As Rajeev Dhavan has recently put it, writing on the judicial cases that commonly follow elections in India, "Indian democracy is visited with much greater post-electoral disputes than any other country in the world." Dhavan, "Whither Indian De-

the sharply marked character of the polarity between “primordial” particularity and universalizing “rationalism” has come to define the distinctive place of Indian democracy within the spectrum of the world’s democratic systems. If the rhetoric of judicial argument on caste has come to play an important role in structuring this polarity, it has done so not by transcending it or by reconciling oppositions, but rather by sustaining this polar tension, like the tension between—and interconnection of—a higher and lower self, as a conceptual framework for a democratic political structure.

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mocracy?” *The Hindu*, April 26, 1996. An appreciation of the full scope of judicial electoral intervention, however, must include an assessment not only of the role of the courts but also of the Indian Election Commission, which runs Indian elections at both the state and national levels. There is discussion of the Election Commission in David Gilmartin, “‘One Day’s Sultan’: T. N. Seshan and Indian Democracy,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, n.s. 43, no. 2 (2009): 247–284.

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Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Migration in the Advent of  
British Rule to Sri Lanka

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SUJIT SIVASUNDARAM

THE SPATIALLY BOUNDED FORM of the small island or constellation of small islands has often been a convenient receptacle for the idea of the polity, whether precolonial, colonial, or national. At the same time, the island space has generated a rich and contradictory discourse encompassing ideas of utopia, paradise, sexuality, degeneration, and disease. As Greg Denning magisterially writes of the Marquesas, "Crossing beaches is always dramatic. From land to sea and from sea to land is a long journey and either way the voyager is left a foreigner and an outsider."<sup>1</sup> Yet scholars have been taken captive by the structural ease and descriptive density with which islands have been made in history, so that an island or group of islands has seemed a natural unit of analysis. Denning's point that islands are essentially polyglot is critical. In creating island states and peoples, colonists and nationalists buried the creole and hybrid in a turn to the indigenous, endangered, and fragile. In other words, they searched after what was apparently found in the island and nowhere else.

The legacy of island-making has meant that until recently, world historians spent more time with large landmasses than with small and curious places at the edges of the map that are seemingly anomalous.<sup>2</sup> Sri Lanka is such a space, and one that has been marginalized in historical writing. One obvious reason why this island space has received so little attention is the question of where it figures in scholarly geographies: Does it belong in Southeast Asia or South Asia? Yet this unhelpful scholarly quandary is itself a relic of colonial island-making. The narrative of British colonialism from the last decade of the eighteenth century reveals a story of experimentation.

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<sup>1</sup> Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourses on a Silent Land—Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu, 1980), 32. For the history of island-making, see also Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, eds., *Islands in History and Representation* (London, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> The growth of Atlantic and Pacific oceanic history has, however, started to change this, and the Indian Ocean historiography is also starting to catch up. For critical overviews of these fields, see "AHR Forum: Oceans of History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 717–780; and also Markus P. M. Vink, "Indian Ocean Studies and the New Thalassology," *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007): 41–62.



The island's coastal regions were first governed as an attachment to the British East India Company's southern territories in the Madras Presidency from 1796. As a result of revolt against this regime of governance, Ceylon, as the British termed the island space, eventually became a separate colony under the Crown in 1802. Ever since the British bounded Sri Lanka in this way, it has not been able to take on a non-islanded political geography.<sup>3</sup>

THE MAKING OF THE ISLAND as a separate unit of governance in turn dictated a colonial policing of the movement of peoples, so that belonging on the island equated with a different identity than did coming from the mainland or elsewhere in Asia. Yet this colonial program took on board some elements of precolonial social structure. The highland Buddhist kingdom of Kandy, the last independent monarchy in Sri Lanka, offers an important example. Even as Kandy went repeatedly into battle and stand-offs with Europeans who had taken the coasts of the island—the Portuguese (r. 1594–1658), the Dutch (r. 1640–1796), and then the British—identities within the kingdom started to contort. The people of Kandy began to differentiate themselves from outsiders.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, foreigners were continuing to arrive within the kingdom as a result of warfare with Europeans. Critically, the last Kandyan kings themselves hailed from South India. The British misunderstood the way in which indigeneity was couched within the idea of the cosmopolitan: the Kandyan kingdom shows the evolution of a Sinhala identity, alongside the continuing adoption of peoples from outside into the core of its structures. After the British took over the kingdom, they sought to repatriate all those who rightly belonged in Company India rather than Crown Ceylon, referring to them as “Malabars,” a term inherited from the Dutch. More broadly, “Malabars” were seen to be foreigners, in contrast to the Sinhala indigenes. In the later nineteenth century, the term was replaced by “Ceylon Tamil,” and so emerged the modern ethnic division on the island. The British definition of indigeneity in the early nineteenth century, and its intervention in changing conceptions of ethnicity, is a critical component in explaining contemporary Sri Lanka, and should have a place in longer histories of ethnicity in the island.

The origin of the ethnic division between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils has quite naturally, in the context of the recent civil war, served as the dominant question in the historiography on Sri Lanka.<sup>5</sup> Historical answers were first molded by a framework inspired by the work of Edward Said that emphasized the colonial consolidation of ethnic difference in accord with European ideas of race.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the British advance into Kandy in this early period, see Colvin R. De Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation, 1796–1833*, 2 vols. (Colombo, 1953–1962); and U. C. Wickremaratne, *The Conservative Nature of British Rule in Sri Lanka* (New Delhi, 1995). For an attempt to place the British advance in the context of the late Dutch period, see Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815: Expansion and Reform* (Leiden, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> For senses of Sinhala in this period, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, “The People of the Lion: The Sinhala Identity and Ideology in History and Historiography,” *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 5, no. 1–2 (1979): 1–36; and K. N. O. Dharmadasa, “‘The People of the Lion’: Ethnic Identity, Ideology, and Historical Revisionism in Contemporary Sri Lanka,” *Ethnic Studies Report* 10 (1992): 37–59.

<sup>5</sup> “Ethnicity” and “ethnic difference” are the terms currently used in Sri Lanka to refer to the distinction between the “Sinhalese” and “Tamils.”

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Jonathan Spencer, ed., *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict* (London,

Recently the literature has shifted to a post-Saidian position, suggesting that the advent of the British to the island in the early nineteenth century was important, but not all-defining.<sup>7</sup> According to this line of argument, the firming up of ethnicity is usually dated to the period after the 1830s, when a liberal age of reform dispensed with caste differences, leaving ethnicity as the prevalent form of colonial social categorization. In India, by contrast, the use of caste continued.<sup>8</sup> This new direction of argument emphasizes that early colonial categorizations before 1830 were slippery and ill-formed and that their power was restricted; thus they should not be taken as a baseline. One way in which their power was minimized was through existent senses of identity within the island prior to the colonial takeover. Yet factors other than precolonial senses of difference or the later colonial modernist ideology of change must be considered in describing the emergence and consolidation of the Sinhala-Tamil divide.

Crucially, this narrative of the consolidation of ethnicity should not be islanded by a confinement to the processes and structures within the island.<sup>9</sup> Sri Lankan ethnicities emerged in the context of the movement of peoples between India, the island, and the wider region and in the colonial state's attempt to impose new norms and meanings on those movements. As Arjun Appadurai's provocative work shows, the difference between majorities and minorities is crystallized out of the entanglement of state-building with globalization. In the colonial era as well, the friction between the making of the colony and the flow of peoples shifted and created distinctions between those who belonged and those who did not, and this is evident in the period that saw the advent of British rule in Sri Lanka. Thus it is revealing to place the history of ethnicity and colonialism in a transcolonial perspective that shows how the local and the global shape each other.<sup>10</sup>

It is easy to consider island-making and its turn to indigeneity and ethnicity as

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1990); Pradeep Jeganathan and Qadri Ismail, eds., *Unmaking the Nation: The Politics of Identity and History in Modern Sri Lanka* (Colombo, 1995); and Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978). The seminal article on the formation of identity in the island also emphasizes the advent of colonial categories as definitive. It has been reprinted twice, in 1984 and 1990, since its first appearance as Gunawardana, "The People of the Lion."

<sup>7</sup> Despite the different nuances, the following are relevant here: Michael Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period, 1590s to 1815* (Colombo, 2003); John D. Rogers, "Colonial Perceptions of Ethnicity and Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Sri Lanka," in Peter Robb, ed., *Society and Ideology: Essays in South Asian History* (Delhi, 1993); Rogers, "Early British Rule and Social Classification in Lanka," *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (2004): 625–647. For Sinhala notions of identity, see also K. N. O. Dharmadasa, *Language, Religion, and Ethnic Assertiveness: The Growth of Sinhalese Nationalism in Sri Lanka* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), chap. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See Rogers, "Early British Rule and Social Classification in Lanka"; and also John D. Rogers, "Caste as a Social Category and Identity in Colonial Lanka," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 41, no. 1 (2004): 51–77.

<sup>9</sup> Rogers's careful and important work, cited above, makes the point that Sri Lanka should be contextualized as a region within South Asia. There are at least two other works that attend to the island's connections to the mainland. For caste formation in the island in relation to India in the early modern period, see Michael Roberts, "From Southern India to Lanka: The Traffic in Commodities, Bodies and Myths from the Thirteenth Century Onwards," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1980): 37–47. The relationship between the mainland and the island also features in Sanjay Subrahmanyam's article "Noble Harvest: Managing the Pearl Fishery of Mannar, 1500–1925," in Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia* (Delhi, 1996), 134–172.

<sup>10</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Durham, N.C., 2006), 45.

a matter of discourse alone. Yet structural interventions during this period of British rule are of critical note—not least because the political organization of the island was undergoing dramatic changes in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth. The separation of islanders and mainlanders came about partly because of the different structures of Crown and Company that governed these territories, and the irritations that were generated in the correspondence between the two. After some decades of attention to questions of discourse, world historians are now turning to the state and governance once more. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam notes, the structure of the state in Asia was in flux at the end of the eighteenth century, and this affected discourses of identity.<sup>11</sup> The entanglement of structural forms with discourse means that the argument here cannot be read as a reductionist one, with the term “island” simply standing for the physical space that it is said to occupy.

The impact of colonialism—in South Asia in particular—has been one of the most debated and contested questions of imperial historiography. Yet there are signs that the days of battle have been superseded by new concerns. The established debate raised questions about continuity and change from the precolonial to the colonial periods, and about the agency of colonized peoples and the power of the colonial state.<sup>12</sup> One of the outcomes of this debate is that a study of precolonial identities is essential for an assessment of the impact of colonial schemes of classification. In a place such as Sri Lanka, immigration and assimilation have a long history. At the same time, however, it is undoubted that the scale of British intervention was unprecedented. In the island, this period saw colonialism unfolding across the whole territory for the first time. In this context, a simple view of the precolonial as indigenous or authentic and as carrying through into an imperial age is difficult to sustain. By moving beyond continuity versus change and placing analyses of patriotism, identity, and indeed the roots of nationalism on a transregional or even transnational canvas, it is possible for new questions to emerge in the study of the impact of colonialism.

THE LAST KING of Kandy, Sri Vickrama Rajasimha, died in captivity on January 30, 1832, in the fort at Vellore in the Madras Presidency. The family of Tipu Sultan, who had ruled Mysore and was vilified as an oriental despot by the British, was also held in this fort. Sri Vickrama Rajasimha was attended by a European surgeon, who found him to be “affected generally with the dropsy,” but the king also asked to be treated by a “native medical practitioner” and in his last hours preferred the latter. He asked his keeper to burn his body on a plot of ground to be set aside for the purpose and sufficient for a “kind of tomb” to be “built over the ashes . . . a small garden being formed and a small Chattry being erected for the accommodation of a superinten-

<sup>11</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Penumbra Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2001).

<sup>12</sup> For alternative sides of this debate, see C. A. Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (Delhi, 1998); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); and Eugene Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).



*The late King of Kandy, from a drawing by a Native.*

FIGURE 1: "The late King of Kandy, from a drawing by a Native," from John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and Its Inhabitants with Travels in That Island* (London, 1821). Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

dent Bramin [*sic*] and water to travellers."<sup>13</sup> In making this request, the king pointed his keeper to a drawing in his possession of the family tombs at Kandy to show the type of building that he hoped would be raised over his ashes. Yet in asking for a "Chattry," he seems to have had in mind a dome-shaped Hindu funerary monument, typical, for instance, of the Rajputs of India, rather than one consistent with the Buddhist cultural traditions of Kandy.<sup>14</sup> Despite the kingdom of Kandy's heritage, its memory was forged within Hindu norms in this conversation. Understanding why Sri Vickrama Rajasimha was taken from the highlands of Ceylon to South India and why he adopted Hindu symbols can serve as a point of entry into the larger question of how the British intervened in the economy of migration between the mainland and the island.

Sri Vickrama Rajasimha's death marked the end of the Nayakkar royal line, which is said to have commenced with the ascension of Sri Viyaya Rajasimha (r.

<sup>13</sup> Lieut. Col. F. P. Stewart, Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, to Richard Clive, Acting Secretary of Government, January 20, 1831; and Stewart to Henry Chamier, Chief Secretary of Government, January 9, 1832, File F/4/1461, India Office Records, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London [hereafter IOR].

<sup>14</sup> See R. L. Mishra, *The Mortuary Monuments in Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1991), 95.



1739–1747), and which had its origins in South India.<sup>15</sup> The fall of the coastal polities of the island to the Portuguese by the early seventeenth century set the context for a dearth of suitable brides of the superior solar caste for the Kandyan monarchy in the interior of the island. In South India, meanwhile, a class of settlers called the Nayaks, including military adventurers and governors, had broken away from the nominal overlordship of the Vijayanagara Empire. There was thus a congruence of interests between the Kandyans' need to procure brides who could be presented as belonging to the solar caste and the Nayaks' need to stabilize their fortunes in South India. After marrying into the Kandyan royal line, the Nayaks eventually took it over when a Kandyan monarch was unable to sire children with his Nayakkar queens.

The status of the Nayakkar line has served as a point of sustained debate in Sri Lankan history.<sup>16</sup> Were they always perceived as foreigners from South India, or were they internalized? They certainly portrayed themselves as pious Buddhists, in keeping with Kandy's religious ethos, and they were tutored in the Sinhala and Pali languages by Buddhist priests while overseeing a period of cultural renaissance in the interior. Yet a plot in 1760 to depose the Nayakkar monarch, Kirti Sri Rajasimha (r. 1747–1782), may have been prompted by his adherence to the Hindu custom of anointing himself with ash.<sup>17</sup> When the Nayaks multiplied, they were segregated in Kandy and given a separate street for their use, which after the British invasion was called "Malabar Street."<sup>18</sup> It is useful to see the Nayaks as being both excluded from and included in what it meant to be Sinhala and Buddhist, where the sense of these categories is taken to indicate the period's meanings. The traditional idea of bounded or static identity is unhelpful in coming to terms with the shifts in both the self-presentation of these monarchs and how they were viewed by their courts. At the same time, the political import and cultural signification of being Sinhala were not equivalent; it was possible at times to be a Sinhala king even while not being Sinhala in cultural terms.

An important issue that has attracted far less attention from scholars is how the Nayakkar line forged their place in the politics and culture of the wider region. In the centuries prior to Kandy's conquest by the British, the kingdom had linkages with Southeast Asia and South India, involving both the passage of peoples and the formation of a sense of regional community. Kandy might be usefully contextualized

<sup>15</sup> For details of the rise and fall of the Nayakkar line, see Lorna Dewaraja, *A Study of the Political, Administrative, and Social Structure of the Kandyan Kingdom of Ceylon, 1707–1760* (Colombo, 1972); 2nd rev. ed., *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka, 1707–1782* (Colombo, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> For the original debate, see K. N. O. Dharmadasa, "The Sinhala-Buddhist Identity and the Nayakkar Dynasty in the Politics of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1793–1815," *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* 6, no. 1 (1976): 1–23; and H. L. Seneviratne, "The Alien King," *ibid.*, 55–61. For more recent contributions to this debate, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "Colonialism, Ethnicity and the Construction of the Past: The Changing 'Ethnic Identity' of the Last Four Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom," in Martin van Bakel, Renee Hagesteijn, and Pieter van de Velde, eds., *Pivot Politics: Changing Cultural Identities in Early State Formation Processes* (Amsterdam, 1994), 197–211; Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period*, 46–52; Anne Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice in Eighteenth-Century Lankan Monastic Culture* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 32–35; and John Holt, *The Religious World of Kīrti Śrī: Buddhism, Art, and Politics in Late Medieval Sri Lanka* (New York, 1996). None of these authors follow the story of the repatriation of the last king of Kandy to the Vellore fort.

<sup>17</sup> Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period*, 49. Other historians disagree and point to the economic motivations for this plot; see Dewaraja, *A Study of the Political, Administrative, and Social Structure of the Kandyan Kingdom*, 108.

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period*, 51.



in relation to the late-eighteenth-century pattern of politics in Southeast Asia, such as Burma and Siam, that underwent a process of centralization, integration, and cultural reconstruction.<sup>19</sup> Just as in the island, the changes involved a new kingly patronage of Theravada Buddhism, the restoration of scholarly monks, and kingly interest in works of scholarship, translation, history, and art.<sup>20</sup>

Various island kings had established connections with Burma and Siam. Particularly noteworthy is the rather exaggerated claim in the twelfth-century section of the Buddhist chronicle the *Culavamsa*. It tells of how the monarch Parakramabahu I, who ascended the throne in 1153 A.D., was victorious in war against the king of Ramanna, and used a navy that “sailed forth in the midst of the ocean . . . like a swimming island.”<sup>21</sup> Ramanna is Ra-manyā, or what later became lower Burma.<sup>22</sup> This episode was exceptional. For the most part, relations with Burma were friendly and beneficial for both sides, and were cemented by the shared bond of Theravada Buddhism and the passage of monks between the two territories. When the need arose for religious revival, Burma looked to the island. Similarly, when Kandy’s rulers needed to reestablish higher ordination for the Buddhist clergy, they looked to Burma. At the tail end of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, monks had been sent from Arakan to Kandy. Right on time, in 1799, a monk proceeded to Burma with five novices to gain higher ordination there, this time from the British territories on the coast. On returning to Ceylon in 1803, this group set up a new fraternity, the Amarapura Nikaya, which continues to this day.<sup>23</sup> The Amarapura Nikaya provides a successful example of the localization of an imported heritage of Theravada Buddhism, and points to the fragmentation of the Buddhist church that resulted from the division between British-controlled territories and Kandy.<sup>24</sup>

Religious revivalism also underpinned Kandy’s connections with Siam. There were two failed attempts to revive the island’s Buddhist church through contact with Siam during the reign of Sri Vijaya Rajasimha (r. 1739–1747); they were followed by two successful attempts during the reign of his successor, Kirti Sri Rajasimha. Twenty-five monks from Siam arrived in 1753, while a second group arrived in 1756.<sup>25</sup> The strength of this connection is exemplified by the 1760 plot against Kirti Sri: some members of the Buddhist clergy, who had benefited from the king’s religious revival,

<sup>19</sup> Anthony Reid, ed., *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750–1900* (Basingstoke, 1997), Introduction and chap. 1; and Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830* (Cambridge, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> For more on this, see Sujit Sivasundaram, “The British Empire and Indigenous Heritages in the South Pacific, South-East Asia and Southern Africa,” in Peter Mandler and Astrid Swenson, eds., *The Heritage of the British Empire* (forthcoming).

<sup>21</sup> *Culavamsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahavamsa*, trans. William Geiger, 2 vols. (1829; repr., Delhi, 1998), 2: chap. 86, line 56.

<sup>22</sup> For scrutiny of this claim, see Sirima Wickremasinghe, “Ceylon’s Relations with South-East Asia, with Special Reference to Burma,” *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* 3 (1960): 38–58.

<sup>23</sup> For the passage of monks back and forth, see Kitsiri Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society, 1750–1900* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), 56–57, 97–98.

<sup>24</sup> For the argument about successful importation, see Anne M. Blackburn, “Localizing Lineage: Importing Higher Education in Theravadin South and Southeast Asia,” in John Clifford Holt, Jacob N. Kinnard, and Jonathan Walters, eds., *Constituting Communities: Theravada Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia* (New York, 2003), 131–149.

<sup>25</sup> Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 61–67; Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 114–115.

sought to assassinate him and have him replaced with a Siamese prince.<sup>26</sup> The plotters designed an elaborate plan to kill Kirti Sri. They set a pit of sharp spikes under his chair at a religious ceremony. Having learned of the plot, the monarch arrived at the ceremony and exposed the pit, and the event went on as if nothing had happened. The Siamese prince and monks were sent back home.<sup>27</sup>

Kandy's relations with the outside world followed the geographical contours of Dutch colonialism. The Dutch shipped ambassadors and monks on their vessels from Kandy to Southeast Asia. For instance, Kirti Sri's embassy to Siam in 1750 went via Aceh, Sumatra, and Malacca. The vessel flew the Dutch flag throughout the journey; it was lowered and replaced with the "Lion Flag of Lanka" only upon approaching Siam.<sup>28</sup> The Dutch, for their own part, were deeply suspicious of Kandy's external relationships, especially the connections with the wider world that the Nayakkar line brought with them as immigrants from South India. They provided assistance in procuring brides and monks in order to control these relationships to the extent that they could.<sup>29</sup>

The movements of peoples and the sense of community were not directed only toward Southeast Asia, and were not purely religious in this period. A series of intriguing letters between the kingdom of Kandy and a South Indian coastal polity (possibly Arcot) and between Kandy and the French based in Pondicherry suggest the need to place the highland state in the context of the Indian mainland.<sup>30</sup> The Nayakkars did not forget their mainland connections upon coming to power in Kandy; indeed, they spoke to the mainland with a sense of authority and with the hope of respect. In so doing, they did not necessarily bring a new relationship to India. But their correspondence is striking given that Kandy was landlocked by the European colonists who had taken the coasts.

One of the letters, possibly from the Kandyan monarch Rajadhi Rajasinha, was drafted in gold characters, wrapped in two muslin handkerchiefs, and placed into a bag of gold tinsel cloth, which itself was then wrapped in a handkerchief and placed in a white bag and tied up in handkerchiefs. The text included a notice of gifts: "We are in receipt of the set of golden garment [*sic*] which you with your good will sent unto us. In return We are gracefully sending a set of golden garments, a letter bearing our seal and two elephants, one a she-elephant and the other a baby."<sup>31</sup> Accompanying this letter was another of the same date from "Divaka Wickramasinghe, the General of His Most Gracious Majesty (the Beneficent Great Court), the Lord of Sri Lanka." Wickramasinghe heaped praise upon the character of his enlightened monarch, describing him as "resplendent with multitudinous glory as clear and ex-

<sup>26</sup> Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 66; for a full discussion of this plot, see Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 119–124.

<sup>27</sup> Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 121–124.

<sup>28</sup> P. E. Pieris, trans., "An Account of Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* 18 (1903): 22.

<sup>29</sup> Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 99–103.

<sup>30</sup> C. Rasanayagam, *Tamil Documents in the Government Archives* (Colombo, 1937). This includes a total of five translated letters. I refer to three of them in this paragraph. In addition to this relationship with Arcot, Kandy also had close links with the Tevar of Ramnad, whose territory was separated from the island by the narrowest stretch of sea, being on the opposite coast of the mainland. See Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 97–99.

<sup>31</sup> Draft of the King's Reply to the Nawab of Arcot, dated November 4, 1786, in Rasanayagam, *Tamil Documents in the Government Archives*, 10.

cessively white as snow, *kunda* flowers, sandal paste, autumnal Moon, milk, white lotus, celestial elephant, stars, pearl necklace.” He pointed out that ambassadors from “many countries” had visited Kandy. Having drawn attention to the kingdom’s greatness, he then meted out his criticism of Arcot:

Now the persons who came to represent the honour of Rajamannya Raja Sri the Nawab received presents on their hands, placed them down and departed to their resting place, before the persons who accompanied them could have given them their presents and before they (the envoys) could have been sent away with due respect and honour . . . Some forms of etiquette observed in the island of Lanka may appear disrespectful to you and some of yours may appear disrespectful to us . . . Therefore do not send such Ambassadors. If such are sent we shall not receive them nor talk to them.<sup>32</sup>

These letters between Kandy and India were retrieved from the palace at Kandy after the city’s invasion by the British in 1815. Another letter in that loot was sent by Magdom Lebbe (Magdom Ismail) from Ramnad, on the east coast of South India, and was addressed to the chief minister at Kandy. Written in Arabic-Tamil, it carried news from the mainland. It mentioned a war in Madras and reported that “owing to storms and floods, sloops and boats are in great distress.” Most of the content was devoted to matters of maritime trade. The reason for its Arabic-Tamil script is spelled out: it was necessary in order to prevent information from falling into the hands of the British. The importance of the straits surrounding the island of Mannar, on the northwest coast of Ceylon, was also explained: “there is a house near the Sundresa Aiyer Chattiram (traveller’s bungalow) in the Isthmus of Pamban near Kovilgramamam village at the confluence of the southern and northern seas which is a convenient place for going and coming.” The agent communicated his plan for housing his son at this place. He talked about the possibility of trading in cloths from the mainland: “If after a year or two of business in clothes we find it profitable we can always do that business. If the present samples are approved of, we can send clothes and shell bangles.”<sup>33</sup>

In the decades before the British conquest, the kingdom of Kandy therefore had at least two axes of relations with the outside world: toward Burma and Siam, and also toward South India. These relationships suggest a formation of identity and kingship that drew on regional patterns but was at the same time grasping for independence and respect. The identity of the king and the religion and politics of the kingdom were forged in a larger sphere, and the Nayaks kept up those outside connections. These political, religious, and economic links affected the character of the kingdom and its discourse of Sinhala-ness. An argument can be made that they influenced the composition and sense of placement of Kandy.

<sup>32</sup> Draft of a Letter from the Chief Minister of the King to the Minister of the Nawab, *ibid.*, 10–11.

<sup>33</sup> “An Arabic-Tamil Letter Written by Magdom Lebbe Alias Magdom Ismail, an Envoy from Pondicherry, to the Chief Minister at Kandy from Ramanadapuram on or about 1 October 1799,” *ibid.*, 12–13. For more on the role of Muslim traders within the Kandyan kingdom, see Lorna Dewaraja, *The Muslims of Sri Lanka: One Thousand Years of Ethnic Harmony, 900–1915* (Colombo, 1994).

WAR POEMS SERVE as an intriguing set of sources on the history of the island.<sup>34</sup> One such poem, the *Ingrisi Hatana* ("The English Battle"), survives from the Kandyans' decisive victory over the British in 1803. The *Ingrisi Hatana* has been preserved in a valuable and essentially unmined collection of palm leaf manuscripts from the island, which date back to the medieval period. These long, thin sheets are beautiful objects of workmanship, with ornate covers and with string binding and lettering.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that war poems were recited to inspire troops or to celebrate victory, and that the preserved copy of the *Ingrisi Hatana* is merely a written transcription of an oral ballad. Such a use is supported by the metric forms of these poems. The *Ingrisi Hatana* shows how warfare with the British, like previous wars, strengthened Kandyan confidence and identity. Its rendition of the English defeat is gory, and the victory is consistently linked to the strength of Sinhalaness:

Behold! how the Sinhala troops showed their might on the battlefield, cutting and slashing the enemy, hurling them to the ground, chasing them down; beating them, tying them up, cursing at them, tauntingly asking "How are you doing?," stealing what they were wearing and looting, with no hint of compassion.

Some men in the Sinhala army, wielding large and strong cudgels as weapons, pursued the enemy and clubbed them in the head until they were dead. Others wrenched the lances and other weapons from their hands, their umbrellas and flags, while still others seized their elephants, horses, and buffaloes.

Some men in the Sinhala army threw the enemy soldiers to the ground, tearing off the red armor they were wearing; others smashed the pots of rice and hoppers [a kind of pancake] and other things they were cooking on the ground, while others made off with boxes of money, glasses and barrels of arrack, rum, and the like.

Some clever fighters jumped right into the middle of the fight and beheaded the enemy soldiers; others subdued the enemy, threw them to the ground, and bound their hands from behind. Others taunted them: "If you are so smart, then let's see you get out of here alive." Some of the enemy soldiers fled; it was more than they could bear.

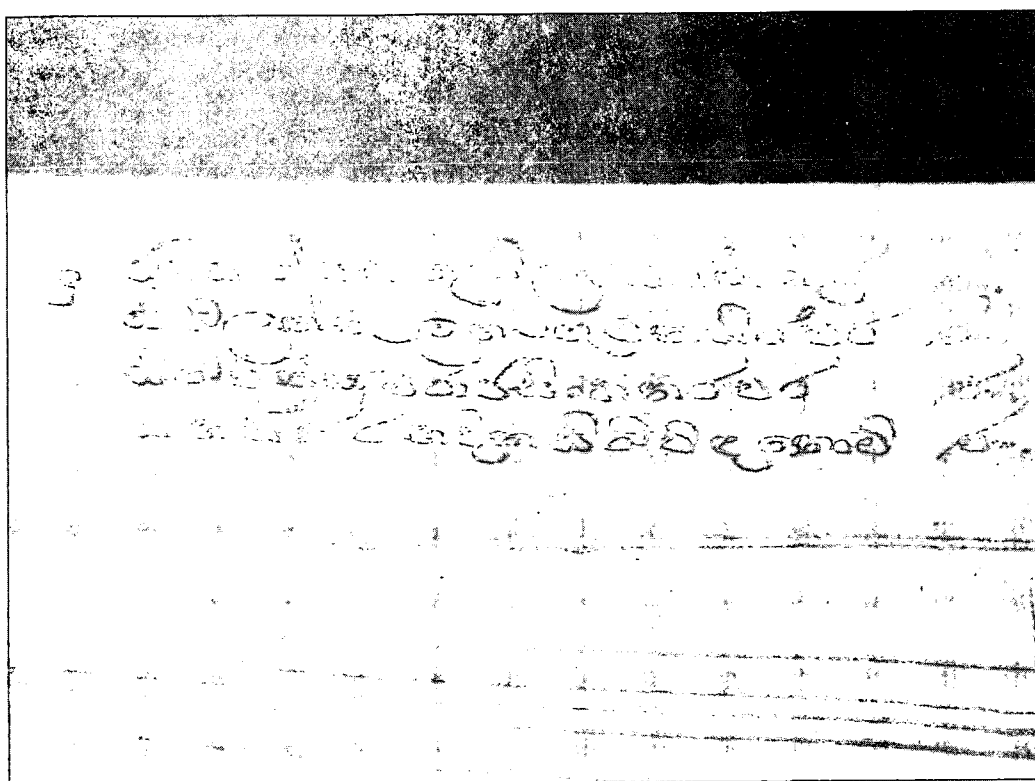
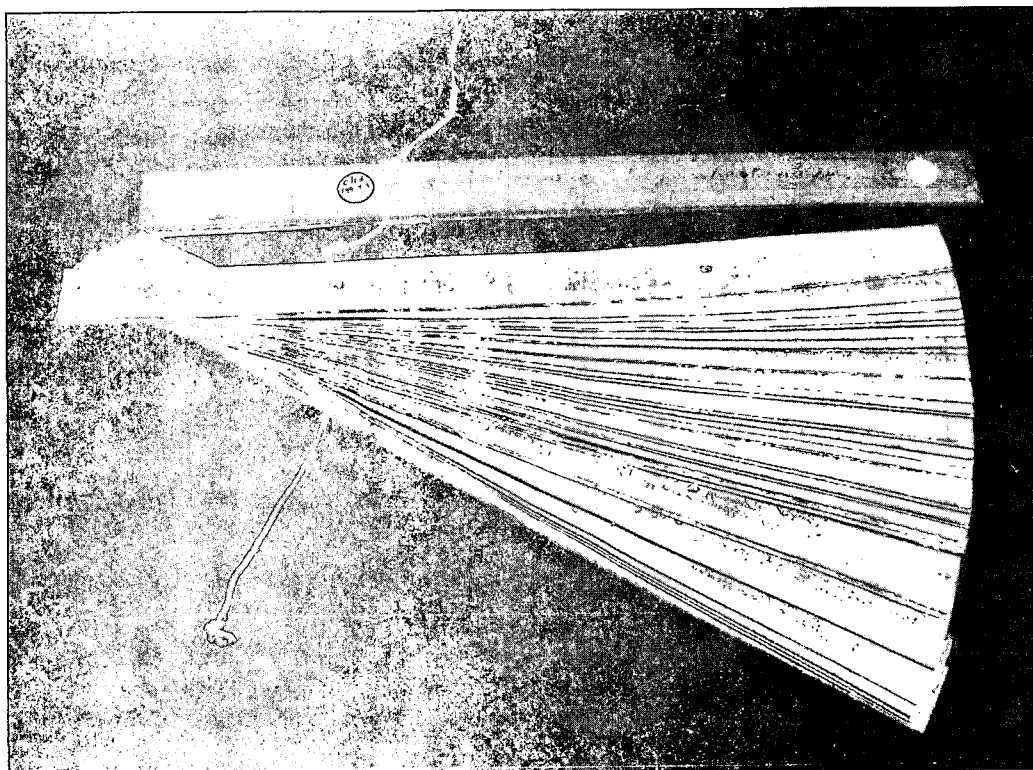
Thus the Sinhala army, with no fear of war, showed their might. Then some of the enemy soldiers dropped their weapons. They were taken to be shown to the king. Others in the English army ran away in defeat.

The bulk of the *Ingrisi Hatana* is devoted to the demeanor and status of Sri Vickrama Rajasimha, who was later exiled to South India by the British. The king's actions are seen in the lineage of Sinhalaness. Repeatedly he is said to have united the three Sinhalas—Ruhunu, Pihiti, and Maya, which were seen as three separate historic kingdoms of the island. "As brave as a lion that rips open the heads of elephant-like enemies, King Sri Vickrama Rajasimha, glorious and majestic, shines like a

<sup>34</sup> The discussion of war poems in this paragraph draws on the analytical claims of Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period*. The following citations from the *Ingrisi Hatana* are from a full translation of this manuscript that I have undertaken from Sinhala to English in collaboration with Professor Udaya Meddegama of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. Copies of the *Ingrisi Hatana* are available to view in the Museum Library, Colombo; see, for instance, K.11.

<sup>35</sup> For a valuable recent survey of themes covered in palm leaf manuscripts, see Sirancee Gunawaradana, *Palm Leaf Manuscripts of Sri Lanka* (Ratmalana, Sri Lanka, 1997).





FIGURES 2 AND 3: A copy of the *Ingrisi Hatana* at the Colombo Museum, Sri Lanka, and detail from a leaf of the same copy. Reproduced by permission of the Director of the Colombo Museum.



bright light in the ‘three Simhala.’” At the same time, the poet pointed to the spread of the king’s fame beyond the realms of the island: “Having brought Sri Lanka under one parasol [as a united kingdom], spreading glory in many other countries, His Majesty King Sri Vickrama, may you ever know pleasure, like God-King Sakra!” The “whole of India” was said to be “shining with the splendor” of this king. The victory would be known in “the world” for “five thousand years.” By uniting the land in victory, the king was declared “a lion-king who displays his splendor among elephants.”

This mode of representing kingly triumph was well established in the literature of the island. The “lion king” motif in particular signifies Sinhala-ness, and points to the myth of origin of the Sinhala people, according to which they descended from a lion.<sup>36</sup> The 1803 victory did not bring the entire island under Kandyan rule, as the British continued to hold the coastal regions. Yet the rhetoric of unity and its correspondence to Sinhala-ness and kingship denotes how warfare with Europeans since the time of the Portuguese had served as a context for the evolution of identity, state-making, and associated cultural practices. It also shows the strong hold that the idea of the united island polity had in precolonial Kandy.

THERE IS ANOTHER SIDE to Kandy that needs also to be kept in view. Despite the discourse of Sinhala, it was actually a cosmopolitan kingdom, at least at the elite level; it contained significant elements of diversity. In addition to the monarchs, the Kandyan court and kingdom included a number of important functionaries who had come from or who traced their descent from elsewhere, and who did not lose their identities while being integrated into the structures of the state. In 1810, the British Resident in Kandy, John D’Oyly, who famously depended on spies disguised as monks and traders to discover the workings of the kingdom, noted that the Kandyan king’s paid soldiers included 250 to 300 Malays, 200 “Kaffirs,” or troops from Africa, 20 sepoys from India, 250 Muslims, and 100 “Malabars.”<sup>37</sup> It is likely that a good number of them were deserters from European troops on the island. Throughout their wars with Europeans, the Kandyans also utilized a number of Europeans in their own ranks. In 1803, the British were shocked to learn that one of their artillerymen, a man named Benson, had deserted to the side of the Kandyans. Benson then took charge of the production of gunpowder in Kandy.<sup>38</sup>

Not only was Kandy’s cosmopolitanism reflected in the manner of its defense, but it also carried through to matters of trade. Here the kingdom relied heavily on a number of Moors or Muslims who had been forced into the interior as a result of persecution by the Portuguese. The Moors became the prime advisers to the Kandyan kings on commerce and formed part of the carriage bullock department. They were in charge, for instance, of the royal monopoly over the areca nut trade; they transported the nuts on oxen to the Dutch border, and even hoped to evade Dutch scrutiny and sell them to South Indian merchants. Moors were integrated into

<sup>36</sup> For the origin myth, see Gunawardana, “The People of the Lion.”

<sup>37</sup> Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*, 201.

<sup>38</sup> Channa Wickremasekera, *Kandy at War: Indigenous Military Resistance to European Expansion in Sri Lanka, 1594–1818* (Colombo, 2004), 60.

the Kandyan kingdom with such facility that they were assigned the task of cleaning the silver and gold vessels used at the sacred Temple of Buddha's tooth relic.<sup>39</sup> Thus, not only did European expansion provide a context for the identity of the Kandyan state to be firmed up as Sinhala, it provided a series of entrants into Kandy, ranging from Europeans to Moors, who made it a cosmopolitan kingdom. The turn to Sinhalaness and this continued cosmopolitanism should not be seen as opposites; for ideas of the cosmopolitan and indigeneity are often engaged in a dialectic encounter in history.

While these changes in composition and placement were taking place in the interior, South Indians continued to arrive along the coastal belt as well, a zone that is not in prime view here, where new castes emerged as the immigrants were absorbed into society.<sup>40</sup> The caste of cinnamon peelers, for instance, emerged among immigrants who had belonged to the weaver caste in South India. In the early British period, connections with the Coromandel coast were particularly strong. Migrants from the coast were said to have come to the island and resided there "for years, carrying on a brisk trade and forming connections with families which are of the same caste as themselves."<sup>41</sup> One historian of immigration has argued that the presence of people of South Indian origin has been a continuous feature of the island's history, and that even the tide of indentured laborers who worked on plantations in the later decades of the nineteenth century should be contextualized in relation to earlier patterns.<sup>42</sup>

Clearly, the relationship between the island's peoples, their identities, and the wider world was complex: arrivals from the outside were assimilated even as they altered existent social distinctions. The structural patterns of Kandy's relations with the outside world and wars with Europeans had an impact on the kingdom's organization and composition, and in turn on its discourse of Sinhalaness.

THE BRITISH DID NOT UNDERSTAND the complexity of these relationships, and their policies eventually swung to a position that viewed the island as distinct from the mainland. For these colonists were in search of the truly indigenous in the island of Ceylon—which would then consolidate their new territory as a cohesive whole. Such an intention was particularly evident in how they sought to repatriate those in Kandy who had recently come from India, and who were related to or associated with the royal family. This was a campaign driven by political necessity. By dispatching Malabars to India from the interior, the British sought to stabilize the security of the island as a colony. This program shows that they saw the Sinhalese as "indigenous" peoples and the Malabars as recent arrivals from South India.

The first few years of British rule on the coastal belt of the island, before the taking of Kandy, shed light on how the placement of islanders in the wider region was recast by Britons. The British first took the Dutch territories of the coast in 1796,

<sup>39</sup> All of this information is from Dewaraja, *The Muslims of Sri Lanka*, chap. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Roberts, "From Southern India to Lanka." For a general analysis of castes in the island in relation to the mainland, see Rogers, "Caste as a Social Category and Identity in Colonial Lanka."

<sup>41</sup> Cited in Roberts, "From Southern India to Lanka," 38.

<sup>42</sup> Patrick Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon* (London, 2001).

in fear that they would fall to the French, and governed them under the East India Company's Madras Presidency. The early British officers in Ceylon thus attempted to make its governance conform to the pattern of the Madras Presidency.<sup>43</sup> Robert Andrews, who was in charge of revenues, grew apprehensive of the powers of the chief headmen through whom Europeans had governed prior to this period. In accordance with a proclamation of 1796, the headmen were stripped of their authority; their duties were then entrusted to officers from South India. In addition to these "Malabar" officials, a range of adventurers from South India arrived on the island and took up tax farming. These changes generated widespread discontent, which was brought to a head by the imposition of a tax on coconut trees and the abolition of service tenures. Open revolt followed, as a result of which the Madras government lost its direct authority over the island's territories.<sup>44</sup> In 1798, Fredrick North became the first governor of Ceylon. He was asked to report not to Madras, but to Calcutta and the East India Company's Court of Directors. During this period of dual control, the Crown had authority over civil and military duties, while the Company had charge of commerce. Given the failures of Madras's rule of Ceylon, North displayed a disdain of the southern presidency.<sup>45</sup> He had initially hoped that the island would be placed directly under Bengal as a separate presidency, but after it became a Crown colony in 1802, he slowly came to realize that this gave him a measure of extra authority.<sup>46</sup>

North's frosty relations with Madras are also apparent in his dealings with Kandy. Throughout his career, most particularly in his disastrous attempt to invade the kingdom in 1803, he was motivated by a belief that the Kandyan court was split by a "Malabar faction": namely that the Sinhala aristocracy resented the king and his relatives because they were foreigners from South India.<sup>47</sup> In this regard, he shared the Dutch perception of the Kandyan court. In the mid-eighteenth century, one Dutchman expressed a wish to see a "Kandyan prince" on the throne so that "the pernicious coast Nayakkars, Malabars and Moorish scum" could be extracted.<sup>48</sup> North attempted at first to forge a subsidiary alliance with Kandy, modeled on those common in India. Accordingly, he hoped to station a British garrison in the kingdom,

<sup>43</sup> The material for this paragraph is drawn primarily from De Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, 1: chap. 7.

<sup>44</sup> See also Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 152–158.

<sup>45</sup> See also U. C. Wickremaratne, "The English East India Company and Society in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1796–1802," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1971): 139–155; and Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 146.

<sup>46</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 155.

<sup>47</sup> U. C. Wickremaratne, in "Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom, 1798–1805," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (1973): 31–42, goes to the extent of suggesting that the factionalism in the Kandyan court was conceived and exaggerated by the British, while others, such as Jim Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1990), and Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 208, have argued that there was factionalism in the Kandyan court and that it was economic. Regardless of which view we take of the intrigues of the Kandyan court, it is clear from the evidence cited below that North privileged a view of "Malabars" as foreign.

<sup>48</sup> Dewaraja, *The Muslims of Sri Lanka*, 77. For more on Dutch views of the Kandyan court, see K. W. Goonewardene, "The Accession of Sri Vijaya Rajasimha," in G. P. S. H. de Silva and C. G. Uragoda, eds., *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, 1845–1995* (Colombo, 1995), 441–467.

and in return to appropriate a part of its revenue to the British government.<sup>49</sup> He negotiated in secret with the chief minister, Pilima Talauve, whom he perceived to be the foremost Sinhala aristocrat, and sought to place him on the throne instead of the king. But North was unable to find an “ethnic” division between Pilima Talauve and his king. When negotiations broke down in 1803, war ensued, resulting in disaster, as retold by the *Ingrisi Hatana*. The Nayakkar king was restored.

Yet British ideas about the need to rid Kandy of “Malabar” influence began to have a slow effect. In 1812, Pilima Talauve was executed by the king for treason; Ahalepola was then appointed as chief minister. Ahalepola in turn cooperated with the British, eventually fleeing to the maritime provinces, under British control. From there he commissioned texts that provided an ethnicized critique of the Nayakkar line and played up the monarchs’ Indian ancestry and Hindu leanings.<sup>50</sup> British ideologies of difference may well have provided a context for Ahalepola’s invective. With his help, the British conquered Kandy in 1815, and their desire to separate the Nayakkar line from their subjects came to full fruition. Governor Robert Brownrigg noted the predicament of the “Malabars adhering to the King”: they were caught between their loyalty to the monarch and their hope of returning to India.<sup>51</sup> British benevolence dictated that they should all be repatriated:

The Malabars from the Coast of Coromandel, as well as the Moors from the same quarter, are by their birth and parentage the natural subjects of His Britannick Majesty, and of the Hon. The East India Company. They are exhorted to keep in mind this bond of Allegiance—and to hold in view the hope of being able (as loyal subjects of the British Empire) to return with safety and protection to their families, relations, friends and cast, in their native countries, under the Hon. Company’s Government . . . Such safety and protection, with a passport to their country, and every reasonable assistance and support, is hereby offered to them—thus timely before they become involved in the guilt of actual hostility and armed opposition . . . neglecting which warning, they will incur the danger of being treated not only as enemies but as traitors.<sup>52</sup>

There was therefore a concerted attempt to separate the so-called “Malabars” from the true inhabitants of the island. While the term “Malabar” was used for many people on the coast as well, this program was restricted to those in Kandy who were linked to the Nayakkar line. However, in the fort and pettah of Colombo, on the coast, the British did not allow Malabars and Moors to own houses or land, following a Dutch regulation.<sup>53</sup> The program of repatriation included the king, and this was why Sri Vickrama Rajasimha was sent to South India. Brownrigg wrote that Sri Vickrama Rajasimha should be kept “amongst those of his own cast and consequently in or near that part of the country from whence his family originates.” The Company, however, worried that his presence in South India would “disturb the tranquillity of

<sup>49</sup> For North’s attempt at forging a subsidiary alliance, see Wickremaratne, “Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom.”

<sup>50</sup> Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period*, 51.

<sup>51</sup> Dispatch from Robert Brownrigg in Kandy reporting the capture of the king, February 25, 1815, CO/54/55, the National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA].

<sup>52</sup> Proclamation of His Excellency, Governor Robert Brownrigg, February 11, 1815, *ibid*.

<sup>53</sup> Dispatch from Governor Horton to London, July 7, 1832, CO/54/117, TNA, repealing the acts that were put in place banning “Moors and Malabars” from owning land and houses in the Colombo fort and pettah.

our Districts.” As a compromise, it was agreed that he would be housed in the Vellore fort.<sup>54</sup> The Crown government of the island then carefully categorized the king and his retinue before their departure to India. When the brig *Eliza Tutocoveen* took Nayakkar prisoners of war across the sea in May 1815, their details were verified in tabular form: the Company was told which “cast” each individual belonged to, “what country” each belonged to, and also how long each had been resident in Kandy.<sup>55</sup> Eighty-one people were imprisoned in the fort with the king, while many others were dispersed in South India.<sup>56</sup>

The entire contingent of repatriates was divided into several categories. The first class comprised the group that had been confined to the fort, which included the king and his relatives. The second category was made up of those who had resided in Kandy for a long period and were “in some degree aliens in their native country.” The members of this class did not have to be treated as prisoners, and the Ceylon government was unwilling to pay for their upkeep, except for a short period before they returned to their ordinary occupations. The third class of repatriates were those whom the Ceylon government viewed as “merely sojourners on this side of the Gulph.” In addition to these three classes, Ceylon also sent to India a small number of “Malays, Caffres and a few natives of Bengal.”<sup>57</sup> While the Dutch had complained about the influence of people they deemed to be foreigners in Kandy, they had never had the authority to orchestrate this kind of eviction. This narrative displays the power of British interventions.

Yet such an interpretation must be guarded, for the British quickly found that their program of repatriation was difficult to carry out. The exiles did not see themselves as residents of South India. In numerous petitions addressed to the British, they complained of being stranded in a foreign country.<sup>58</sup> In a striking instance of resistance, seven prisoners disembarked at Cuddalore, and two of them insisted that “they [were] natives of Kandy and not of Malabar.”<sup>59</sup> In another case, ten Kandyan families arrived in Tanjore alleging that “their destination to Chalempalegam in Tondiman’s country must have been founded on some mistake . . . that they know no such place in Tondiman’s country [and] that they are with the exception of one of their number utter strangers to Tondiman’s country.”<sup>60</sup> The prisoners were surprised in part because they did not see a difference between Crown and Company. One petitioner wrote to the Crown governor of Ceylon: “I humbly beg leave to state that after the Honourable Company became masters of Candy, it has pleased the Honorable Company to send my late father and other families to these parts of

<sup>54</sup> Robert Brownrigg to Hugh Elliot, Governor in Council, April 8, 1815, File F/4/515, IOR. See also secret letter from Fort St. George, October 7, 1815; and Hugh Elliot to Robert Brownrigg, April 26, 1815, *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Among the “countries” listed were “Tanjore, Ramnad, Negapatam, Bendigalle, Pudukotte, Madura, Trenevelly, Seveganta, Velancheryy, Colleloor.”

<sup>56</sup> This figure comes from Charles Marriott to the Chief Secretary of Government at Fort St. George, April 1, 1816, F/4/515, IOR.

<sup>57</sup> The different categories are laid out in Robert Brownrigg to Hugh Elliott, Governor in Council, Fort St. George, April 8, 1815, *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> See, for instance, F/4/880, IOR, for a batch of such petitions.

<sup>59</sup> J. Macdonald to the Chief Secretary of Government, Fort St. George, March 21, 1816, F/4/515, IOR.

<sup>60</sup> The Resident of Tanjore to the Chief Secretary of Government, Fort St. George, October 1, 1816, F/4/527, IOR.



country.”<sup>61</sup> By 1816, the Crown government had to admit that some of the prisoners of war had returned to the island. In attempting to force its policy through, the government declared it illegal for anyone who had been a “Malabar” resident in Kandy one year prior to the kingdom’s takeover to remain in the island without “written permission” from a representative of the governor.<sup>62</sup>

As might be expected, Sri Vickrama Rajasimha himself did not adjust to his new situation. Charles Marriott, who was in charge of the king, wrote:

To eradicate the kingly notions of a person (and that person by no means a wise one) who has by his account been seated on a throne about nineteen years, must be the work of time and infinite patience, and till these notions are eradicated it is useless to expect that ideas of private comfort will be planted or grown up.<sup>63</sup>

Sri Vickrama Rajasimha attempted to assemble his court while in exile, calling his ministers at specified hours. He asked for a crown to be made out of some beaten gold that he had in his possession.<sup>64</sup> For his daughter’s earring feast, he asked for 800 seers of raw rice, 2,500 young coconuts, 3,000 plantains, 200 candles, 1,500 limes, 30 jackfruits, 10 sheep, 200 eggs, 50 fowls, and 30 large fish. His request that the fish be caught in inland water tanks, like those that were part of the Kandyan kingdom, provides an important clue.<sup>65</sup> He expected similar extravagance for the marriage of his daughter. In response it was noted: “Independently of the objections on the score of expence it would obviously be very ill judged to indulge on his part or that of his family a taste for the splendours of royalty.”<sup>66</sup> The captive king was never resettled away from the Vellore fort. His attempt to merge Kandyan traditions with Hindu funerary rites is therefore fitting. It shows that the British idea that a “Malabar” could separate his identity from a “Sinhala” had failed to materialize. By 1834, the Ceylon government had to shift its policy and allow all the “Malabar” exiles, except the close relatives of the family of the king, the possibility of returning to the island.<sup>67</sup>

The program of repatriation, and the partitioning of the mainland from the island, meant that the colonial state was particularly suspicious of the movement of people from India to Ceylon, and within Ceylon from the Kandyan territories to the lowlands, in the years after Kandy’s fall. In 1816, for instance, a sitting magistrate suggested that if “Malabars” wished to move in either direction between Kandy and Colombo, they should have to obtain a pass, which would be granted only after a personal interview. Sitting magistrates and police officers were instructed to watch carefully for Malabars who moved between territories.<sup>68</sup> One class of people who came under colonial scrutiny as a result of this directive were the mendicants who

<sup>61</sup> Petition to His Excellency the Governor in Council at Ceylon, the humble representation of Dince Swamy, the son of late Condeswamy Naicker, head brother in law of Istree Rajady Rajah Singa Maha Rajah, the king of Candy, F/4/1461, IOR.

<sup>62</sup> Order of Council of Government of Ceylon, signed James Gay, Secretary of Council, June 24, 1816, F/4/527, IOR.

<sup>63</sup> Charles Marriott to Chief Secretary of Government, Fort. St. George, October 11, 1816, *ibid*.

<sup>64</sup> See the correspondence in F/4/527, IOR.

<sup>65</sup> Petition transmitted to Ceylon, June 18, 1821, F/4/880, IOR.

<sup>66</sup> Chief Secretary Hill to the Officiating Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, September 23, 1825, F/4/1013, IOR.

<sup>67</sup> Extract from Political Letter from Fort St. George, July 11, 1834, F/4/1461, IOR.

<sup>68</sup> Sitting Magistrates Office to J. Sutherland, Secretary of the Kandyan Provinces, July 31, 1816, Lot 10/130, Sri Lanka National Archives.



FIGURE 4: "Malabar dresses and Candian dresses." From James Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon* (London, 1807). Reproduced by Permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

lived an itinerant life across South Asia. Eleven mendicants were detained upon arriving on the northwest coast of Mannar from India in September 1816, and were said from their "appearance and manners" to be "exactly the sort of men whom it is the desire of the Government to prevent penetrating into the interior."<sup>69</sup> A magistrate also reported that in 1816 he had apprehended a "Malabar man who calls himself Cahilassen Poille and pretends to be a native of Colombo and is going in search of medicinal herbs."<sup>70</sup> The sitting magistrate of Colombo documented the case of a man named Ramparasad and sent on the transcript of an interview with him:

Q. What is your Native Place?

A. Benares.

Q. What is your usual occupation?

A. I am Brahmin Beggar by profession.

Q. When were you last at Benares?

A. Four years ago, since that I was at Poonah and Kokam and Cochin and then I took a circuit on the Coast of Coromandel.

Q. What is your object in coming to Ceylon?

A. I came to perform a religious promise at Cataragam and to go to Adam's Peak.

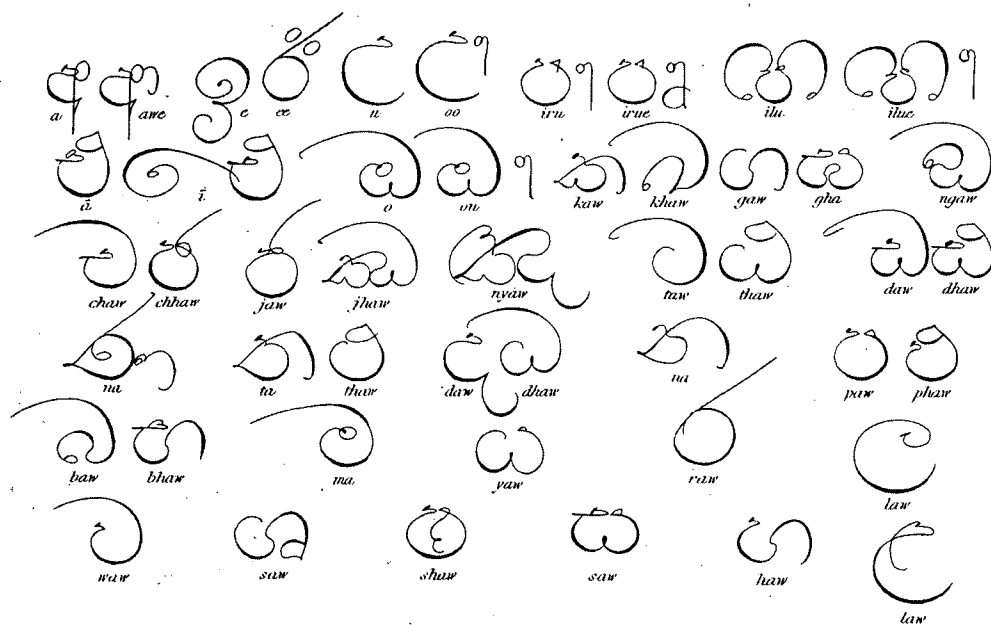
Q. Why did you proceed without a passport?

A. I was not aware it was necessary—I landed at Mannar in company with three others vizt. Goolapadoo and Iwat Ghirey, who are both are gone away—the third is now with me, who is called Bederadesus . . .

<sup>69</sup> Correspondence from Cutcherry, Mannar, September 4, 1816, *ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Sitting Magistrates Court to Secretary to the Kandyan Department, Colombo, August 5, 1816, *ibid.*

### CINGALESE ALPHABET.



### MALABAR ALPHABET.

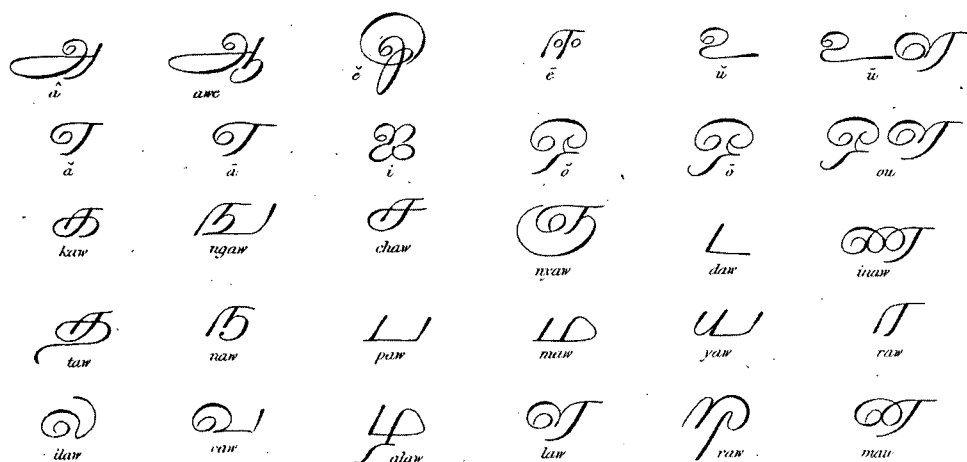


FIGURE 5: "Cingalese Alphabet and Malabar Alphabet." From James Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon* (London, 1807). Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Q. Did you converse with many Kandyan Malabars in the Kandyan Country?

A. I conversed at Cateragam with none. I can't speak Tamul or Cingalese. I understood from the Hindostanee Priest at Cateragam that many of the persons I saw were Kandyans, but they were not dressed like coast Malabars.<sup>71</sup>

The man's route of travel was deciphered by the questioner: it encompassed North India and South India. After landing in Mannar, he had spent six weeks in Jaffna

<sup>71</sup> Extract from interview, September 13, 1816, Colombo Sitting Magistrates Office, *ibid*.

in northern Ceylon; from there he proceeded to Trincomalee on the east coast of Ceylon for a month, then south to Kataragama, which is sacred to both Hindus and Buddhists, then on to Badulla before climbing the mountain of Adam's Peak, a site of religious pilgrimage.

There is some evidence that the extent to which the British policed the movement of Malabars in the years after the fall of Kandy led to new tensions between communities. This is apparent in two petitions that were presented to Governor Brownrigg from "Weeraragoe of Candy, now at Colombo." The petitioner, who identified himself as a man from Tanjore in South India, had arrived in Kandy forty-five years prior to the petitions and had made his living as a merchant with no connection to the royal family of Kandy. After the royal family and its relatives were detained, the petitioner claimed that his house was attacked "in the night time" by a man named "Muddor, inhabitant of Candy in the accompany of some Cingalese men." In fear, the petitioner fled Kandy after obtaining a passport from D'Oyly. After being detained on the coast in Colombo, he was asked to make a weekly appearance before a magistrate and was treated as a prisoner. His family was, in the petitioner's words, "reduced to insufferable indigence and starvations without having any assistance nor means of support whatever in this strange place." In a further petition, the man complained that he had received no response from Brownrigg; he said that he been reduced to utter poverty, forced even to sell his clothes, and that members of his family had fallen ill.<sup>72</sup>

THE LEGACY OF THE PARTITIONING OF India and Ceylon is also evident in the regulation of travel in the opposite direction, by soldiers and plantation workers going to the island from the mainland. Britain initially articulated its taking of Ceylon's coasts as a way of defending India. The politician George Pitt, for instance, wrote that the island was "the most valuable colonial possession in the globe as giving to our Indian empire a security which it had not enjoyed from its first establishment."<sup>73</sup> Given Ceylon's military significance, its early governors believed that India owed the island the favor of supplying troops when they were needed. Men from the mainland were used in the Kandyan wars of 1803 and 1815, and to quell the wide-scale rebellion that engulfed the interior in 1817–1818. Yet the governors of Ceylon had cause to complain about the delay and bureaucracy that the island experienced in the Company's handling of their requests for reinforcement. For instance, Brownrigg noted his "heavy disappointment" when one of his requests for a supporting force for the 1815 war, which eventually saw Kandy's fall, was denied because the Company's army was fully occupied on the mainland.<sup>74</sup> During the rebellion in 1817–1818, he wrote again of the "anxiety and distress" he had labored under because the Madras Presidency did not dispatch the native troops he had expected from them. He noted that these additional troops would have enabled him to "occupy those parts of the Country, which being abandoned by [him] for want of troops, afforded secure retreats to

<sup>72</sup> Petitions to Sir Robert Brownrigg from Weeraragoe of Candy, now at Colombo, *ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Cited in De Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, 20.

<sup>74</sup> Dispatch from Robert Brownrigg, January 16, 1815, CO/54/55, TNA.

the rebel chiefs, as well as resources to feed the flame of rebellion, which was expiring.”<sup>75</sup>

The troops that did come were also a point of discord. From the start, Governor Brownrigg complained about the “expensive Staff Establishments” sent with every regiment of troops arriving from India.<sup>76</sup> He expressed concern that the Indian government’s desire to organize a separate commissariat for their troops would result in the “greatest confusion.”<sup>77</sup> He was anxious that the Indian troops be placed securely under his command and that no intermediate officer should do injustice to Brownrigg’s “Rank in His Majesty’s Service.”<sup>78</sup> The different structures under which the men from the mainland were organized eventually led to open discontent. In July 1818, Colonel Arthur Molesworth wrote to Brownrigg to report the great dissatisfaction prevailing among the troops from India at the rate of exchange that determined their pay:

They embarked on this Service under the full conviction from former usage that they were to receive their Rations gratis and that they should be paid in Gold Pagodas or in Arcot Rupees exactly in the same manner as on the Coast, consequently they were inclined to leave on an average two thirds of their Pay with their families.<sup>79</sup>

Instead, these “coast sepoys” had been paid in Ceylon fanams at a depreciated rate of exchange, which meant that even common articles that they had been able to buy while on service on the continent were now beyond their reach. The sepoys, Molesworth added, “really cannot exist on the present rate of exchange.” Brownrigg was alarmed at the prospect of mutiny and intervened, declaring that the rate of exchange at Fort St. George should apply as well to the payment of these troops.<sup>80</sup> However, he pressed India on a question of principle. The confusion about terms had arisen from a distinction between “field service” and “foreign service”: Indian troops were paid and rationed as if they were on field service, when they had expected to be treated as if they were on foreign service when they embarked from India.<sup>81</sup> In effect he asked the Company whether it viewed Ceylon as “foreign.” Having obtained a complete description of the “resources of the Country, the extent of Supplies available for various Troops, and the rates at which those Supplies, including various petty articles in common use with the natives are procurable,” the Company decided that it was unwilling to class service on Ceylon as home service; instead, the precedent set by the Indian troops who had served in 1795 in the Molucca Islands would apply to Ceylon.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Robert Brownrigg to Hugh Elliott, Governor in Council, Fort St. George, August 18, 1818, CO/54/71, TNA.

<sup>76</sup> Dispatch from Robert Brownrigg, August 17, 1818, *ibid*.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Brownrigg to Vice President in Council, Fort William, August 3, 1818, *ibid*.

<sup>78</sup> Secret and Political Letter from Robert Brownrigg to Hugh Elliott, Governor in Council, Fort St. George, August 18, 1818, *ibid*.

<sup>79</sup> Arthur Molesworth, Commander of the Madras Troops Serving in Ceylon, to Hugh Elliot, Governor in Council, Fort William, July 16, 1818, CO 54/73, TNA.

<sup>80</sup> J. B. Gascoigne, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, General Order, July 19, 1818, *ibid*.

<sup>81</sup> J. J. Wood, Military Secretary, to Edward Wood, Secretary of Government, Fort St. George, July 10, 1818, *ibid*.

<sup>82</sup> Edward Wood, Secretary of Government, Fort St. George, to the Commissary General, July 28, 1818, *ibid*. The Molucca Islands are now known as the Maluku Islands and are part of the Malay Archipelago.



Given this exchange, it is not surprising that the body of an Indian was cast as distinct from that of an islander. The Company's officers noted the Indian troops' peculiar propensity to be "affected by ulcers in the lower extremities," and how this resulted from the climate of the interior.<sup>83</sup> All that one of the leading medical men of the island could say in reply was that "the persuasion which appears to prevail at Fort St. George of the general unhealthiness of the Interior of this Island . . . is by far too unqualified, and is taken up on loose and vague grounds."<sup>84</sup> By the end of the 1817–1818 rebellion, Brownrigg, like North before him, had learned his lesson. He announced that he would embark on an extensive program of recruitment among men on the island, thereby ensuring that his dependency on the mainland would be reined in:

His Excellency the Governor and Commander of the Forces, considering it advisable to raise a Corps for the defence of the British Dominions in the Island of Ceylon to consist of His Majesty's Native Cingalese Subjects, invites such Persons of the Class of Lascareens of the Vellale, Fisher and Chando Casts, as are willing to serve the Crown as Soldiers in any part of Ceylon, and are able bodied, to offer themselves for enlistment for a term of Three Years.<sup>85</sup>

Later, however, once Ceylon had been consolidated as a colony, troops were moved between the two territories again.<sup>86</sup> In 1825, European troops from the island were somewhat begrudgingly sent to Burma, which was termed "the state adjacent," at the request of the Governor General in Council in India, Edward Paget; in 1837, Ceylon governor Robert Horton sought to firm up the procedure whereby Ceylon could supply troops to the Madras Presidency in times of emergency.<sup>87</sup>

The use of Indians on the island was evident in other contexts as well: mainlanders were used to provide labor on roads, to transport supplies during war, to repair irrigation tanks, and, in what has been the most studied instance of their use, as plantation workers.<sup>88</sup> Yet the correspondence on the use of Indian troops is important because it provides a snapshot of one of the earliest uses of Indian labor on the island, and so reveals the mechanisms that came to dictate later uses of Indians.

From the 1830s, for instance, the British saw plantation laborers arriving from the mainland as distinctly Indian and so of a separate lot—this despite the evidence that Indian plantation workers were sometimes recruited on the island rather than through agents sent to South India.<sup>89</sup> In the early years, some traveled by sea to

<sup>83</sup> Alex Watson MD, President, Medical Board, to Hugh Elliott, Governor in Council, June 18, 1818, *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Deputy Inspector of Hospitals to Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, October 23, 1818, *ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> General Order, January 27, 1819, *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> For the use of Indian troops overseas in the later period, see Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007), chap. 3.

<sup>87</sup> Governor Edward Barnes to London, January 17, 1825, and attached letters, CO 54/88, TNA; Governor Horton to London, September 2, 1837, CO/54/155, *ibid.*; Governor Mackenzie to London, June 30, 1838, CO/54/163, *ibid.*; Governor General Auckland, in India, to Mackenzie, July 30, 1838, CO/54/164, *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> For the construction of roads, see Sujit Sivasundaram, "Tales of the Land: British Geography and Kandyan Resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803–1850," *Modern Asian Studies* 41, no. 5 (2005): 925–965. For other uses of Indian labor, see Roland Wenzlhuemer, "Indian Labour Immigration and British Labour Policy in Nineteenth-Century Ceylon," *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007): 575–602; and Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon*, chap. 1. See also Ian H. vanden Driesen, *The Long Walk: Indian Plantation Labour in Sri Lanka in the Nineteenth Century* (New Delhi, 1997), 18–20.

<sup>89</sup> Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon*, 26.

Colombo and then marched inland, while others crossed over by boat from Ramnad to Mannar, then made their way to the interior on foot. By both routes the walk was about 150 miles. At the start these workers were part of a floating community, traveling back and forth between the mainland and the island, though this changed over time as they became heavily indebted and effectively indentured. Official figures indicate that in 1839, for example, there were 2,719 arrivals and 2,202 departures, and in 1845 there were 73,401 arrivals and 24,804 departures.<sup>90</sup> Some allowance must be made here for the fact that departures were less easy to account for than arrivals, but even when this difference is taken into consideration, it is clear that many workers met their deaths in Ceylon, and that for whatever reason a sizable number never returned. While on the island, the workers very quickly became a separate community: they worked in districts with plantations and lived in poor accommodations “behind the line.” By the middle of the nineteenth century, their plight served as an effective reminder of the distinction between the “Malabars” and the other inhabitants of the island: the British treated them as domiciled foreigners. Curiously, the British utilized the term “Malabar coolies” to refer to the plantation workers for most of the nineteenth century, even when they did not come from the Malabar coast.

Discussing the status of plantation workers takes us beyond the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Yet it makes the point that by this time a partitioning of islanders and mainlanders had occurred, and a partitioning of those on the island into distinct groups. These partitions arose out of the structural interventions of British colonization. However, the term “partition” should not lead to the assumption that these colonial interventions were final or fully successful. The case of plantation workers is a good one to support such a qualification. The plantation workers were later termed “Indian Tamils,” in contrast to “Ceylon Tamils,” who lived on the coast, and in line with the slow replacement of “Malabar” with “Tamil.” In 1964 and 1974, some were given Indian citizenship, while others were given Sri Lankan citizenship; a remnant, however, remained stateless on the island until they received Sri Lankan citizenship in 1988 and 2003.<sup>91</sup> Thus the distinction between mainlanders and islanders continued to be a potent one in the politics of post-independence Sri Lanka. In effect, this partitioning left a lot of unfinished business.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THINKING beyond natural spatial units is becoming a more established concern in historical writing. For instance, the way in which India was peninsularized as a bodily unit in history has recently been very convincingly unraveled.<sup>92</sup> Sri Lanka’s territorial shape also has its history; today it is popularly called “the pearl of the Indian Ocean,” or alternatively, “the teardrop of the Indian Ocean.” Yet more than these discourses, which have their own histories, the making of the island of Sri Lanka involved a decisive attempt on the part of the British to intervene in the movements of people across the seas that divided what became separate territories, and this process carried through in the style of British governance through

<sup>90</sup> Driesen, *The Long Walk*, 20.

<sup>91</sup> Peebles, *The Plantation Tamils of Ceylon*, 226.

<sup>92</sup> Sumathi Ramaswamy, “Visualizing India’s Geo-Body: Globes, Maps, Bodyscapes,” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 36, nos. 1 and 2 (2002): 157–195.

the late nineteenth century. Popular discursive imaginings of territory need to be tied in securely to structural interventions. More broadly, given the power with which islands have been separated off from continents, scholars need to reconsider marginal spaces. In the British Indian Ocean world, these include territories that are now beginning to attract some historical work: Sri Lanka, the Seychelles, Mauritius, Madagascar, the Maldives, Diego Garcia, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.<sup>93</sup>

In one area, at least, the British were successful in their project of separating the island from the mainland. Outside the region, the largest repositories of documents that are relevant to the island's history for this period are in London. Yet the papers related to the Sri Lankan side of the story are in the National Archives at Kew, while those for India are in the India Office Records in the British Library in central London. The tiresome journey between the two collections means that Indian historians rarely look at the Sri Lankan files and vice versa. Indeed, these differences have shaped the contours of South Asian historiography: Indian historians do not for the most part consider Sri Lanka. But since the island's peoples were shaped so profoundly by migration from the mainland and then by colonial control over such migration, it is vital that scholars put these territories together and frame their accounts in a way that challenges national boundaries.

The point of the argument is not that hybrid identities gave way to harder classifications with the arrival of the British. Such a statement is too simple: British categories were themselves changeable. Such a statement also essentializes the character of the pre-British identities of the island. The term "cosmopolitan" is applied here to Kandy to indicate a cosmopolitanism bounded by a sense of universal kingship and Sinhala-ness. Theorists have shown that the desire for cosmopolitanism undoubtedly comes from wanting to engage with otherness, but it also begins from a position of rootedness and self. The cosmopolitan is inevitably tied in with the idea of indigeneity.<sup>94</sup> Rather than radically redrafting identities, the impact of British ideologies emerged as a consequence of the power of British colonialism to change the political organization of the island and its society. Crown rule intervened more powerfully than any external power had done in the evolving pattern of ethnicity within the island. In particular, it was concerned to track indigeneity and to exalt it as a determinant of difference while isolating the foreign. This was partly a result of the need to stabilize the colony in political terms and to order it as a unit. The points of friction between different arms of British governance meant that the Malabars, who later became Tamils, were said to belong not in a Crown territory, but rather in mainland India. This was a misunderstanding of the dialectic between the indigenous and the cosmopolitan.

<sup>93</sup> For some recent works that deal with these islands and the Indian Ocean world more broadly, see Richard Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge, 1999); Clare Anderson, *Convicts in the Indian Ocean: Transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815–53* (Basingstoke, 2000); Piers Larson, *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in the Indian Ocean Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2009); Solofo Randrianja and Stephen Ellis, *Madagascar: A Short History* (Chicago, 2009); S. Sen, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (Oxford, 2000); Megan Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

<sup>94</sup> See, for instance, Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford, 2002); and for a long perspective, Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," *Public Culture* 12 (2000): 591–625.

The impact of colonialism in shifting transnational connections is not peculiar to Sri Lanka. In other colonial territories as well, such an impact may be linked to changing ideas of ethnicity. According to John Comaroff, who writes primarily of Africa, ethnicities are best understood not as things but as relations, and their content is wrought in the particularities of the ongoing historical construction of such connections.<sup>95</sup> From this it follows that ethnicities, like other identities, are about the placement of the self in relation to other peoples, in everyday life and in political and social processes; studying shifts in relations leads to an understanding of changing conceptions of ethnicity. It is important to add that such relations between peoples should not be localized too quickly, for it is not only our own age that has witnessed globalization or migration. Thinking of ethnicity as relational across distance sidelines a debate about when ethnicity arose, and in particular the question of whether it was precolonial or colonial. Instead, what comes into view is the transnational context of the local and how the shifting sense of the transnational molds the local.

<sup>95</sup> John L. Comaroff, "Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Difference in an Age of Revolution," in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (Chicago, 1996), 162–183.

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Transcending Identity: Gandhi, Nonviolence, and the  
Pursuit of a “Different” Freedom in Modern India

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MITHI MUKHERJEE

IN THE PAST TWO DECADES, subaltern historians and postcolonial scholars have brought to our attention the need to question the generally assumed universality of Western categories in framing the histories of the rest of the world.<sup>1</sup> The exclusive deployment of Western concepts to explain historical development in India and other non-Western countries, they say, not only has marginalized indigenous systems of knowledge and practices, but has also resulted in the histories of these countries being presented in negative terms as a deviation from the universal trajectories of capital, democracy, and liberalism, which are themselves grounded in particular historical experiences of the West. Thus, as Dipesh Chakrabarty, among others, has argued, most scholars trained in this intellectual tradition have characterized India as “not modern” or “not bourgeois” or “not liberal.” The new intellectual sensitivity toward non-Western systems of thought has resulted in a significant number of works that deploy the critical category of difference.

Yet none of the four major schools of historiography on modern India—Marxist, Cambridge, nationalist, and subaltern—has extended this notion of difference to the discourse of freedom associated with the Gandhian nonviolent resistance movement against British colonialism. This is a surprising omission, given the striking ways in which the Gandhian discourse of freedom departed from the Western discourse of freedom. While the distinctiveness of the Gandhian movement in relation to other forms of anticolonial resistance of the day was evident to Gandhi’s contemporaries and has been noted by scholars, the use of difference as an analytical category to

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<sup>1</sup> See Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).



distinguish the specificity of his political discourse has not been central to Gandhian studies.<sup>2</sup>

One possible explanation for this lack of attention is that historians of modern India do not see the notion of difference as extending to the exteriority and autonomy of the intellectual and cultural traditions that are reflected in Gandhi.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the Western discourse of political freedom, based on the concepts of individual rights, private property, representative government, national identity, and the nation-state, has generally been assumed to be a universal framework without which neither freedom movements nor democracies in other parts of the world could succeed, the Gandhian movement of nonviolent resistance against British colonialism had its own discourse of freedom, grounded in a different tradition of thought and practice.<sup>4</sup> It was anchored not in the Western notion of freedom, but rather in the Indic—Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain—discourses of renunciative freedom (*moksha* and *nirvana* in Sanskrit) and their respective ascetic practices.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the significance of an inquiry into the nature and origins of the Gandhian concept of freedom extends much farther than the historical moment it seeks to understand. Because so much of the critical discourse in the social sciences and the

<sup>2</sup> For the most important works that have emphasized the distinctiveness of Gandhian thought in relation to other Indian nationalists, see Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (New York, 1986); Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983). See also Tridib Suhrud, "Emptied of All but Love: Gandhiji's First Public Fast," in Debjani Ganguly and John Docker, eds., *Rethinking Gandhi and Nonviolent Relationality: Global Perspectives* (London, 2007), 66–79. Two recent essays that have stressed the difference between Gandhi's political thought and Western liberalism are Ajay Skaria, "Gandhi's Politics: Liberalism and the Question of the Ashram," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2002): 955–986; and Faisal Fatehali Devji, "A Practice of Prejudice: Gandhi's Politics of Friendship," in Shail Mayaram, M. S. Pandian, and Ajay Skaria, eds., *Muslims, Dalits, and the Fabrications of History* (New Delhi, 2005), 78–98. While their essays are insightful, both of these historians reduce the categories deployed in the Gandhian movement to the person of Gandhi and see no antecedents for these categories in Indian intellectual history. Indeed, they derive the categories they deploy to analyze Gandhi's thought and practice from Western intellectual traditions, particularly recent developments in European philosophy associated with the writings of Jacques Derrida and Emmanuel Levinas. In the final analysis, Gandhi's difference in these writings is assimilated into debates within Western intellectual thought. In this regard, see also Akeel Bilgrami, "Gandhi's Integrity: The Philosophy behind the Politics," *Postcolonial Studies* 5, no. 1 (2002): 79–93.

<sup>3</sup> While some works by political scientists such as Bhikhu Parekh have looked at the indigenous roots of Gandhian discourse, none have focused exclusively on the Gandhian discourse of freedom in its difference from the Western discourse of freedom or the implications of this difference for the nature of anticolonial resistance. See Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition, and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse* (New Delhi, 1989). Others who have emphasized the indigenous sources of Gandhi's thought are Thomas Pantham, "Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi: Beyond Liberal Democracy," *Political Theory* 11, no. 2 (1983): 165–188; A. L. Basham, "Traditional Influences on the Thought of Mahatma Gandhi," in Ravindra Kumar, ed., *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919* (Oxford, 1971), 17–42; and Suhrud, "Emptied of All but Love."

<sup>4</sup> Although he comes to the topic from a different angle, the political scientist Dennis Dalton is to my knowledge the only scholar to have noted and focused on the distinctive nature of the Indian idea of freedom as it related to some of the most important figures in Indian history. Dennis Gilmore Dalton, *Indian Idea of Freedom: Political Thought of Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore* (Gurgaon, India, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> I use the terms "Western" and "Indic" here only in reference to the places of historical origin of the two discourses of freedom. As traditions of thought, with claims to universal validity, they are not bound by such geographical and political boundaries. What I call "Western" is of course very much a part of Indian politics today, and what I call "Indic" or "Gandhian" has found an audience outside India. In reference to the nature of freedom as thought, therefore, I will use the terms "identitarian" and "renunciative," respectively.

humanities today is at least implicitly anchored in the dominant Western notion of freedom, it has been difficult to gain a critical distance from it. An exploration into the history of the Gandhian movement can open up a position of exteriority on this Western discourse, showing that it is not self-evident. By bringing the two traditions under each other's critical gaze, we can, at least potentially, think in new ways about freedom in the modern world, ways that can take us far beyond the limits and specificities of South Asian history or scholarship.<sup>6</sup>

The question of difference as it relates to the nature and implications of the historical encounter between Indic and Western cultural and intellectual traditions under the British Empire can be broadly approached in two ways: difference as identity and difference as thought. In the discourse of difference as identity, the notion of difference functions as the basis of cultural and national identity. In the discourse of difference as thought, on the other hand, difference functions as a marker of the nature and specificity of thought, its origin and historical significance. The crucial difference between the two approaches is that difference as thought goes beyond identity in its claim to universality and truth.

If there has been no serious attempt in modern Indian historiography to situate the Gandhian movement in terms of difference, it is largely because scholars have understood difference primarily as the ground for a discourse of national and civilizational identity, not as a source of categories. There is an underlying assumption that non-Western intellectual traditions do not offer categories of thought with claims to truth—that they become historically significant only as emblems of identity. Not surprisingly, therefore, one of the most frequently cited political arguments advanced by Marxist and left scholars in India against deploying the notion of difference has been that any critique of Enlightenment rationalism of the West based on Indic traditions risks promoting nativistic indigenism, which in turn feeds into the rising tide of Hindu nationalism. The presumption—unstated though it may be—is that the only possible role for Indic traditions in history today is as symbols of identity, not as sources of thought. Such apprehension is ironic, in that the Gandhian movement was in fact one of the first mass political movements for national independence to be based on the rejection of identity and nationalism.

There is, however, a far more important methodological reason for the absence of works that problematize Gandhian discourse in terms of difference. In the form of Marxism that is dominant in Indian historiography, discourse is nothing more than a reflection of class interest and class conflict, the true and *a priori* driving forces of history. Marxist historians, therefore, have completely ignored the historical specificity of Gandhian discourse and its difference from Western discourse, seeing Gandhi's ethical practices as nothing more than a cover for what were in essence shrewd bourgeois political tactics, and therefore an aspect of his politics that need not be taken seriously. While the Cambridge and nationalist schools have important dif-

<sup>6</sup> I am not suggesting that other conceptions of freedom did not exist over time in Western or Indian society, or that this is the only or even the most important approach to the two discourses of freedom. It is impossible in an article such as this one to address the two traditions of freedom in all their historical and intellectual heterogeneity, complexity, and contingency. My aim, then, is not to do an exhaustive study, but rather to explore the historical moment at which the two discourses of freedom came to intersect in their starkly different roles in colonial India, and in the process illuminated each other in their specificity.

ferences, they share the Marxists' dismissal of discourse as constitutive of history. Not surprisingly, for example, Cambridge historians have dissociated the specific tactic of nonviolence from the discourse on which it was grounded to suggest that the latter was nothing more than a clever political tool used to achieve various external ends in the form of social, national, and class interests.<sup>7</sup> The assumption behind much of this historiography is that Gandhian discourse was not anchored in an end of its own.

The case of the subaltern school is somewhat more complex. Insofar as most subaltern historians have based their own reading of Gandhi on Marxist categories, they too have neglected to focus on the specificity of Gandhian discourse.<sup>8</sup> In their more general historical explorations into modern India, however, particularly in the last two decades, they have focused on discourse and also deployed the notion of difference. Partha Chatterjee, one of the most influential subaltern historians of modern India, uses the concept of difference in his seminal work on Indian nationalism only as it relates to the origin of the discourse of national identity.<sup>9</sup> For him, difference as a marker of the divide between India and the West becomes important for nationalist discourse at the "moment of departure" or origin, as it sought to make the civilizational difference of India the foundation of national identity. Significantly, however, Chatterjee does not problematize the Gandhian movement in terms of the same notion of difference, and he points to Gandhi's distinctiveness only in relation to other Indian nationalists. Beyond noting in passing some characteristic features of the movement as reflective of "peasant consciousness," he makes no serious attempt to problematize Gandhian discourse in its precise nature and origins.<sup>10</sup> In his view, the real historical significance of the Gandhian movement lay in its use by the Indian bourgeoisie as a tactic to mobilize the peasantry against the British Empire even as it denied them any share in the postcolonial state.<sup>11</sup> Chatterjee reduces discourses in his analysis to two kinds of identity—class and nation—and so feels no need to problematize discourse as thought. For him, the distinctiveness of Gandhian discourse can ultimately be said to be a distinction without significance, having no historical meaning other than as a tool in the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie.

<sup>7</sup> While nationalist historians have interpreted the ethical practice of nonviolence as an ingenious tool devised by Gandhi and the Indian National Congress for mobilizing a disarmed and passive population and forging it into a powerful anticolonial resistance movement, historians of the Cambridge school have interpreted nonviolence as a strategy developed by a collaborationist elite for effecting a peaceful transition of power from the colonial state to the Indian state. For nationalist historiography, see B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1969); and Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Delhi, 1989). The Marxist historian Bipan Chandra shares the nationalist view on Gandhi. See his *Indian National Movement: The Long-Term Dynamics* (Delhi, 1988), 1–5. Other representative Marxist works include R. Palme Dutt, *India Today* (Bombay, 1949), and A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, 1954). For the Cambridge interpretation of the Gandhian movement, see John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson, and Anil Seal, eds., *Locality, Province and Nation: Essays in Indian Politics, 1870–1940* (Cambridge, 1973); and Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics, 1915–1922* (Cambridge, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> Shahid Amin, "Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921–2," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies III* (Delhi, 1984), 1–55; Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*; Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*.

<sup>9</sup> See Partha Chatterjee's discussion of the thought of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 54–81.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 85–125.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

The question of difference has been central in the works of another leading subaltern scholar, Dipesh Chakrabarty.<sup>12</sup> In *Provincializing Europe*, Chakrabarty uses difference in the sense of excess, contending that modernity in India is too complex and specific to fit into the framework of thought inherited from the West.<sup>13</sup> By “provincializing Europe,” he aims to expose the limits of the Western intellectual traditions’ claims to totality from the margins of colonial and postcolonial history. His own framework, however, does not adequately problematize the nature and implications of the encounter between Indian and Western thought in terms of difference. After all, his notion of difference as excess is also applicable to the West, as no Western system of thought could conceptualize life even in the West in all its complexity and totality. Also, even as Chakrabarty assumes that the West continues to be the sole source of thought with claims to universality and truth, and as such is not entirely bound by geography or history, he finds India to be lacking any claim to thought, a claim that would require the ability to rise above the particularities and idiosyncrasies of place. Ultimately, Chakrabarty does not see the possibility of an exteriority to the Western intellectual tradition in the sense of a competing system of thought that originates outside the West. It is not surprising, therefore, that what began as a claim to provincialize Europe ends up as not much more than an exploration into how Western thought “may be renewed from and for the margins,” that is, the non-West.<sup>14</sup>

Notwithstanding Chakrabarty’s and Chatterjee’s works, a position of exteriority to Western intellectual and political traditions that departs from the postcolonial and subaltern understanding not only is theoretically possible but has in fact played a significant, even central, role in India’s movement for independence.<sup>15</sup> Gandhi himself was aware that Indian intellectual traditions were widely assumed to be a spent force as a source of thought and could serve as nothing more than markers of identity. “Of all superstitions that affect India,” he wrote in 1921, “none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty, and developing accuracy of thought.”<sup>16</sup> What he called the greatest of all “superstitions” has also emerged as the most important and enduring intellectual legacy of colonialism in India: the belief that because the West is the sole source of categories in the modern world, English is the sole language of thought as such in India. It is against this “superstition” that we need to situate not only the genealogy of Gandhi’s own reflections on the category of liberty, but also the nonviolent anti-colonial movement that he led. If the question of the autonomy of Indian languages and their ability to develop categories of thought arose for Gandhi in the context of a discussion of the concept of liberty, it was precisely because this concept as articulated in all its difference and specificity in Indian languages had been the guiding principle of his own intellectual and political exertions.

<sup>12</sup> Although the Gandhian movement itself has not been Chakrabarty’s focus, a brief discussion of his approach to difference can help to contextualize the larger claims of this article.

<sup>13</sup> Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>15</sup> My focus is not on difference as such, but only on the moment when this difference rose to historical significance.

<sup>16</sup> M. K. Gandhi, “Evil Wrought by the English Medium,” *Young India*, April 27, 1921, in Gandhi, *Young India, 1919–22* (Madras, 1922), 458.

The historiographical approaches have all attempted to trace the origins of the discourse and practice of nonviolent resistance to Gandhi as a person. Even historians who focus on Gandhian ideas have tended to see them as deriving either from his personal reading of Western writers such as Tolstoy, Ruskin, and Thoreau or from his upbringing.<sup>17</sup> They are working from the assumption that the pre-given subject stands above history while determining its movement, thus forgetting that the subject itself is a historical construction and is shaped by larger historical forces. There is a different way to look at the historical figure of Gandhi, however, through the use of the methodological category of the enunciative persona (not person). From this standpoint we can see him as the *samnyasin*, or renouncer, in the role of a political activist and the leader of a resistance movement. It is because Gandhi donned the enunciative persona of a *samnyasin* that the Indic tradition of renunciative freedom became the basis for a new kind of politics—a politics of nonviolence.

The category of enunciative persona makes it possible to approach discourses in terms of larger historical, institutional, and cultural genealogies rather than simply attribute them to substantive subjects, whether individuals, social groups, or identities. It also enables us to bring discourse and practices together in a complex interrelationship and moves us away from studying politics as simply a history of ideas or thoughts.<sup>18</sup> From this methodological perspective, Gandhi the person is only the bearer of a principal enunciative persona, the real subject of the discourse: the renouncer. The notion of the enunciative persona, in short, refers to the historically constructed subject in opposition to the often unproblematic assumption of an ahistorical notion of the person as the subject of history.<sup>19</sup>

GANDHI WAS TRAINED AS A LAWYER, and his early political activism against the racial policies of the British colonial government in South Africa (1894–1914) was lodged within what we might call a juridical discursive paradigm, where the primary object was to appeal to imperial justice against the unjust acts of the local government by organizing petitions to Parliament for the redress of grievances.<sup>20</sup> This juridical dis-

<sup>17</sup> Martin Green, *The Origins of Nonviolence: Tolstoy and Gandhi in Their Historical Settings* (University Park, Pa., 1986); Janko Lavrin, "Tolstoy and Gandhi," *Russian Review* 19 (1960): 132–139. See also Eric H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-Violence* (New York, 1969). Ashis Nandy also emphasizes the person of Gandhi and reads Gandhian ideas as symptomatic of an underlying psychology of the colonized; see *The Intimate Enemy*, 48–63. See also Susan Hoeber Rudolph, "The New Courage: An Essay on Gandhi's Psychology," *World Politics* 16 (1963): 98–117.

<sup>18</sup> Even those works that have explored Gandhian discourse in its specificity have not departed from the idea of Gandhi as subject. See Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition, and Reform*, 11–33, 71–138.

<sup>19</sup> For Michel Foucault's thoughts on related issues, see Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972), 88–105. A similar category of conceptual persona is used by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *What Is Philosophy?* (New York, 1994), 61–83. For Deleuze, the conceptual persona is a figure of thought, not one historically produced.

<sup>20</sup> Gandhi was educated at the Inner Temple in London and practiced as a barrister in South Africa in the High Courts of Natal and Transvaal from 1894 to 1914. For biographies of Gandhi, see B. R. Nanda, *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography* (Boston, 1958); Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York, 1950); David Arnold, *Gandhi: Profiles in Power* (Harlow, 2001). For Gandhi's life in South Africa, see Robert A. Huttenback, *Gandhi in South Africa: British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860–1914* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971); Judith M. Brown and Martin Prozesky, eds., *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics* (New York, 1996); Maureen Swan, *Gandhi: The South African Experience* (Johannesburg, 1985); Brian M. du Toit, "The Mahatma Gandhi and South Africa," *Journal of Modern African*



course, like the insistence on nonviolence that logically followed from the faith in imperial justice, was not unique to Gandhi; it was also the basis for the anticolonial agitation in India during the same period. It is intriguing, however, that even as Gandhi's actions in South Africa were framed by juridical discourse, there was a simultaneous irruption in his life of a set of ethical, spiritual, and ascetic practices that were not accompanied by a discourse that could make them intelligible in relation to the political challenges of the day.<sup>21</sup> Tolstoy Farm, where Gandhi settled with his family and some close friends and followers and began what would become a lifelong experiment with practices such as fasting, celibacy, meditation, and manual labor, reflected his deliberate decision to withdraw from and even renounce modern city life.<sup>22</sup> As a response to what was obviously a political challenge faced by a colonized people, his retreat to a rural ascetic and ethical lifestyle seems a curious move indeed.

This response, however, was not entirely unique or unprecedented. With the advent of colonialism in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India, issues of subordination, inequality, and freedom for the colonized had become critical for Indian thinkers even before Gandhi. Strikingly, these thinkers often, if not invariably, responded in precisely the same conflicted, dualistic way. Why? Why did the search for freedom invariably take an ethical, ascetic, and spiritual turn, while the relationship between the people and the government continued to be articulated in terms of justice rather than political freedom? The answer lies in the fact that even as much of anticolonial discourse was grounded in the idea of imperial justice, it also came to be anchored—as if by reflex—in the Indic traditions of ascetic renunciative freedom. While the categories and goals of freedom and liberty had come to be a part of political discourse and practice in the West, in precolonial India they had been a part of spiritual and religious discourse and practice.<sup>23</sup>

By the nineteenth century, what has been recognized as a distinctly Western discourse of political freedom as self-government had generally come to be based on two interrelated forms of identity: individual identity, as reflected in the notions of individual rights and private property, and collective identity, as reflected in the notions of popular national sovereignty, the nation-state, and the ideology of nationalism.<sup>24</sup> In India, by contrast, the category of freedom was common to all the

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*Studies* 34 (1996): 643–660. For a history of the development of the juridical paradigm, see Mithi Mukherjee, “Justice, War, and the Imperium: India and Britain in Edmund Burke’s Prosecutorial Speeches in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings,” *Law and History Review* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 589–630.

<sup>21</sup> Gandhi led the Indian community in Natal in petitioning the Natal Legislature and imperial authorities against discriminatory laws such as the Disenfranchising Bill of 1893 and the bill to tax indentured labor in 1894. See *Gandhi’s Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, trans. from the original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai (Washington, D.C., 1960), 89–307.

<sup>22</sup> See *Gandhi’s Autobiography*, 179–187, 235–238, 281–307. See also Mark Thompson, *Gandhi and His Ashrams* (Bombay, 1993). An excellent recent article on the centrality of ashrams in the Gandhian movement is Skaria, “Gandhi’s Politics.” See also Thomas Weber, “Gandhi Moves: Intentional Communities and Friendship,” in Ganguly and Docker, *Rethinking Gandhi and Nonviolent Relationality*, 83–99.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Pantham has argued that Gandhi’s ethical practices in ashrams such as Tolstoy Farm and Phoenix Settlement can be attributed to his friendship with Henry Polak and Hermann Kallenbach, who were both interested in new age ideas and influenced him in many ways. My contention is that the irruption of these practices in Gandhi had deeper sources. See Weber, “Gandhi Moves,” 86–91.

<sup>24</sup> While noting that the Western discourse of freedom as a historical phenomenon is multidimen-

major Indic religions, including Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Contrary to the popular perception that Hinduism is a religion of personal gods, it in fact has a strong parallel tradition in which there is no conception of God at all. In this tradition of Hinduism, *moksha*, or liberty, is the ultimate of all human goals, and to attain *moksha* is to lose one's identity, individuality, and specificity.<sup>25</sup> In other words, in their relationship to identity, the Indic and Western discourses of freedom were diametrically opposed. Whereas the Western understanding of freedom was based on national and individual identity, the Indic understanding meant losing any and all forms of identity. Given that the world operates within a web of identities, the logical conclusion of the Indic understanding of freedom as *moksha* was a complete renunciation of the world. Thus the Western and Indic discourses of freedom can be characterized as identitarian and renunciative, respectively.

In premodern Indian society, life was conceptually organized around the pursuit of four goals, known in Sanskrit as *Purusharthas*, or ultimate human goals: *dharma*, the pursuit of the good, constituting the domain of ethics and law; *artha*, the pursuit of power, constituting the domain of politics; *kama*, the pursuit of pleasure, constituting the domain of sexuality; and *moksha*, the pursuit of freedom, constituting

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sional and of immense complexity and heterogeneity, I would like to reiterate that my emphasis here is on only one aspect of it, the relationship between the discourse of freedom and identity. The history of the discourse and practice of freedom could be broadly viewed along five trajectories in their complex interrelationship: the history of resistance against the monarchy, church (both from within and without), and foreign rule; the history of capitalism; the birth of a new ethos as reflected in the Renaissance; the history of nationalism; and the intellectual history of the idea of freedom. My own emphasis in this article is on nationalism as a discourse based in national identity and the idea of freedom. For some general theoretical works on the ideas of freedom in the West, see Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969), 118–172. See also Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, "Are Freedom and Liberty Twins?" *Political Theory* 16, no. 4 (November 1988): 523–552; Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (Westport, Conn., 1983), 142. For a comprehensive work on the historical development of ideas of freedom in the West, see Mortimer J. Adler, *The Idea of Freedom: A Dialectical Examination of the Conceptions of Freedom*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961), 2: 15. There has been considerable work on the national specificities of ideas of freedom within Europe. See, for example, Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Chicago, 1962); Dale Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Keith M. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990); David Thomas König, ed., *Devising Liberty: Preserving and Creating Freedom in the New American Republic* (Stanford, Calif., 1995). For development of the ideas and practices of freedom in relation to Christianity and the Church, see Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958); J. H. Hexter, ed., *Parliament and Liberty: From the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); J. H. Burns and Mark Goldie, eds., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991); Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996); Richard Helmstadter, ed., *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif., 1997). For histories of notions of freedom developed in the course of revolutions in different parts of the West, see Isser Woloch, ed., *Revolution and the Meanings of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Colin Lucas, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford, 1988); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1959). Representative works on nationalism include Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2006); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, 2003); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 2005); David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); George L. Mosse, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism* (Waltham, Mass., 1993).

<sup>25</sup> S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1923–1927); Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–1955); J. N. Mohanty, *Classical Indian Philosophy* (Lanham, Md., 2000). See also Klaus K. Klostermaier, *Hinduism: A Short History* (Oxford, 2000), 160.

the domain of renunciative, ascetic, and meditative practices. Each of these domains had its own textual and discursive tradition, the *dharmaśāstra*, the *arthaśāstra*, the *kāmasūtra*, and the *mokshaśāstra*, belonging to various religious schools and sects pertaining to ascetic and meditative practices, respectively.<sup>26</sup> However, a hierarchy was assumed in terms of the relative importance of each of the four goals, with the pursuit of *moksha* ranked the highest and of *kama* the lowest.

Within this framework, freedom and politics as the pursuit of power constituted two exclusive and mutually incompatible domains. Whereas the latter involved governance and warfare, the former required complete renunciation of the other three goals, including power. Given this perspective, it is not surprising that Gandhi's involvement in the twentieth-century anticolonial resistance movement was marked by a commitment to renunciative freedom as the highest goal, and at the same time by a critique of the Western discourse of freedom as being partly an exercise of power, most evident in colonialism. It was as part of this philosophical tradition that the *śamnyasin*, or renouncer, as the seeker of *moksha*, or renunciative freedom, came to be one of the principal figures in Indian life.<sup>27</sup>

IT WAS THE ADVENT OF British colonial rule in India and the challenge posed by the introduction of the Western discourse of freedom that brought renunciative freedom into the center of Indian thought. As a parallel indigenous discourse of freedom, *moksha* had a certain sense of kinship with, but more significantly a strong sense of rivalry with, the Western notion of political identitarian freedom.<sup>28</sup> It was inevitable that the two traditions would clash. This historic encounter presented Indian thinkers with a fundamental dilemma: Were they to abandon the received understanding of renunciative freedom and accept the Western discourse of political freedom, or were they to attempt to build a bridge between the two? Was such a bridge even possible, or were the two discursive traditions incompatible? This conflict and the need to resolve the tension created by the contrary pulls of the two discourses emerged as the primary dilemma for Indian political thinkers in the colonial period.

There were three options available to Indians at this juncture of colonialism. They could ignore the colonial political system and continue with the pursuit of renunciative freedom. They could adopt the Western notion of political freedom and abandon a significant part of their religious and spiritual traditions, while endeavoring

<sup>26</sup> J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1973); Narendranath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (Based on the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya)* (London, 1914); Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthaśāstra* (Lanham, Md., 2002); Vatsyayana, *The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana: The Classic Hindu Treatise on Love and Social Conduct*, trans. Richard F. Burton (New York, 1991).

<sup>27</sup> My focus here is not on the articulation and evolution of the idea of renunciative freedom in premodern India within a variety of schools and sects, but rather its rearticulation in the specifically colonial context of modern India. However, for some important works on renunciation and freedom in premodern India, see Patrick Olivelle, *Śamnyasa Upaniṣads: Hindu Scriptures on Asceticism and Renunciation* (New York, 1992); Louis Dumont, "World Renunciation in Indian Religions," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, no. 4 (1960): 33–62; J. C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society* (Chicago, 1985).

<sup>28</sup> Political thinkers of the West such as Thomas Hobbes, Francis Bacon, David Hume, and John Locke were studied in British educational institutions in India. See B. D. Basu, *History of Education under the Rule of the East India Company* (Calcutta, 1922); and Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920* (Delhi, 1974).

to lay the foundations of a political discourse of resistance against the British colonial government in India. Or they could try to find some middle ground between the two traditions of freedom without abandoning either entirely.

It was this third option that nineteenth-century Indian thinkers such as Rammohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and Rabindranath Tagore chose, by creating a discourse of ethical freedom as a bridge between the imperative of renunciative freedom and political freedom. The established discourse of freedom underwent two fundamental transformations in modern India. In the first half of the nineteenth century, as a result of the encounter with the Western discourse of freedom brought by British colonialism, the pursuit of renunciative freedom, which in the past had been an individual pursuit and involved a complete renunciation of the world and an ascetic retreat from it, was transformed into an ethical engagement with the world in the form of social service or service to humanity as a whole. In 1920, with Gandhi's declaration of the non-cooperation movement against British rule, this pursuit of renunciative freedom through ethical engagement with the world was transformed yet again, this time into a political engagement with the world involving active confrontation and conflict with the established political system. The Gandhian revolution in the discourse of renunciative freedom consisted in a novel combination of an ethics of service to society and an ethics of resistance to the state.

UNLIKE RENUNCIATIVE FREEDOM, which required a complete withdrawal from the world, ethical freedom allowed one to engage with the world without losing the telos of freedom. The way to do this was to let go of one's individual identity and interests by dedicating oneself to the service of society and the greater good. This ethical turn allowed Indian thinkers in the nineteenth century to avoid direct political confrontation with the colonial government, whose role they continued to articulate in terms of the discourse of imperial justice.<sup>29</sup>

It was Rammohan Roy who brought the discourse of renunciative freedom to center stage in Indian thought by deliberately abandoning *bhakti* as the dominant form of Hinduism and founding a new religion in 1830 called Brahmo Samaj, based on the ancient Upanishadic ideas of *Brahman* and *moksha*.<sup>30</sup> Marking a break from the past, however, Roy argued that the pursuit of *moksha* did not require one to renounce the world. Rather, it could now be achieved by devoting oneself to social

<sup>29</sup> As the British colonial government was still in the process of consolidation, and given the level of political consciousness among the Indian people, a mass resistance movement at this time would have been an unlikely project; this was a pragmatic compromise.

<sup>30</sup> Rammohun Roy, "Translation of an Abridgement of the Vedant," in Roy, *The Essential Writings of Raja Rammohan Ray*, ed. Bruce Carlisle Robertson (Delhi, 1999), 4–14. For Roy's life and work, see V. C. Joshi, ed., *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India* (Delhi, 1975); S. Cromwell Crawford, *Ram Mohan Roy: Social, Political, and Religious Reform in 19th Century India* (New York, 1987); Bruce Carlisle Robertson, *Raja Rammohan Ray: The Father of Modern India* (Delhi, 1995); Ramananda Chatterji, *Rammohun Roy and Modern India* (Calcutta, 1947). For accounts of the significance of the Brahmo Samaj for Hindu social reform, see David Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton, N.J., 1979); and Charles H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton, N.J., 1964).

service.<sup>31</sup> It is important to note that this ethical compromise stopped far short of involvement with the affairs of state.

The split between juridico-political liberty and the discourse of renunciative freedom is also evident in the late-nineteenth-century writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, one of the most important literary and intellectual figures in modern Bengal and India. Chatterji argued in numerous essays that the juridical discourse of liberty, which presupposed the individual as the subject of law, with rights given or not given by institutions of political society, was a Western import.<sup>32</sup> The real telos of Indian life as handed down by the ancient civilization of India was not political liberty, defined as the instrumental use of freedom for the pursuit of material ends, but freedom from desire, or *mukti/moksha*, which was an end in itself.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, he viewed *moksha*, the pursuit of renunciative freedom, as indistinguishable from what he called *dharma*, defined as ethical conduct in the service of humanity. In Chatterji's view, politics was not the domain in which freedom could be exercised or realized; at most it could help to create the conditions under which one had the choice to pursue real freedom, which was *moksha*. Thus it is not surprising that he never fully opposed British rule in India.<sup>34</sup> Within his discourse, there was no need for opposition or resistance to foreign rule because politics itself was foreign to the attainment of *moksha*. The goal of national independence under which people could exercise their freedom as legislators by making laws for themselves fell outside his concerns.

It was Swami Vivekananda, however, who had the most lucid insight into the nature of the challenge facing the Indic tradition of renunciative freedom with the establishment of the British Empire and contact with Western intellectual and political traditions. Vivekananda precisely articulated the distinction between the West and India as not just a divergence between Indian spirituality and Western materialism—a generalization that was common in the writings of that period—but a fundamental difference between their respective notions of freedom. In a lecture titled “Hindu and Greek,” he stated:

The Greek sought political liberty. The Hindu has always sought spiritual liberty. Both are one-sided. The Indian cares not enough for national protection or patriotism, he will defend only his religion; while with the Greek and in Europe (where the Greek civilization finds its continuation) the country comes first. To care only for spiritual liberty and not for social liberty is a defect, but the opposite is a still greater defect. Liberty of both soul and body is to be striven for.<sup>35</sup>

Vivekananda's writings evince the urgent need to somehow build a bridge between the two notions of freedom, to establish some middle ground between them. Like

<sup>31</sup> Roy, *The Essential Writings*, xxix–xxx. See also his “Translation of the Moonduk-Opunishad,” *ibid.*, 51–62.

<sup>32</sup> Bankim Chandra Chatterji, “Dharmatattva,” in Chatterji, *Bankim rachanavali*, ed. Jogesh Chandra Bagal (Calcutta, 1969), 609. See also Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India* (Delhi, 1995).

<sup>33</sup> Chatterji, *Bankim rachanavali*, 586.

<sup>34</sup> In contrast to Partha Chatterjee, who has located the origins of nationalist discourse in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's thoughts on civilizational difference, I contend that this idea of difference did not translate into a political discourse of freedom. See Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 54–81. It is important to note that the anticolonial movement in India had its origins in a discourse of identity with the British Empire: it was based on the notion that Indians had as much claim to rights as any other subjects of the empire.

<sup>35</sup> Vivekananda, *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, 8 vols. (Calcutta, 1955), 6: 51.



Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Roy, he found this path in a discourse of ethical freedom.

Redefining true renunciation as unselfish work and work without the desire for results, Vivekananda stated:

the ordinary *Samnyasin* gives up the world, goes out and thinks of God. The real *Samnyasin* lives in the world, but is not of it. Those who deny themselves, live in the forest and chew the cud of unsatisfied desires are not true renouncers. Live in the midst of the battle of life . . . Stand in the whirl and madness of action and reach the Center.<sup>36</sup>

The goal for the real *samnyasin*, then, was ethical service to humanity:

The true *samnyasins* forgo even their own liberation and live simply for doing good to the world . . . The *Samnyasin* is born into the world to lay down his life for others, to stop the bitter cries of men, to wipe the tears of the widow, to bring peace to the soul of the bereaved mother, to equip the ignorant masses for the struggle for existence . . . and to arouse the sleeping lion of Brahman in all by throwing in the light of knowledge.<sup>37</sup>

Vivekananda exhorted his disciples to immerse themselves as *samnyasins* in the work of educating the masses, particularly women, and in charitable activities to reduce poverty and illiteracy.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, he was inspired by the goal of ethical freedom to establish the Ramakrishna Mission, a network of charitable institutions run by *samnyasins* whose primary aim was the service of humanity.<sup>39</sup> As with Roy, Vivekananda's attempt to find some middle ground between the two notions of freedom stopped far short of anything that could be recognized as political.

The most vivid illustration of the nature of this ethical pursuit of *moksha* and the historical-political circumstances under which it was invented can be found in Rabindranath Tagore's novel *Gora* (White Boy).<sup>40</sup> Tagore, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913, was second only to Gandhi in his intellectual importance and his influence on modern Indian culture.<sup>41</sup> The title character in *Gora* is an extremely conservative Brahmin Hindu who is leading a Hindu nationalist movement against British colonial rule, a movement that is also hostile to Muslims. At the height of his political career, he learns that the Brahmin Hindu couple who raised him were not his real parents; he is, in fact, Irish by birth: he was left in the care of his Hindu family by a couple from Ireland after the Rebellion of 1857 against British rule.<sup>42</sup> *Gora* is devastated by this revelation, for now it is impossible for him to continue to lead an independence movement based on Hindu religious and national identity.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 466–467.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 444.

<sup>39</sup> See Gwilym Beckerlegge, *The Ramakrishna Mission: The Making of a Modern Hindu Movement* (Delhi, 2000).

<sup>40</sup> Rabindranath Tagore, *Gora*, trans. Sujit Mukherjee (New Delhi, 2003).

<sup>41</sup> For the life of Tagore, see Edward John Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist* (London, 1948); Krishna Kripalani, *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography* (New York, 1962); Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson, *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man* (New York, 1996); Uma Dasgupta, *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography* (Delhi, 2004).

<sup>42</sup> For some histories of 1857, see Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies, 1857–1859* (Calcutta, 1957); Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Awadh in Revolt, 1857–1858: A Study of Popular Resistance* (Delhi, 1984); Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed: The Indian Revolt of 1857*, ed. C. A. Bayly (Oxford, 1986); Gautam Bhadra, "Four Rebels of Eighteen-Fifty-Seven," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies IV* (Delhi, 1985), 229–275; William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857* (New York, 2008).

He suddenly finds himself to be neither a Brahmin nor a Hindu, nor indeed even an Indian. At the same time, he has lived the life of a Hindu for far too long to find his way back to his Irish and Christian identity. It is as if an abyss has opened up right under his feet.

But it is through this complete loss of identity that Gora goes on to discover his true purpose: selfless service to India and to all of humanity. In Tagore's eyes, this is the moment of his real freedom. With this discovery, however, the novel ends, implying that with the attainment of Gora's true freedom, the political project of national independence from British rule has been abandoned. In effect, Tagore, like his predecessors, failed to reconcile the pursuit of *moksha* as ethical engagement with the world with a discourse of anticolonial resistance.<sup>43</sup>

At an obvious level, *Gora* reflects Tagore's concern about a new form of nationalism based on Hindu national identity that was emerging in India in the early twentieth century. However, given that this form of Hindu nationalism was essentially derivative of the modern discourse of political freedom, with its three pillars of national identity, nationalism, and the nation-state, the novel is at a deeper level a critique of the discourse of political identitarian freedom as such. If the question of identity is central to the story, that is because Tagore viewed the modern discourse of political freedom as based on a fundamental division between the self and the other, a division that was at the root of much of the conflict that accompanied the rise of nationalism in the modern world. In the discourse of ethical freedom, defined as service to society or humanity as a whole, any kind of identity, individual or collective, not only signified the absence of freedom but was, in fact, a positive form of bondage.<sup>44</sup> From the perspective of the Indic understanding of freedom, the modern notion of political freedom was a contradiction in terms.

JUST AS THE DISCOURSE of freedom in India seemed unable to get past the ethics of social service in the pre-Gandhian period, political discourse was equally moribund—trapped in a discourse of imperial justice, it had been unable to find its way out toward national independence.<sup>45</sup> Imperial justice was the larger discursive formation within which the British policy of divide and rule operated in the post-1857 period. The Rebellion of 1857 had dramatically exposed the fragility of the East India Company's rule over India.<sup>46</sup> It had also driven home the fact that significant parts

<sup>43</sup> Tagore was very conscious of the difficulties inherent in trying to reconcile the two discourses of freedom: "I sometimes detect in myself a battle ground where two opposing forces are constantly in action, one beckoning to peace and the cessation of strife, the other egging me on to battle." Sisirkumar Ghose, *Rethinking Tagore: Three Lectures* (Mysore, 1982), 4.

<sup>44</sup> For incisive analyses of nationalism and humanitarianism in Tagore, see Ashis Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism: Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self* (Delhi, 1994); Martha C. Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," in Martha C. Nussbaum with Respondents, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston, 1996), 3–17. For a related discussion, see also Prathama Banerjee, "The Work of Imagination: Temporality and Nationhood in Colonial Bengal," in Mayaram, Pandian, and Skaria, *Muslims, Dalits, and the Fabrications of History*, 280–322.

<sup>45</sup> For an elaborate discussion of the discourse of imperial justice and the politics of the Indian National Congress, see Mithi Mukherjee, *India in the Shadows of Empire: A Legal and Political History, 1774–1950* (New Delhi, 2010).

<sup>46</sup> For a general discussion of the implications of 1857 for British policy in India, see Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in Cohn, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi, 1990), 632–682; Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in*

of the Indian population were capable of uniting when it came to opposing the colonial government, and that force alone would not suffice to maintain the British Empire in India.

It is significant, therefore, that the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which put the British monarchy at the helm of the British Empire in India under the discourse of imperial justice, went hand in hand with a discourse that denied India the status of a nation and portrayed it as a divided society at war with itself.<sup>47</sup> Torn by internal conflict, India was in desperate need, it was claimed, of a neutral and therefore preferably foreign power to govern it and secure the peace. The colonial hope was that the fragmentation of Indian society into innumerable minorities would keep it trapped in the discourse of imperial justice with no access to the discourse of political freedom, making the British presence seem permanently indispensable. It was this brilliant invention of the discourse of imperial justice that turned the exteriority, or foreign origin, of the colonial state into a strength rather than a weakness; the exteriority of the state to the "native" society was presented as a requirement not just for the peace and security of the country, but for its very existence.

Even Gandhi himself, until as late as 1918, framed his political discourse in terms of the goal of imperial justice. After his return to India from South Africa in 1914, even while leading some of the most extensive peasants' and workers' movements in Champaran, Kheda, and Ahmedabad, he continued to view these movements primarily in terms of the imperial juridical paradigm, as essentially pleas for justice.<sup>48</sup> With the passage of time, however, the long-held and surprisingly widespread hope of imperial justice was beginning to appear to the people of India more like a political trap intended to keep India a British colony indefinitely.<sup>49</sup> Yet, while the inadequacy of the discourse of justice was becoming clear, the Indic discourse of freedom, having abandoned the renunciative path, had come only so far as an ethical engagement with the world. What was urgently required for an adequate response to the challenge of colonialism was a discourse of resistance.

It was under these circumstances that the underlying violence of British colonial rule was brutally brought home to Gandhi with the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in the Punjab in 1919.<sup>50</sup> Large numbers of Indians, including old people, women, and children, were slaughtered by the British army at a nonviolent prayer meeting that was taking place within a walled compound, held in response to Gandhi's call for a

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*India* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 79–100; Thomas R. Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857–1870* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), 92–327; Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1994), 28–159.

<sup>47</sup> Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," 653.

<sup>48</sup> *Gandhi's Autobiography*, 405.

<sup>49</sup> The exploitive nature of British rule was particularly emphasized in the early twentieth century by a radical nationalist faction within the Indian National Congress called the "Extremists" in Indian historiography. See Amalesh Tripathi, *The Extremist Challenge: India between 1890 and 1910* (Bombay, 1967). See also John R. McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971).

<sup>50</sup> Some good accounts of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre are available in Rupert Furneaux, *Massacre at Amritsar* (London, 1963); V. N. Datta, *Jallianwala Bagh* (Punjab, 1969); Helen Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment: The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and British Judgment, 1919–1920* (Honolulu, 1977); Alfred Draper, *Amritsar: The Massacre That Ended the Raj* (London, 1981).

nationwide protest against the Rowlatt Act.<sup>51</sup> The deliberate nature of the massacre and the brutality with which it was carried out, followed by the British government's refusal to punish the general who had ordered it, Reginald Dyer, finally shut the window of hope that the discourse of imperial justice had offered to Gandhi and others in the Indian National Congress for more than three decades.<sup>52</sup> It was at this moment that Gandhi departed radically from his earlier juridical modes of agitation, such as petitioning, signature campaigns, and presenting memoranda to the British government, and began a new era of open resistance and confrontation. The possibility of any reconciliation between the Indian people and the British government now appeared to him illusory. As he stated during his 1922 trial, the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh had proved that the colonial government, "established by law in British India," was being used "for the exploitation of the Indian masses and for prolonging her servitude. I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system."<sup>53</sup>

The beginning of a new discourse of resistance was dotted by major milestones, including the non-cooperation movement in 1920, the civil disobedience movement in 1930, and the "Quit India" movement in 1942.<sup>54</sup> Given that Gandhi himself had been a lawyer, this departure from the discourse of imperial justice became dramatically evident in his call to ban practicing lawyers from leading or even participating in the anticolonial movement. Insofar as any association with the British judicial system reflected a residual faith in the discourse of imperial justice, it had to be thoroughly rejected.

THUS THE TIME HAD COME for the creation of a new order of discourse. It is not surprising that after Gandhi's arrival in India, even as he began to grapple with the questions of the day, he also began to move, largely unawares, toward the figure of the *samnyasin*. For while renunciation had been the condition for truth in society through much of Indian history, the enunciative persona of the renouncer had been seen as the sole agent of truth. In contrast to scholars of the renunciative tradition, however, Gandhi came to the discourse of *moksha* in search of an answer to a political question. It was as a political activist that he became a renouncer.

Gandhi made this significant move at a historical juncture when the limits of the discourse of imperial justice stood exposed. Stepping into the enunciative position of the *samnyasin* enabled him to be an enunciator of truth with the power to challenge the discourse of the British Empire. Vivekananda, who had himself become a *samnyasin*, had asserted that to speak of politics in India, one had to speak the language of religion.<sup>55</sup> And in the view of the masses of India, only the renouncer could speak the true language of religion: when one "preached as a householder,"

<sup>51</sup> By this act the British government in India had acquired the right to arrest individuals without a warrant and hold them in prison without trial, to hold special trials without a jury, and to disarm the Indian population. For the movement against the Rowlatt Act, see Kumar, *Essays on Gandhian Politics*.

<sup>52</sup> Nigel Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar: General Reginald Dyer* (London, 2005).

<sup>53</sup> From Gandhi's written statement in the trial of 1921. See M. K. Gandhi, *The Law and the Lawyers*, comp. and ed. S. B. Kher (Ahmedabad, 1962), 114–119.

<sup>54</sup> Although the formal call for "purna swaraj" did not come until January 26, 1930, a decisive break with the earlier discourse of imperial justice is already evident in the non-cooperation movement.

<sup>55</sup> Vivekananda, "My Life and Mission," in *The Complete Works*, 8: 77.

Vivekananda pointed out, "the Hindu people will turn back and go out. If you have given up the world, however, they say, 'He is good, he has given up the world.'"<sup>56</sup> Having detached himself from the affairs of the world and identified himself with the cosmos, the renouncer stood outside society, and it was precisely that position of disinterestedness and impartiality toward the affairs of the world that made him the enunciator of truth. Vivekananda had even suggested that the authority that the *samnyasins* commanded as enunciators of truth in Indian society be put to the service of politics: "This tremendous power in the hands of the roving *samnyasins* of India has got to be transformed, and it will raise the masses up."<sup>57</sup> In a sense, then, we can say that the emergence of Gandhi, and the discursive position that he came to occupy, was anticipated in the discursive context of late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century India, where the discourse of renunciation had come to be tied to the discourse of ethical service to society.<sup>58</sup> It was because Gandhi spoke as a *samnyasin* that his discourse was accepted and recognized as the discourse of truth.

Even while occupying the enunciative position of a *samnyasin*, Gandhi significantly transformed its meaning. Whereas in its traditional religious sense *samnyasa* meant the renunciation of all worldly activities, Gandhi redefined the concept:

*Samnyasa* does not mean the renunciation of all activities; it means only the renunciation of activities prompted by desire and of the fruits of action performed as duty. This is real freedom from activity. That is why one must learn to see inactivity in activity and activity in inactivity.<sup>59</sup>

In his declaration of non-cooperation with British rule, however, he also marked a break from the nineteenth-century ethical discourse of *moksha*, the pursuit of freedom as social service. For it was in the Gandhian discourse that the discourse of transcendental freedom, previously grounded on the explicit rejection and exteriorization of politics, came to intersect with the historical concern for independence from British rule and the idea of resistance.

In this age, only political *samnyasis* can fulfill and adorn the ideal of *samnyasa*, others will more than likely disgrace the *samnyasin's* saffron robe . . . One who aspires to a truly religious life cannot fail to undertake public service as his mission, and we are today so much caught up in the political machine that service of the people is impossible without taking part in politics.<sup>60</sup>

For Gandhi, however, political engagement had to be subordinated to the idea of renunciative freedom. It was at the core of his revolutionary innovations in the field of political strategy. His insistence on nonviolence derived from his belief that politics should always be subordinated to the idea and practice of renunciation. "For me the effort for attaining *swaraj*/national political independence is a part of the

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 90.

<sup>58</sup> In their studies of the Gandhian movement, historians such as Shahid Amin have analyzed the different and often conflicting perceptions among the peasantry of Gandhi as a "mahatma" or renouncer. What is significant from my perspective is not so much how Gandhi was perceived by people participating in the movement as how his emergence can be said to have been foreseen to a large extent in the historical and cultural context of twentieth-century India. See Amin, "Gandhi as Mahatma."

<sup>59</sup> Gandhi in a letter to Narayan M. Khare, March 12, 1932, in Mahatma Gandhi, *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, ed. Raghavan Iyer, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1986), 2: 627.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 1: 138.



effort for *moksha* . . . I would not be tempted to give up my striving after *moksha* even for the sake of *swaraj*.”<sup>61</sup> The end was not the overcoming of the other through appropriation by the self, but the transcendence of desire itself. Intrinsically tied to the goal of *moksha*, therefore, was the ideal of nonattachment, *anasakti*. Attachment led to worldly involvement and was a major obstacle to the attainment of renunciative freedom. The aspirant toward *moksha* thus had to cultivate a total absence of desire. In Gandhian discourse, the idea of freedom was located outside G. W. F. Hegel’s dialectic of master and slave, for Indians, while refusing to be slaves, would also renounce the desire to be masters. The self was to become a cipher in which truth could reside. “When the sense of ‘I’ has vanished, we cease to feel that we are subject to anyone’s authority. He who feels himself to be a cipher experiences peace in all conditions of life.”<sup>62</sup> Freedom, then, was indistinguishable from renunciation—renunciation of desire and of identity.

For the political *samnyasi* or *satyagrahi*, certain renunciative practices were imperative.<sup>63</sup> “Self-effacement is *moksha*,” wrote Gandhi in his autobiography, “and whilst it cannot, by itself, be an observance, there may be other observances necessary for its attainment.” The practices of *brahmacharya* (celibacy), fasting, *aparigraha* (non-possession), and especially *ahimsa* (nonviolence) were essential to the life of a *satyagrahi*. “*Satyagraha*,” Gandhi declared at the commencement of the movement around the Rowlatt Act, “is a process of self-purification, and ours is a sacred fight, and it seems to me to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification. Let all the people of India, therefore, suspend their business on that day and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer.”<sup>64</sup> It was from this perspective that the discourse and practice of freedom in India came to be tied to the concepts of duty, responsibility, and conscience, rather than to individual rights.

The radical nature of the shift from the peaceful, ethical pursuit of freedom to a confrontational albeit nonviolent politics of resistance is evident in Tagore’s public critique of Gandhi’s politics.<sup>65</sup> Gandhi had always insisted that the telos of national independence be subordinated to the attainment of *moksha*, which for him meant the effacement of the consciousness of the self or the ego. In Tagore’s eyes, Gandhi’s declaration of non-cooperation and the initiation of active resistance were symptomatic of his abandonment of the primacy of the discourse and goal of renunciative freedom over national independence.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Gandhi, “Striving after Moksha,” *ibid.*, 1: 15.

<sup>62</sup> Gandhi to Vasumati Pandit, August 21, 1930, *ibid.*, 2: 625.

<sup>63</sup> The term *satyagrahi* is a combination of two words—*satya*, truth, and *agrahi*, one who insists (on it), i.e., one who insists on truth. Given the historical context of the anticolonial resistance movement, *satyagrahi* could best be translated as “one who struggles in the way of truth.”

<sup>64</sup> *Gandhi’s Autobiography*, 414–415. See also *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 100 vols. (Delhi, 1958–1994), 15: 143.

<sup>65</sup> Tagore, “The Cult of the Charkha,” in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 28: 482–484; Tagore, “Tagore’s Criticism of Non-Cooperation,” *ibid.*, Appendix 4, 23: 485–487.

<sup>66</sup> In Ashis Nandy’s view, the differences between Tagore and Gandhi were only a matter of emphasis. What united them was a critique of nationalism and a refusal to recognize the nation-state as the organizing principle of Indian civilization. See Nandy, *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism*, 1–4. For other discussions of the differences between Gandhi and Tagore, see Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Non-violent Power in Action* (New York, 1993), 67–78; T. S. Rukmani, “Tagore and Gandhi,” in Harold Coward, ed., *Indian Critiques of Gandhi* (Albany, N.Y., 2003), 107–128; Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, “Introduction,” in Bhattacharya, comp. and ed., *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore, 1915–1941* (New Delhi, 1997), 1–37.

As a thinker who shared Gandhi's commitment to the ideals of renunciative and ethical freedom, Tagore found the call for non-cooperation to be divisive and provocative. For him, the rejection of everything foreign was exclusivist, and therefore unacceptable. *Moksha*, as reconstructed in its ethical form, had come to mean identification with all of humanity rather than a retreat into national or communal identity, and Tagore believed that this form of resistance would inevitably lead to disharmony, conflict, and hostility between nations and peoples.<sup>67</sup>

The idea of noncooperation is political asceticism . . . It has at its back a fierce joy of annihilation which at its best is asceticism, and at its worst is that orgy of frightfulness in which the human nature, losing faith in the basic reality of normal life, finds a disinterested delight in unmeaning devastation, as has been shown in the late War and on other occasions . . . *No* in its passive moral form is asceticism and in its active moral form is violence. The desert is as much a form of *himsa* (negligence) as is the raging sea in storm; they both are against life.<sup>68</sup>

The philosophical thought that underlay Tagore's criticism of Gandhi's non-cooperation derived from a commitment to the Upanishadic idea of *advaita*, or non-dualism, which did not allow any division of the world into self and other. This idea, however, preempted any attempt to construct a political discourse of opposition, confrontation, or resistance, which is necessarily articulated in terms of self and other. "The infinite personality of man (as the Upanishads say) can only come from the magnificent harmony of all human races," Tagore wrote.

My prayer is that India may represent the cooperation of all the peoples of the world. For India, unity is truth, and division evil. Unity is that which embraces and understands everything; consequently it cannot be attained through negation. The present attempt to separate our spirit from that of the Occident is an attempt at national suicide . . . No nation can find its own salvation by breaking away from others. We must all be saved or we must all perish together.<sup>69</sup>

Gandhi's response was to assert the importance of rejection in arriving at truth. "Rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth . . . we had lost the power of saying 'no.' It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious to say 'no' to the government."<sup>70</sup> Referring again to the Upanishads (*Brahmavidya*), he reminded Tagore that the pursuit of freedom necessarily required a series of rejections, because the ideal of renunciative freedom could not be defined positively and pursued directly. Gandhi pointed out that what he called Tagore's "horror of everything negative," including resistance, was not truly representative of the Upanishadic approach to renunciative freedom. The philosophers of the Upanishads had, after all, attempted to define the *Brahman*—the absolute—not in terms of its positive attributes, which could have been limiting and would have turned it into a finite entity or identity, but rather by rejecting all positive definitions: "the final word of the *Upanishads* (*Brahmavidya*)," asserted Gandhi, "is 'Not.' *Neti* was the best description the authors of the *Upanishads* were able to find

<sup>67</sup> Tagore, "Tagore's Criticism of Non-Cooperation."

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 485.

<sup>69</sup> Tagore in a letter to C. F. Andrews, March 13, 1921, published in *Modern Review*, May 1921, reproduced in Bhattacharya, *The Mahatma and the Poet*, 61.

<sup>70</sup> Gandhi, "The Poet's Anxiety," in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 23: 220.

for *Brahman*.”<sup>71</sup> This did not mean, however, that non-cooperation was an exclusive doctrine based on identity:

Our non-cooperation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our non-cooperation is with the system that the English have established, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak . . . Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian.<sup>72</sup>

Even while Gandhi cited the Upanishadic principles of negation to defend resistance against the British Empire, he clearly was extending the logic of that negation as it had historically been understood. Negation as renunciation and negation as resistance are two very different kinds of acts. Whereas negation as renunciation involves withdrawing oneself from the world, negation as resistance implies an active engagement with the world in order to change it. The Upanishadic ideal in its traditional form had involved *samnyasa*, leading to a complete ascetic withdrawal from the world. For such a renouncer, active political non-cooperation would have been unimaginable.

This unprecedented and revolutionary transformation of the renunciative tradition to include direct confrontation with an unacceptable political establishment was necessitated, in Gandhi's own view, by the historical conditions of modern society itself, in which politics and the state pervaded every aspect of life. When asked how he reconciled his “idealization” of *samnyasa* with his struggle for national independence or *swaraj*, Gandhi replied:

If the *samnyasins* (renouncers) of the old did not seem to bother their heads about the political life of society, it was because society was differently constructed. But politics, properly so-called, rule every detail of our lives today. We come in touch, that is to say, with the State on hundreds of occasions, whether we will or no. The State affects our moral being. A *samnyasin*, therefore, being well-wisher and servant par excellence of society, must concern himself with the relations of the people with the State, that is to say, he must show the way to attain *swaraj*. Thus conceived, *swaraj* is not a false goal for anyone . . . A *samnyasin*, having attained *swaraj* in his own person, is the fittest to show us the way. A *samnyasin* is in the world, but he is not of the world.<sup>73</sup>

In Gandhi's view, then, in contrast to the past, when society had been autonomous in relation to the state, politics in the present was so all-pervasive and overpowering that nothing was allowed to remain exterior to it. The omnipotence of the state was accompanied, paradoxically, by a doctrine of political freedom that was grounded on the idea of the state and the discourse of rights and identity. It was imperative under these conditions to launch a struggle to retrieve the earlier discourse of renunciative freedom that had been colonized by political discourse, in parallel with the struggle to regain the autonomy of society from politics. The most appropriate leader for such a movement was clearly the *samnyasin*, who embodied that marginalized discourse of renunciative freedom. Indeed, insofar as the *samnyasin* was “in the world, but not of the world,” his presence in the movement, in Gandhi's view,

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. For other responses by Gandhi to Tagore's criticisms, see “The Poet and the Charkha,” *ibid.*, 33: 196–201; “The Great Sentinel,” *ibid.*, 21: 287–291.

<sup>72</sup> Gandhi, “The Great Sentinel,” 291.

<sup>73</sup> Gandhi, “The Correspondent's Dilemma,” in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 31: 376–377.

was a constant reminder that real freedom could not be achieved within politics. The renouncer, then, had a dual function: ethical service to society and ethical resistance to the state. He was to involve himself with politics on behalf of society against the state.

By emphasizing the discourse of renunciative freedom and the figure of the *samnyasin* as the leader of the movement, Gandhi, even as he launched a movement of opposition to the British, was also preempting the emergence in India of a modern Western discourse of freedom based on the state and identity. At stake was not just independence from British rule but the imperative to foreclose the possibility of the emergence and dominance of a discourse of freedom that would be grounded in the nation-state as the all-powerful arbiter of the destiny of people and society, and its corollary the discourse of identity.

IN A CENTURY TORN APART by wars, violence, and genocide, the Gandhian movement against British colonial domination in India stands out as a unique experiment in political resistance: it was the first and also the largest mass resistance movement in the world based entirely on the idea and practice of nonviolence. The critical importance of nonviolence in the Gandhian movement came from its grounding in the Gandhian discourse of renunciative freedom in its difference from Western discourses of political identitarian freedom. The centrality of the notion of freedom to both Indic and Western cultures cannot be understated: while in Indic intellectual traditions the pursuit of renunciative freedom was historically regarded as the supreme goal, in the West the notion of political freedom had over time come to be recognized as its highest political and intellectual achievement. Indeed, it was as a place where the historical telos of political freedom came to find its fulfillment that the modern West presented itself as the ultimate measure and standard for other cultures and societies and their histories. Insofar as the Gandhian nonviolent revolution was grounded in a competing discourse of freedom, Britain, as the self-proclaimed agent of Western civilization, faced much more in India than just another anticolonial resistance movement against the empire: it faced a challenge to its core notion of political freedom.

It was one of the remarkable features of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British liberalism that even as it held freedom to be the highest goal that a man or a society could aspire to, it was also the flag-bearer of British colonialism. British liberals saw no contradiction in fighting for democracy or self-government at home and for colonies abroad.<sup>74</sup> For Gandhi, this reflected the essential nature of the Western discourse of political identitarian freedom, in which there was no contradiction between freedom of the self and domination over the other. In his view, it was precisely because this notion of political freedom was grounded in the idea of the self and identity in general that when faced with the other, it turned into an exercise in domination or power. Thus, power, the Gandhian movement demonstrated, was the underside of the Western discourse of freedom.

Remarkably, Hegel, the philosopher of "the end of history," had foreseen—

<sup>74</sup> See Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Liberal Thought* (Chicago, 1999); Bhikhu Parekh, "Decolonizing Liberalism," in Aleksandras Shtromos, ed., *The End of "Isms"? Reflections on the Fate of Ideological Politics after Communism's Collapse* (Oxford, 1998), 85–103.

almost a century before the arrival of Gandhi—that the Indic discourse of renunciative freedom might turn its attention to the real world with the intention of changing it. Indeed, sure of his dialectical method, Hegel had even boldly predicted the nature and implications of this possibility were it to come to pass. When this abstract and negative freedom turns to actuality (the concrete world), he asserted in 1821, “it becomes in the realm of both politics and religion the fanaticism of destruction, demolishing the whole existing social order, eliminating all individuals regarded as suspect by a given order . . . Only in destroying something does this negative will (or freedom) have a feeling of its own existence . . . its actualization can only be the fury of destruction.”<sup>75</sup> Contrary to Hegel’s predictions of “the fury of destruction,” however, the tradition of renunciative freedom introduced to the world a whole new kind of politics—the politics of nonviolence. If history proved Hegel’s prediction wrong in such a dramatic fashion, it was because he had encountered in the notion of renunciative freedom the exteriority of another tradition of thought whose logic escaped his all-encompassing dialectics.

In 1947, as news of the partition of India and a transfer of populations became public, large-scale riots between Hindus and Muslims began to break out in different parts of the country. While the members of the Indian National Congress were busy in Delhi celebrating independence and taking the reins of power, Gandhi spent his last days visiting one riot-prone area after another. It is said that through the moral power of his fasts for peace, he single-handedly brought much of the disorder to a spontaneous halt. When he was fasting in Calcutta, where the most devastating riots occurred, a Hindu man came to speak to him. He told Gandhi about his young son who had been killed by Muslim mobs, and about the depth of his anger and his longing for revenge. Gandhi is said to have replied: “If you really wish to overcome your pain, find a young boy, just as young as your son, a Muslim boy whose parents have been killed by Hindu mobs. Bring up that boy like you would your own son, but bring him up with the Muslim faith to which he was born. Only then will you find that you can heal your pain, your anger, and your longing for retribution.” The only way to overcome the cycle of revenge, in Gandhi’s view, was to reverse and thereby shatter the logic of identity. In the Gandhian frame of things, it was not the assertion of identity that would bring true freedom, but the loss of it. It is not surprising, then, that Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu nationalist whose idea of freedom based on national identity, nationalism, and the nation-state found itself in conflict with a Gandhian discourse of freedom that went beyond identity and state.

<sup>75</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, ed. Allen W. Wood, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, 1991), 38. Note that Hegel compares the Hindu idea of renunciative freedom to the idea of abstract freedom in the French Revolution, which resulted in the Reign of Terror.

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“History Is Past Politics”? Archives, “Tainted Evidence,”  
and the Return of the State

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TODD SHEPARD

IT REMAINS EXCEEDINGLY RARE that historiographies anchored outside the West resonate widely. In the last two decades, however, debates about South Asian histories have done just that, repeatedly intervening in the ways that historians from diverse fields discuss and practice their craft.<sup>1</sup> This breakthrough had both textual and contextual causes. On the one hand, a series of forceful interventions by the Subaltern Studies Collective made historians look toward South Asia, inspiring controversy, reflection, and a fair amount of imitation. On the other hand, this conversation took place at a time when attention to empire was coming to seem ever more useful to historical study, perhaps even necessary; today, Anthony Pagden’s 2006 claim that “imperial history,” long “relegated to the wastelands of the academy[,] now seems to be on the point of capturing the center” seems even less of an exaggeration. Such factors help explain why, as Clifton Crais remarked recently in these pages, “South Asia, and particularly India, now largely dominates the new history of the British Empire, so much so,” he suggested, “that at times India comes to stand for . . . other colonial societies, *in toto*.”<sup>2</sup>

The articles here, all by South Asianists and on South Asian histories, seek to move beyond most of the spirited debates that drew so much outside attention to their field. They stiff-arm a set of South Asianist contretemps that Robert Travers terms “aging” over questions “such as collaboration versus resistance, ‘Indian agency’ versus ‘colonial intervention,’ continuity versus change,” and largely avoid choosing between elites or subalterns, or what Mithi Mukherjee refers to as “the four major schools of historiography on modern India—Marxist, Cambridge, nationalist, and subaltern.” None of these authors want to stake their claims on this heavily mined terrain. Nor do they directly engage the implications of what many scholars

<sup>1</sup> My comments here primarily address Anglophone discussions. On subalternist success and on the limited circulation of most non-Western historiographies, see Georg G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Harlow, 2008), esp. 281–300; on subaltern influence among Africanists, see Christopher J. Lee, “Subaltern Studies and African Studies,” *History Compass* 3, no. 1 (2005): 1–13. On historiography in the twentieth century, see also Donald R. Kelley, *Frontiers of History: Historical Inquiry in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Pagden, “The Empire’s New Clothes: From Empire to Federation, Yesterday and Today,” *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006): 36–46, 36; Clifton Crais, “Review: *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa*,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 4 (October 2009): 1023–1025; Sugata Bose, “Post-Colonial Histories of South Asia: Some Reflections,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (2003): 133–146.

now complain is the distension of categories such as empire, imperial, postcolonial, and colonial—they do not, most notably, explore what distinguishes “colonial” power, government, violence, and histories from other ways that groups and polities exercise power and rule, inflict or live with violence, or endure and analyze the past; nor is there any (yet another) assessment of why these questions are so pressing now.<sup>3</sup>

Each does speak to current concerns with transnational methods. Sujit Sivasundaram argues for a “transcolonial . . . transregional or even transnational canvas,” because it promises to allow for “new questions to emerge in the study of the impact of colonialism.” David Gilmartin positions his exploration of “the judicial treatment of the institution of caste” as a crucial case history for the “comparative study of democracy,” yet he, too, emphasizes the transnational grounds of this comparison: historical “links” between Indian and European democracies as well as between India and the Islamic world. Mukherjee’s work relies on comparison (non-systematic, to be sure), as she seeks to present “Indic” thought and the Indian “discourse of freedom” as having wholly distinct “origins” from “Western” understandings of freedom. This, she argues, demonstrates the existence of a specifically Indian universalism that anchored Gandhian politics. In the process, she highlights certain risks linked to transnational approaches, pointing out, for example, that interest in how “Gandhi’s ethical practices” were shaped by “his friendship with Henry Polak and Hermann Kallenbach” may contribute to ignoring “deeper [Indian] sources,” or insisting that it is necessary to recognize the sharply distinct “origins” of “Western” and “Indic” “discourses of freedom” even while recognizing how efforts to “bridge” them, or what Gilmartin might term a “link,” have affected discussions in both India and the West.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Robert Travers, “The Eighteenth Century in Indian History,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 3 (2007): 492–508, 493. On debates about “empire,” see, e.g., Patrick O’Brien, “Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History,” *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3–39; *From Orientalism to Ornamentalism: Empire and Difference in History*, Special Issue, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 3, no. 1 (2002); *Imperial Trauma*, parts I, II, and III, Special Issues, *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (2005), 11, no. 3 (2005), and 12, no. 1 (2006); Antoinette Burton, *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, N.C., 2003); Stephen Howe, “The Slow Death and Strange Rebirths of Imperial History,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 2 (2001): 131–141; Stephen Ellis, “Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa,” *Journal of African History* 43, no. 1 (2002): 1–26. For particularly interesting efforts to define what makes empire different, see Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J., forthcoming); on what, if anything, distinguishes colonial law, see Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires* (Cambridge, 2010); for two recent challenges to arguments about the specificity of “colonial” violence, see Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005), and David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon’s Europe and the Birth of Warfare As We Know It* (Boston, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> On the transnational and comparative history, see “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464; Frederick Cooper, “Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History,” *American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (October 1996): 1122–1138; Micol Seigel, “Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn,” *Radical History* 91 (2005): 62–90; Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C., 2006), 1–22; Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *ibid.*, 23–67; Todd Shepard, “Making French and European Coincide: Decolonization and the Politics of Comparative and Transnational Histories,” *Ab Imperio: Studies of New Imperial History and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Space* 2, no. 27 (2007): 339–360. On the transnational in recent South Asian discussions, see Harald Fischer-Tiné, “Indian Nationalism and the ‘World Forces’: Transnational and Diasporic Dimensions of the Indian Freedom Movement on the Eve of the First World War,” *Journal of Global History* 2, no. 3 (2007): 325–344.

What is perhaps less expected, however, is that these three historians, each well versed in the conventions and critical strategies of cultural history, all share a marked interest in topics and evidence related to the state, the legal, and “politics” (as conventionally understood). Gilmartin takes up insights from the post-Marxist political theorist Ernesto Laclau to propose “another approach to the comparative study of democracy—and of the operation of elections,” which addresses limits that he identifies in well-established liberal and Marxist models. Mukherjee engages with the “category of difference,” which has been so crucial to postcolonial critics in their discussion of identity (although she deploys “difference” in a way that has little connection with these intellectual antecedents). She argues that the Gandhian movement pursued a novel and distinct politics of freedom, which rejected “the discourse of the British Empire” and produced “one of the first mass political movements for national independence to be based on the rejection of identity and nationalism.” Sivasundaram interrogates both Kandyan and British techniques of government and politics at “the advent of British rule” on Sri Lanka. His history of “the making of the island as a separate unit of governance” and how this redirected and stymied the “flow of peoples” makes visible how state formation crystallized identities and limited existing possibilities.<sup>5</sup>

Sivasundaram presents his work as part of a larger historiographical shift, writing that “after some decades of attention to questions of discourse, world historians are now turning to the state and governance once more.” The chronology here is a bit uncertain. In a 2005 essay, Patrick O’Brien argued that South Asian history, finally, “is now productively engaged in reclaiming major areas of history,” which he contrasted with the field’s previous “preoccupation with politics and state formation.” In the 1980s, this state fixation was one charge that subalternists leveled at nationalist and “Cambridge school” historians. While the difference in chronological perspective is striking, what is perhaps most important here is the frame of reference, between the precision of “South Asian history” and the undefined category of “world historians,” a vagueness that allows Sivasundaram explicitly to position his approach above geographic boundaries. It is a move quite consistent with the insightful critique his article marshals against the constraints of supposedly “natural spatial units.” As South Asianists tire of the intense internalist debates that have done so much to draw external attention to their field, a focus on the state and state-centered politics appears to offer one way out. He is certainly correct that this is a widespread phenomenon, visible in much recent historical work by scholars trained to think as culturalists (myself included) as well as others.<sup>6</sup>

The temptation is to qualify these historians’ fresh interest in the state and state-centered politics as yet another pathway “beyond the cultural turn”; or beyond our

<sup>5</sup> Sivasundaram’s article also speaks to current debates about the South Asian origins of the modern British state. Cf. Jon Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India* (Basingstoke, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> On efforts to encourage new directions in South Asian history, see *Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History*, Special Issue, *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 1 (2007): 3–171; Andrew Sartori, “The British Empire and Its Liberal Mission,” *Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 3 (2006): 623–642; on renewed South Asianist attention to state, see Susan Pedersen, “Review: *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950*,” *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 2 (2008): 287–288. On recent scholarly attention to “the state,” see James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 2009).



FIGURE 1: The History Department Seminar Room at the Johns Hopkins University, circa 1890. Herbert Baxter Adams is seated at the center. Courtesy of the Johns Hopkins University.

generation's fixation, which Mukherjee and Sivasundaram each explicitly target, on "identity"; or around the limits of "discourse"—to insist, in short, on a "political turn" or a "turn to the state."<sup>7</sup> There is ample evidence here for such claims, particularly in the articles by Mukherjee and Sivasundaram. It is also, however, first and foremost a return to the very foundations of modern historical practice. In the early 1880s, Herbert Baxter Adams, as historian Bonnie G. Smith reminds us, designed a seminar room for the first American university (Johns Hopkins) to institutionalize "scientific history." On one wall, above the large, elongated tables—around which scholars would gather to examine archival documents brought before them and to debate what those sources meant, notably how they fit into the historiographies that each of these men aimed to master—Adams had inscribed "History Is Past Politics and Politics Present History." Smith's study shows that the nascent history profession's assertion of authority—the claim that trained historians had unique access to true stories about the past—was premised far more on prescribed practices than on "noble dreams" of objectivity. The most important were the definition of a "scientific community" in conjunction with the necessity of so-called archival research. The first was to be made up of trained professionals whose mutual surveillance maintained quality and guaranteed shared standards; the second positioned the examination of information kept in state collections and papers, produced by actors involved in states and focused on states, as the *sine qua non* of professional achievement. As Smith analyzes, the "seminar system" circumscribed who could do history (hard-working male professionals: to the exclusion of almost all women, non-whites, and

<sup>7</sup> On such temptations, see Joan W. Scott, "History Writing as Critique," in Keith Jenkins, Sue Morgan, and Alun Munslow, eds., *Manifestos for History* (London, 2007), 19–38; Miri Rubin, "What Is Cultural History Now?" in David Cannadine, ed., *What Is History Now?* (Basingstoke 2002), 80–94; Peter Mandler, "The Problem with Cultural History," *Cultural and Social History* 1, no. 1 (2004): 94–117.

other “others”—class played a key role—who supposedly lacked objectivity and other important qualifications). At the same time, the celebration of state archives directed attention to the (seemingly preordained) rise of the nation-state and marginalized the ephemera of everyday life, evidence linked to the “private sphere,” stories of “little” people and of lives and developments outside of “politics”—the very types of primary sources associated with most working people, women, and racial others, as well as with so-called subalterns. In those nation-states that had or dreamed of empires, imperial history held pride of place.<sup>8</sup>

Since the early 1960s, critiques of state-centric discussions have driven many of the most influential attempts to redefine what historians do. Looking beyond the state was hardly novel. Quite soon after the discipline staked its claims, some professional historians quickly used their new tools and status to look more broadly than any narrow concern with the state and state-centered politics would suggest, in projects such as Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, which emerged in the 1890s from his certainty, as evoked in his journal, that “the great ocean currents of economic and social life” were “shaping and reshaping political forms,” or the work of Marc Bloch and others who, in the 1920s, insisted that geography as a brute and ongoing fact, rather than just a metaphor, shaped history. Proponents of the “New History” in the early twentieth century sharply criticized political reductionism—to which Adams himself responded that his definition of politics was expansive.<sup>9</sup> Yet in the last five decades, a turn away from the conjunction of “nation-state” and “state-centered politics” has become foundational to historiographic innovation. From the rise to dominance of social history and then cultural history, to the dramatic decline in diplomatic, military, and political history, efforts to supplement, move beyond, or leave behind state-centric research and histories have motivated historiographical innovation and determined professional careers. Certainly, the current celebration of the “transnational” must be understood in this context.<sup>10</sup>

IT IS A CONTEXT FRAMED by empire. In his reflections on the practice of history after “European empires collapsed under challenge from nationalist movements,” Dipesh Chakrabarty notes that “the discussion of history in the West was quite profoundly shaped by the intellectual fallout from decolonization . . . The force of this process,” he suggests, “brought the older nineteenth-century European understandings of his-

<sup>8</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 110; Peter Novick, “That Noble Dream”: *The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>9</sup> Quote from Ray Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York, 1973), 101; on Bloch, see Smith, *The Gender of History*, 226. On the “New History” and Baxter’s maxim, see Raymond J. Cunningham, “Is History Past Politics? Herbert Baxter Adams as Precursor of the ‘New History,’” *History Teacher* 9, no. 2 (1976): 244–257, 252.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Iggers and Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 250–316, 364–401. James C. Scott claims that “since 1945, and in some cases before then,” it has become impossible for any significant part of the globe or group of people to escape state rule, which might help explain the concurrent intensity of challenges to state-centric histories. See Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, xii. Note that Scott defines this hegemony as that of the “nation-state.” The articles here, notably Mukherjee’s, raise important challenges to the tendency to collapse “nation” and “state” in histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which I do not have the space to explore.



torical truth and knowledge to a crisis."<sup>11</sup> The agents and arguments he fingers surely did play key roles in this amazing flowering of views, methods, and arguments. Yet it will not do to reduce the multiple and extraordinarily diverse set of challenges to Western certainties and empires (on the ground and of the mind) to a singular "process" of decolonization.

Rather, a multiplicity of challenges came from a broad array of critics of colonial rule, from others whose struggles gained force in conversation or identification with anticolonialism (notably, to take the U.S. case, activists for black freedom, feminists, and gay liberationists), as well as from within the European/North American-centered history profession itself. The latter pointed in many directions. Some merit particular attention because their claims so closely parallel presumptions now current among historians. Right after World War II, for example, the new United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) brought together an international committee of historians to theorize a novel approach to history, which would move beyond "a mutilated history that consists only of a series of political conflicts decided, ultimately, by recourse to armed conflict," in order to include that which had been "silenced": "daily life, ways of life and customs, the back and forth exchange of ideas, scientific progress, our shared heritage of arts and letters, all that constitutes the real life of a people and the history of humanity." This scholarly effort sought both to recognize the historical importance of nation-states and to challenge how state-centered histories ignored cross-border flows and larger stories. As a pilot demonstration, UNESCO funded and circulated a thirty-page summary for a future textbook, "International Origins of a National Culture: Experimental Materials for a History of France," written by Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet. They began by noting that "it can be seen at a glance that a people like ours has developed slowly, taking its components now here, now there about the world and that alien strains have quickly been absorbed into the whole." The central section was titled "It's a Good Thing to Be a Hybrid People" ("Il est bien d'être des sangs-mêlés"). In the new trilingual UNESCO scholarly journal *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale/Journal of World History/Cuadernos de Historia Mundial*, established in July 1953, editor Lucien Febvre and other historians sought to pursue this vision. The Mexican historian Silvio Zavala, in a parallel project, embraced these methods as he piloted a collective project on the "hemispheric history" of the Americas, which attended "to both unities and diversities" and culminated in multiple publications (in both Spanish and English) in 1962.<sup>12</sup>

The contours of this post-World War II scholarly drive to write history that challenged national stories of distinction and conflict were consonant with an ambient certainty, which such academics shared with many politicians, that nation-states were in crisis and that novel supranational forms (federations, confederations, "commu-

<sup>11</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Public Life of History: An Argument out of India," *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 2 (2008): 169–190, 186.

<sup>12</sup> Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet, "Origines internationales d'une civilisation: Éléments d'une histoire de France" (Paris, December 28, 1951), UNESCO Archives, Paris, ED/TB/10, 1–32, 4, 19, my translation; Lucien Febvre, "Foreword," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale/Journal of World History/Cuadernos de Historia Mundial* 1, no. 1 (1953): 6–9, 7; Silvio Zavala, "A General View of the Colonial History of the New World," *American Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (July 1961): 913–929, 914. On Zavala, see Jack P. Greene, "Hemispheric History and Atlantic History," in Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York, 2009), 199–316, 309.

nities,” commonwealths) would soon supplant or subsume them. The Nazi and fascist embrace of highly centralized ultranationalism had sapped the nation-state model of its legitimacy; the emergence of new international institutions—from the United Nations to the Bretton Woods economic structures—further undermined belief in the utility of nation-states. This was what led Alfred Bonn , an Israeli sociologist who contributed numerous studies to UNESCO projects, to speak of “the world-wide tendency towards unification of small states within the larger unit of a union.”<sup>13</sup> Such talk was not limited to idealists: the political theorist of realism Hans Morgenthau “emphasized the obsolescence of the sovereign national state” in his *Politics among Nations* (1947). In the 1954 second edition, he lauded “attempts to create novel supranational institutions” on the basis of what they already had achieved (even as he dismissed the “illusory hopes” that, in fact, had led to the establishment of these same institutions, such as the United Nations; most work on his thought reduces it to this anti-utopian pendant, while ignoring his post-nation-state presumptions).<sup>14</sup>

Many of these arguments conveniently served to give new explanations for empire, for why territories and peoples that had been joined together through imperial conquest and remained linked by the laws, institutions, threats, and actual violence of colonial rule should stick together rather than break apart. In the case of France, for example, Charles de Gaulle called for the establishment of a France-Colonies Bloc at Brazzaville in 1944, while French essayists summoned structures into being such as a French jurist’s proposal in favor of “Global France,” or the joint appeal by a West African politician (and poet), a Cambodian prince, and a French administrator for the founding of a “French Imperial Community”; soon, laws renamed the empire the French Union and replaced the term “colonies” with “Overseas France.”<sup>15</sup> Yet many anticolonialist thinkers, militants, and leaders, too, were dubious that the European-style nation-state was the best vehicle toward a more just and free future.

Mukherjee gives us one clear example of this when she paraphrases Ashis Nandy, for whom figures such as Rabindranath Tagore and Gandhi shared “a critique of nationalism and a refusal to recognize the nation-state as the organizing principle of Indian civilization.” Mukherjee’s history of how Indic philosophy evolved in tension with the growth of anticolonial politics posits that the coming together of a state-focused nationalist project resituated an Indian approach to universalism rather than ending it—although that is what Tagore argued when he castigated Gandhi’s “betrayal.” There were, at the time and subsequently, many other examples of this tension among anticolonialists over whether the horizon of the nation-state need obscure all other potential futures: pan-Africanist and Marxist visions; projects for a Union of the Maghreb; the Gamal Abdel Nasser-led establishment of a United Arab Republic; Frantz Fanon’s suspicions of bourgeois nationalists; the Algerian

<sup>13</sup> Alfred Bonn , *The Economic Development of the Middle East: An Outline of Planned Reconstruction after the War* (London, 1945), 122.

<sup>14</sup> See Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1954), vii, viii; James P. Speer II, “Hans Morgenthau and the World State,” *World Politics* 20, no. 2 (1968): 207–227.

<sup>15</sup> Clotaire B e, “La doctrine d’int gration,” *Recueil Penant* 2 (1946): 27–48; Robert Lemaig n, L opold S dar Senghor, and Prince Sisonath Yout vong, *La communaut  imp riale fran aise* (Paris, 1945).

(bourgeois) nationalist Ferhat Abbas's repeated efforts to redirect Algerian nationalism toward federalism and to force the French to accept Algerian autonomy; the great reluctance with which Félix Houphouët-Boigny and Léopold Sédar Senghor accepted the end of the French Union and, short years later, the independence of the countries each led (Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal, respectively). Yet these many projects and goals, all of which targeted injustice and racism (some with far more sincerity and/or acuity than others) and proposed new institutional structures and novel political arrangements, disappear when we reduce them to the "process of decolonization." They disappeared, as well, because they failed. It was instead the establishment of formally independent nation-states that became the marker of decolonization's success—and the existence of a process. In the last months of the Algerian War, French commentators redefined the term "decolonization" to equal a "tide of History," which helped them avoid grappling with the multiple exigencies that anticolonialism writ large proposed or implied. This understanding explained why France needed to stop pretending that it could hold on to Algeria; it also reduced "decolonization" to the establishment of national sovereignty, limited to the declaration of independence from formal colonial rule. Among the multiple effects of what the anthropologist David Scott terms "constitutional decolonization" was how effectively it foreclosed the post-World War II crisis of the nation-state.<sup>16</sup>

This more complicated history may be particularly useful in the current context, as the "end of empires" seems less a fixed end point, located in the mid-twentieth century, than a pipe dream.<sup>17</sup> For anticolonial writers at the time, Scott stresses, future sovereignty was the horizon, a horizon that would be not an end point but an entryway toward more progress: a stage in the movement of history. But in the post-colonial moment, the post-utopian taking of accounts, he urges scholars to assess how possibilities foreclosed or abandoned fit into what happened. Already, several important debates among historians have emerged inspired by post-independence deceptions. To explain postcolonial critics' interest in unexpected connections, paradoxes, and stories (as well as what some castigate as "jargon"), Gyan Prakash identified "an attempt to respond to a situation in which historical developments have deeply compromised some of the old truths or rendered them irrelevant." The historian Frederick Cooper, although far more reticent toward theory, urged Africanists to take seriously the important task of thinking about the importance of empire—and its "end"—in the aftermath of the "heroic age" of decolonization, which is to say amid the widespread discrediting of and disappointment in the leaders and promises that led former colonies to statehood.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008); David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, N.C., 2004), 123; Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> See Joan W. Scott's argument that historical work must engage in critique, the embrace of historical questions and methods to interrogate the foundational presumptions of phenomena and relationships, which might otherwise seem natural. Such attention, she proposes, works to make what she terms "indeterminate futures" more possible. Scott, "History Writing as Critique," 19–38.

<sup>18</sup> Gyan Prakash, "Who's Afraid of Postcoloniality?" *Social Text* 49 (1996): 187–203, 200; Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1516–1545. See also Dane Kennedy, "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24, no. 3 (1996): 345–363.

The articles here remain largely silent about whether questions raised by contemporary history shape their projects. The authors express no deception with “the state” or state-centered politics, just interest. They position their attention to the state and state-centered politics in the context of current historiographic concerns: the blind spots they identify in existing histories of South Asia, of empire, and of “difference,” as well as frustration with the limits of what each terms “discourse.”<sup>19</sup> By looking to states and state-centered politics, they open impressive possibilities to expand ongoing discussions and pinpoint new topics. Yet as debates over how to do the history of empire remind us, it is useful to understand why we ask certain questions and why certain voices ring louder than others. The work of doing history, of course, is more than a free-flowing exchange of ideas: at least in its modern mode, “political” topics and official evidence—when stored in state archives, in particular—always punch above their weight. As Smith’s unsettling history of the foundations of our discipline suggests, practices—archival research and the “seminar method”—both ground historians’ most compelling insights and structure some of our most telling compromises, limits, and blind spots.

LOOKING TO THE STATE NOW requires historians to think more seriously about the sources we use, more particularly about how archives as institutions shape the history we write. In a striking and effective move, Sivasundaram argues that definitions of Sri Lanka and Lankans as wholly distinct from India and Indians (and the wider world), which emerged as British rule took hold there, persist at least in part because of British decisions about how to organize and where to stock official archives. Key archives for India and Sri Lanka were classified apart and stored at separate sites in London. “The tiresome journey between the two collections,” Sivasundaram suggests, “means that Indian historians rarely look at the Sri Lankan files and vice versa.” Archives, as the pioneering work of recent historians of these institutions suggests, helped make states “modern” and allowed them to extend their empire—concurrently, and in conjunction, these same archives did the same thing for the historical profession.<sup>20</sup> Historians, in recent decades, have dramatically expanded the sites where we look for sources. Many have sought to take seriously the status of sources as texts and to read “against the grain” of texts stored in state archives—“radically subversive re-readings of the tainted evidence,” as Ranajit Guha and others have argued. Sivasundaram’s example suggests the utility of doing the research and reflection necessary to “read with the grain of the archives,” as anthropologist Ann

<sup>19</sup> See Ronald Grigor Suny, “Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 5 (December 2002): 1476–1499, 1488; Carol Walker Bynum, “Perspectives, Connections and Objects: What’s Happening in History Now?” *Daedalus* 138, no. 1 (2009): 71–86.

<sup>20</sup> See Ann Blair and Jennifer Milligan, eds., *Toward a Cultural History of Archives*, Special Issue, *Archival Science* 7, no. 4 (2007), esp. Jennifer S. Milligan, “Curious Archives: Making the Musée de l’histoire de France in the Archives of the Second Empire,” 359–367; Emma Rothschild, “The Archives of Universal History,” *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 375–401; on the history of archives in South Asia, see Mary Poovey, “The Limits of the Universal Knowledge Project: British India and the East Indiamen,” *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 183–202; Philip J. Stern, “The History and Historiography of the English East India Company: Past, Present . . . and Future!” *History Compass* 7, no. 4 (2009): 1146–1180, esp. 1147, 1155, 1159.

Laura Stoler terms it, to historicize archives as foundations of historical authority as well as of state power.<sup>21</sup>

Past politics is meaty stuff, but renewed interest in it will benefit greatly if the efforts that social and cultural historians, in particular, made to resist the tug of the state and state-centered politics can inform how we study their traces and effects. To focus on the archives as institutions draws attention to often ignored aspects of the obviously necessary research queries "Are there relevant sources? And if so, where?" It reminds us to ask *why* sources are available and *how* their availability is organized. Such methodological resistance to presumptions of transparency resonates with well-known theoretical challenges to the very possibility of unmediated access to the real and the true. It also, however, reflects the critical injunction for historians to historicize. A more explicit attention to method, to how we do history, would work to bring some fresh air and revealing light into our seminar rooms—with no need to repaint old slogans, paint over more recent ones, or shutter the doors that, slowly, have been forced open both by people formerly excluded and to topics previously disdained.

<sup>21</sup> William R. Pinch, "Same Difference in India and Europe," *History and Theory* 38, no. 3 (1999): 389–407, 391; Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J., 2009).

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## Featured Reviews

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LEONARD Y. ANDAYA. *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2008. Pp. x, 320. \$58.00.

Leonard Y. Andaya has built a distinguished career as historian of island Southeast Asia in its early modern period. He has focused on Southeast Asia's mobile communities of seas, ports, and island interiors whose fortunes were intertwined with the trade and travelers each new monsoon brought. In major works—*The Kingdom of Johor, 1641–1728* (1975), *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (1981), *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (1993)—Andaya explores the most important hubs of this island world; his numerous smaller studies rescue from obscurity men—and some women—who stamped their personality on Southeast Asia's courts and ports. To a field served by Chinese, Arab, and European sources Andaya brings a command of Malay-language chronicles, legends, and oral traditions. He has taken up J. C. van Leur's challenge to position Southeast Asia's actors at the center of histories of the region. It is with authority that Andaya now addresses the writing of Southeast Asian history and offers a conceptualization of ethnicity that makes sense of myriad confusing and conflicting records.

Too often, Andaya observes, historians of Southeast Asia take today's ethnic labels and apply them as explanatory factors to past events. They construct histories around "ethnic conflict" and attribute "hardening" of ethnic categories to the propensity of former colonial administrations to slot the governed into compartments for purposes of control. Andaya argues that ethnicity is a concept relevant to the interpretation of precolonial Southeast Asian pasts. Ethnic labels have long histories of usage in Southeast Asia; they are not only the creation of nationalists campaigning against colonial rule, nor are they fixed. A key proposition of this book is that ethnicity is always in formation.

Andaya defines ethnicity as a way of viewing and living in the world by individuals who believe they share a common ancestor, customs, and place of origin, and who are convinced that an enduring core defines them as a group. Ethnic identity evolves in a state of height-

ened self-awareness resulting from increasing contact with others. Scholarly literature often stresses the role of elites in fashioning a group's identity, but Andaya reminds us of the contribution of ordinary people in "living ethnicity" in their daily life through their dress, food, and language. Such boundary markers are readily recognizable by others; they preserve a sense of group cohesion. At the same time, ethnic identity reconstitutes itself in response to changing economic and political circumstances.

Malayu (in English, Malay) is the broad ethnic category Andaya investigates. The site for his study is the Straits of Melaka, today the boundary between Malaysia and Indonesia and the link between China and India, the Arabian peninsula, East Africa, and Europe. For two millennia this water highway has offered stopping-off points for provisioning and purchasing the region's specialties. In the Straits, foreign shippers sought the services of experienced locals to navigate its narrow channels and dangerous shoals and to protect them against pirates operating out of its hidden bays. International trade was the mechanism injecting foreign merchants and visitors into Southeast Asia's harbor towns. Difference was most acutely experienced on the coasts. Accordingly, Andaya's study is set in the ports and the maze of river and jungle paths linking littoral to hinterland.

"Malayu" was first applied to communities on the Sumatran side of the Straits by a Chinese observer in 644 C.E. Later, Malayu came to include peoples settled along both coasts and in the interior of Sumatra. From the fifteenth century, Malayu also meant descendants of Sumatrans living in the Malay peninsula. Throughout the book, Andaya uses the older spelling, Malayu, to designate these peoples and their language, culture, and politics, and reserves the contemporary form, Malaysia, for the majority ethnic group of today's Malaysia.

Andaya begins his study in an area stretching from the coasts of southern India to the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, the Gulf of Siam, and Vietnam. He calls this zone by an old term of Arab geographers, the Sea of

Malayu. He draws on geology for indications of shifting rivers and coastlines, on archaeology for evidence of artifacts from distant manufactories, and he scours Indian and Chinese records. Andaya identifies a web of trading communities sharing a common cultural idiom in which he says the antecedents of Malayu identity may be found.

In chapter two, Andaya marshals linguistic evidence for Malayic language originating in West Borneo and for emigrations of Malayic speakers to Sumatra at the beginning of the common era. He argues that a Malayu cultural complex gelled in southeastern Sumatra in the polity of Sriwijaya over the seventh to fourteenth centuries C.E. Enduring components were an entrepôt state engaged in maritime trade; a ruler with sacred attributes; government through families linked by kinship, marriage, and adoption; a mixed population; and a realm whose territory was ever in flux, its reach subject to the shifting locations of sea, land, and forest dwellers who at any one time acknowledged its ruler as overlord.

Historians of Southeast Asia employ the metaphors of mandala or galaxy for states consisting of an exemplary center and its satellite communities. Peoples on the periphery were most attuned to difference, and Andaya argues that it was there that ethnic identities formed and reformed. Satellite communities could shift allegiance to a newly rising entrepôt, so rulers tried to forge lasting bonds with their leading families through threats of supernatural sanctions or bestowal of gifts, titles, and daughters in marriage. Sriwijaya was not an empire as conventionally understood, but a network of kin groups revolving around a series of capitals. By 1365 the author of the *Desawarnana* could write, from distant Java, of a "*bhumi Malayu*" (Malay world) that Andaya equates with most of Sumatra (p. 14).

The stimulus of international trade produced the all-embracing Malayu ethnic category and refinements within it. Separate chapters explain when, where, and why Minangkabau, Batak, and Acehnese formed within the larger Malayu category. These are communities with deep roots in lands bordering the Straits of Melaka, in contrast to relatively recent newcomers such as Chinese, Arabs, Javanese, and Europeans whose remembered homelands and formative myths lie beyond Sumatra and the Straits.

Andaya establishes the home bases of the three subgroups and describes each group's ecological environment: the jungle paths and river tributaries they traveled and the unique produce they brought to coastal markets. There they confronted what Andaya terms an "extensive, expansive, and imperializing" Malayu ethnicity (p. 11). Against it they consciously developed their own distinctive identities because, in that encounter, they perceived that separate identity ensured them a specific economic function. They preserved their home bases from intruders by exploiting rumors of cannibalism, legends of kings with dangerous powers, and megalithic markers. Key ingredients in the journey into Minangkabau identity were reverence for sacred rulers

in the mountains of Pagaruyung; a remembered Hindu-Buddhist kingship of the thirteenth century; and matriliney and *rantau*, the custom of men leaving the homeland to trade. Batak referents were their village of origin on the western shore of Lake Toba; patrilineal clans; books of spells, astrological charts, and laws received from the semi-divine ancestor; and the leadership of high priests.

The chapter on the formation of Acehnese ethnicity begins by taking the Malayu story across the Straits to the west coast of the Malay peninsula in the fifteenth century. Rulers of the new entrepôt of Melaka claimed supernatural origins atop a mountain in Sumatra and links to the Hindu god Siva. Miracles marked their conversion to Islam in Melaka, and Malayu literary tradition grafted Muslim ancestors on to the sacred lineage. Melaka set a pattern for kingship that was duplicated in sultanates subsequently established along the shores of the Indonesian archipelago.

That polycentric world sustained Malayu culture after Melaka was conquered by the Portuguese in 1511. The exemplary center now relocated to Sumatra's northern tip. There Acehnese ethnic identity crystallized out of this Melaka-Malay heritage and out of connections forged with Asia's Muslim empires. Aceh's Islam came through a Persian-Mughal filter; its court life reflected Mughal practice more than Melaka's Hindu-inflected royal culture. The sultan proceeded to the mosque on Fridays accompanied by thousands of retainers, elephants, and horses, his extensive harem was guarded by eunuchs, and his authority was proclaimed through Persian titles and the Mughal nine-fold seal. Under the patronage of Aceh's sultans, a body of literature was produced in Malayu, and translations of Arabic and Persian works mediated Islam to archipelago societies. The Acehnese, concludes Andaya, cemented Islam to Malayu identity.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Aceh fell to Johor and the centre of Malayu culture passed again to the Malay peninsula. The Johor sultanate reproduced Melaka's Malayu style at court. Malayu people would be Islamic forever, thanks to the Acehnese, but they would practice an Islam shorn of Aceh's "Mughal exotics" (p. 138), the eunuchs, elephants, and horses. Aceh, now hemmed in by Johor and Johor's European allies, turned inward. Here Andaya hints at how to envisage the "missing eighteenth century" in Acehnese history. He says that Acehnese identity fused Islam with rice agriculture, hereditary landholders, dynasties of religious leaders, and literature composed in Acehnese language. Aceh became a community turned away from the Straits and averse to outsiders, whether Dutch colonizers in the nineteenth century or the government of Indonesia in the twentieth.

Andaya concludes his study by examining small groups living on sea and in remote interiors of the Malay peninsula and Sumatra. These were not random roamers but peoples who lived and worked in specific territories. As long as Malayu needed forest and sea products to sell to foreign traders, they valued the ser-

vices of mobile populations, but, once rubber, tin, and petroleum replaced bezoar stones, resins, and turtle eggs in the export trade, the relationship lost its complementarity. Malayu peoples began to regard forest dwellers with contempt as eaters of wild animals, naked, dirty, and not Muslim; sea dwellers were now predators. Today, both groups are seen as impediments to economic development in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Readers will be puzzled why, in his historical treatment of the formation of Minangkabau and Batak identities, Andaya does not emphasize Islam and Christianity. The time period in which he sets his study and in which he locates the formation of Malayu and its subgroups is roughly the first 1800 years of the common era, before the dominance of late nineteenth-century colonial states and their agricultural and mining economies. But the Minangkabau were Muslim well before the era of high colonialism; they felt the impact of the first wave of Wahhabism in the opening years of the nineteenth century. Batak migrating to the coasts came into contact with both Muslims and Christians, and religion became and remains today a key identifier for Batak lineages.

A hallmark of Andaya's research is his clear expo-

sition of the latest scholarship. His approach is marked by generous acknowledgment of research by scholars in Europe and in Asia. He draws directly on sources in English, Dutch, French, and varieties of Malay, and on translations from Chinese, Tamil, and Arabic. He examines Malayu texts that have been preserved in Arabic and Latin alphabets, and grounds the research in remarkably diverse secondary sources. He also integrates Europeans into this narrative. Like Arabs and Chinese, Europeans were observers and recorders of the process of ethnic formation, as well as contributors to it by their presence and difference. The geographic focus here is the Straits, but Andaya's research methodology could fruitfully be applied to the study of the making of ethnicity across Southeast Asia.

This book is the work of a scholar at his peak. Andaya demonstrates the vitality and significance of ethnicity in interpreting Southeast Asian histories. It is an essential book for students of Southeast Asia and will be read with profit by all scholars who investigate ethnicity and its role in the formation of contemporary societies.

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STEVE PINCUS. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. (The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 647. \$40.00.

Authorial views are often subordinated to publishing exigencies when blurbs are written, but these blurbs are significant because of what they say about the apparently desirable features of a work. The first three sentences of the cover copy of Steve Pincus's new book are as follows:

"For two hundred years historians have viewed England's Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 as an unrevolutionary revolution—bloodless, consensual, aristocratic, and above all, sensible. In this brilliant new interpretation Steve Pincus refutes this traditional view. By expanding the interpretive lens to include a broader geographical and chronological frame, Pincus demonstrates that England's revolution was a European event, that it took place over a number of years, not months, and that it had repercussions in India, North America, the West Indies, and throughout continental Europe."

Turning to the back, the encomia begin with Bernard Bailyn: "Pincus challenges Macaulay and the orthodox view that the Glorious Revolution was moderate, peaceful, and conservative and reveals a violent transformational event." John Brewer discerns "a radical interpretation," and Nigel Smith claims that "Pincus overturns many received views."

The text itself is forthright: "The first Modern Revolution radically transformed England and ultimately

helped to shape the modern world" (p. 486), and Pincus seizes this narrative by juxtaposing himself with Thomas Macaulay (pp. 5–6), so that his "book challenges every element of this established account" (p. 5). The problem with this approach is that Pincus underplays or ignores much of the scholarship produced since the tricentenary in 1988 as well as some earlier work. Much of what he says that is sensible has been said by others, often many others, before him. Indeed, as the writer of a featured review, I am asked to expand on the "larger implications" of the book, and an obvious one when reading Pincus is how authors should locate their own work and that of others. We all face problems in this respect, and it would not be helpful if every work becomes an historiographical survey. Yet our subject is also accretional, heavily so, and that element has to be assessed if analytical novelty is being boldly asserted, as it is by Pincus.

Reviewing the field in 1989 with a "bibliographical drenching," J. P. Kenyon argued that "history began to emancipate itself from the shackles of Macaulay in 1948," while, in 1982, Bruno Neveu presented 1688 as a violent rupture and underlined the ideological, political and diplomatic tensions of the period. The view that what was long presented as an irresistible manifestation of a general aspiration for progress and liberty should rather be seen, as it was by contemporaries, as

a violent rupture was widely voiced, alongside the conventional view, at the time of the tercentenary.

Pincus, however, tends only to cite other historians at the start of chapters in order to disagree with them. When, in contrast, he agrees, he generally uses the same primary sources they do to make the same point. Contrary to Pincus's suggestion that the revolution has been treated in an insular fashion, there is extensive work, not least, but not only, by Jonathan I. Israel and George Hilton Jones on its international dimensions and significance. The idea of the revolution as a stage on the route to modernity is also a familiar one, with valuable discussions by, among others, Peter G. M. Dickson. From different viewpoints, Christopher Hill and Charles Wilson also had important reflections, notably on relating the 1680s and 1690s to the English Civil War and the Interregnum.

Pincus argues that the Whigs' revolt against a modernizing state constituted a revolution made possible both by the changes it brought and by their espousal of a different modernity. His concept of differing paths to modernity represented by the protagonists is ably deployed, and entails an important presentation of James II and his supporters, but, again, it will not surprise specialists, and some of what he argues entails a simplistic reading of the sources. There is, for example, a tendency to take what James said to foreign diplomats at face value. Indeed, despite the extremely impressive weight of his knowledge of English primary sources, Pincus fails to pay due heed to the problems of archival research, notably the ambiguity of much of the evidence and difficulties of interpretation. Thus, he is overly inclined to simplify matters. To argue, for example, that the choice in foreign policy was "between a modern Catholic foreign policy and a modern multi-confessional policy" (p. 576, n. 6) begs the question why the foreign policy of James II should be seen as a modern Catholic one as opposed to those of Pope Innocent XI, Emperor Leopold I, or Victor Amadeus II: each of the latter opposed Louis XIV. Some may find "Catholic Modernity" a problematic idea in this context, and there is also the question of differentiating between James's goals and methods. For example, the latter could be "modern" but the former may seem less so.

On the whole, Pincus underplays the role of religion and religious differences, both in the revolution and in the world it helped create. Partly as a result, an account of 1688 written from the perspective of Ireland or Scotland would raise questions about the modernity he discerns. This point leaves to one side the question of whether a drive for ideological conformity or strong religious convictions are in some fashion incompatible with modernity; the world today suggests otherwise. Modernity and modernization are processes, not events, and multiple processes at that, and they entail controversy and rhetorical positioning as much as academic analysis. Indeed Pincus's chapter "Rethinking Revolutions" relies heavily on argument by assertion.

There is no doubt of Pincus's preference for the Whigs over James II and his supporters, and, ironically,

while displacing later Whiggish accounts of the Glorious Revolution as a largely bloodless and readily successful defence of liberties, he entrenches another Whig myth. This myth has a number of aspects, some very familiar such as the argument that the revolution was "a bourgeois revolution in a cultural and political sense" (p. 483). Thus, Pincus does not accept the view of the Revolution of 1688 as, at once, the last successful invasion of England and a coup in which the monarch was replaced. As far as the Whigs of the day are concerned, Pincus, instead, argues for a popularity for Whig foreign policies that, in practice, is difficult to demonstrate because the evidence of contemporary views is more problematic than Pincus allows for. In this, as in other instances, he is good at finding quotes that support his views but is apt to present individuals and groups in an overly tidy and coherent fashion and, having shaped them accordingly, to employ and discuss them in a causative fashion.

In doing so, Pincus underplays the ideological and intellectual cross-currents of the age, cross-currents that helped explain often complex responses to unexpected developments. The latter came in spates throughout the 1680s and 1690s, and this situation ensures a further problem with Pincus's account, for, despite his archival work, he underplays the specific and the contingent in favor of the broad-brush and the general. To do so is mistaken because, as Robert Beddard and others have shown, the very processes of constitutional change that were so central to the lasting resonance of the revolution were very much affected by, and developed in, the short term. Pincus underplays the constitutional element, and that despite its role in narratives and analyses of modernization and modernity. Moreover, the politics of the years from 1688 to 1721 were shot through with change and unpredictability, and political groupings divided and altered accordingly. Dealing with the popularity of the revolution, as Pincus ably does, does not address this complexity, while the role of the contingent is abundantly shown by the shifts in foreign policy.

The latter were significant, not least because much that caused change stemmed from Britain's central role in the Nine Years' War, and not from the revolution itself. The war shaped the nature of the Revolution Settlement, especially by putting the government under serious financial pressure, thus ensuring that the role of Parliament was expanded. It became an annual part of the political system, while, under the Triennial Act of 1694, elections were to be held at least every three years. As the political, economic, and financial pressures to which the war gave rise also created considerable stresses within Britain, the experience and legacy of the revolution were, in turn, contested in this light. However, a focus on war and foreign policy also must heed the extent to which by 1698 William III was trying to settle European differences in cooperation with Louis XIV. Similarly, the Hanoverian accession in 1714, a key element of the linked constitutional and dy-



nastic consequences of the revolution, was followed by an alliance with France that lasted until 1731.

There is also much that is impressive and exciting about this book, not only its archival reach but also Pincus's intellectual ambition and his determination to pursue his theme of modernity as well as his willingness to embrace comparative issues. Pincus profitably pursues his thesis that there are misleading binary oppositions in the discussion of confessional issues. Much of his book, moreover, is more careful and judicious than some of its bolder claims might suggest.

So, read the bulk of the book, putting to one side some of Pincus's claims and some of those made about the study. Also read it alongside the ranks of other informed, thoughtful and valuable studies, works by Beddard, Tim Harris, Israel, Lois G. Schwoerer, W. A. Speck, and many others, including, for similar views to some of those expressed by Pincus, Patrick Dillon's *The Last Revolution: 1688 and the Creation of the Modern World* (2006).

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JON ELSTER. *Alexis de Tocqueville, the First Social Scientist*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 202. \$22.99.

PAUL A. RAHE. *Soft Despotism, Democracy's Drift: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Tocqueville and the Modern Prospect*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 374. \$38.00.

Paul A. Rahe is worried. His new book on a tradition of French social thought from Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, to Alexis de Tocqueville is framed with an anxious contemporary diagnosis. The United States beat its Cold War enemy, Rahe writes, yet no one celebrated the triumph of freedom. Instead, a gloomy malaise beset the victorious side, even in the hour of what should have been its brightest splendence. "If there is even a hint of justification for our strangely melancholy response," Rahe concludes, "it is worth pondering anew whether liberal republicanism, for all its many obvious virtues, displays certain inherent defects as well" (p. xiii). Following in Montesquieu's tracks, Tocqueville asked this very question about American democracy, celebrating its founding spirit of local self-government as the means by which the United States once staved off the worst outcomes of the modern experiment.

Perplexingly, Rahe does not explain how the United States could have won the Cold War without leaving township government behind in order to build the most powerful central state, and fund the greatest armies, the world has ever known. But now, after that victory, Rahe insists it must loyally return to its basics. Tocquevillians today, Rahe says, must reject the fascistic tendencies so embedded in American progressivism by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which have spurred the "giant kleptocracy" of tax hikes, as well as more recent perversions like the "ethnic spoils system" of affirmative action, the dictatorial practice of racial integration through busing, the "petty tyranny" of "sensitivity training," and even "SWAT teams [sent] to pry children loose from parents wrongly accused of abuse or neglect" (pp. 263, 264). In this nightmare scenario, Christians with their moral

norms are on the verge of "pariah status" (p. 267). Along with chastity and fidelity, "the sexual division of labor, so admired by Tocqueville, has gone by the boards," and a narcissistic anarchy of "hooking up" and divorce on demand is the catastrophic result (p. 267). "The hour is, indeed, late," Rahe finishes. "Step by step, gradually, and to a considerable degree unwittingly, we have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage" (pp. 270, 274).

Leave aside these partisan accusations about the character of twentieth-century American life, however, since to criticize them might be taken by Rahe as a device of the "modern inquisition" or even "lynch mob" made up of "those accorded the privilege of teaching at our leading colleges and universities," where "the range of acceptable opinion is now so narrow" (p. 264). And in any case, Rahe's most unsubstantiated calumnies are directed not at modern Americans but instead at Europeans who—he asserts—are even further gone. As he politely expresses it, today's Europeans, and especially Tocqueville's Frenchmen, have blindly forsaken their onetime *civilisation* only to "come to an end—not, however, with a bang, as once seemed likely, but with a whimper, a belch, and a self-satisfied sigh" (p. 241). God forbid—literally!—that Americans ever end up like Europeans, slaves in the thrall of an administrative state that responds to their pressing social needs. It would be a tragic end for once cherished liberty.

The presentist framing of Rahe's book is a shame, not because presentism is a sin but because of the tenuous connection between the far more interesting analysis of the heart of the book and the specific conclusions he asserts on its basis. Rahe is a learned disciple of Leo Strauss, and he writes prolifically. Fifteen years ago, he



published a more than thousand-page trilogy on ancient and modern republicanism, and this new book is in effect the conclusion of its own trilogy that restates the Straussian case for the origins of the modern "regime." With ancient politics and virtue destroyed by Niccolò Machiavelli and his seventeenth-century English heirs in a first recent volume, Rahe turns to Montesquieu, the most sophisticated diagnostician of the roots of contemporary difficulties, in a second. The core of this third book traces the increasing finesse in French social theory of a new approach to political psychology in modern republics, taking the story forward so that Tocqueville can extend this diagnostic tradition in his confrontation with democracy (see Rahe, *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic* [2008] and *Montesquieu and the Logic of Liberty: War, Religion, Commerce, Climate, Terrain, Technology, Uneasiness of Mind, the Spirit of Political Vigilance, and the Foundations of the Modern Republic* [2009]).

Rahe's well-written and scrupulously annotated analysis begins with Montesquieu's original diagnosis of the anxiety (*inquiétude*) to which individuals living in modern, commercial societies are prone. It was due above all to his early perception of the congenital pathology of modern societies, Rahe writes, that Montesquieu actually qualified—as many others have missed—his admiration for England and its freedom-preserving institutions. After all, England, for all its familiar rejection of rapid change to the ancient constitution, went furthest and fastest in the direction of commercial transformation. Montesquieu saw its denizens as independent, and therefore lonely, and autonomous, and therefore uneasy. As a lineage for Tocqueville, who famously cited Blaise Pascal together with Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau as his favored daily reading, Rahe is right to emphasize Jansenist moral psychology as a crucial source, although he might have done much more with the secularization of the Christian psychology of sin as a template for how these thinkers conceived of interiority in commercial societies. Instead, Rahe wants to praise the insight for its current applicability, a project that naturally detracts from grasping the conditions of its historical origins.

Most notably, Rahe anachronistically isolates the diagnosis from its social background and does not subject its characteristic institutional outcomes to much analysis. Almost unfailingly, the psychological critique of the modern citizen owed its origins to aristocratic unease—Montesquieu and Tocqueville were baron and count respectively—about the fate of distinction in eras of centralization, first through monarchical absolutism and later through democratic sovereignty. In another chapter, Rahe suggests that compared to Montesquieu, Rousseau romantically and fatefully attributed anxiety to social roots alone—which then implied that drastic social transformation might save humanity from unsettling malaise. In doing so, Rousseau both revealed for misplaced outrage the defects of modern republics Montesquieu had been "highly muted" in criticizing,

and exaggerated the plausibility of an "incendiary" social renovation, in a radical step that continues to haunt modernity (pp. 138–139). In recommending Montesquieu's and Tocqueville's sobriety, however, Rahe does not skeptically probe the true historical meaning of the specific set of political and social institutions his aristocratic liberals cherished in staving off the anxiety otherwise tempting citizens into despotism. For an outstanding historical account of their fetish for institutional decentralization, which Rahe champions less than critically, readers are advised to turn to Annelien de Dijn's *French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Level Society?* (2007).

In his section on Tocqueville, Rahe concludes that he essentially updated Montesquieu's diagnosis of and cure for modern society, in the aftermath of the perversity of the French Revolution and a fortunate expedition to witness the early American success in deploying townships and religion in the service of liberty. In any case, conservative identification with Tocqueville is nothing new. If Tocqueville remains central to the canon of liberalism, his appeal remains greatest on the right side of political spectrum, which always guarded his flame as progressives vacillated about the worth of his insights. In the end, Rahe's conclusions lead him to a crisis-ridden apocalyptic mood just as familiar on the far left. What the extremes have in common is their totalistic allegation of democratic hell to which only some drastic solution might provide an alternative—and their affection for Tocqueville as the prophet of this frightening eventuality. However disturbing the comparison might seem to Rahe, his concerns bring him near to postmodernist and ultra-left philosopher Giorgio Agamben, who—in a similarly appropriative homage to the great French moralist—reviles "mass hedonism" and indicts "modern democracy's decadence and gradual convergence with totalitarian states (which begins to become evident with Alexis de Tocqueville)" (*Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* [1998], pp. 10–11). Appeals to Tocqueville from both extremes of the political spectrum tend to become unmoored from the moderation of the very figure they invoke as a canonical sage.

As Jon Elster would have it, they also sacrifice many of Tocqueville's most novel and potentially lasting insights. After reading Rahe, Elster's peremptory dismissal on the first page of his study of Tocqueville's significance as a "major political thinker" might come as a shock. But it does clear the ground for Elster's own project, which is to salvage from the wreckage of Tocqueville's failed larger enterprise the "exportable causal mechanisms" that he identified in passing. Indeed, as Elster's title has it, he thinks Tocqueville was so pioneering in this regard that, even if he intended to leave behind a new political science for a new age (as he put it in the preface to *Democracy in America*), his true legacy was a social-scientific toolkit with wide and continuing applicability. Fifteen years ago, Elster introduced these claims in his own study of *Political Psychology* (1993). That book argued that Tocqueville could

play a role *malgré lui* in leaving a large-scale political science of regimes behind in the name of a small-scale social science of causal mechanisms. "Anyone can spend his life constructing a comprehensive general theory, which will soon be refuted or outdated," Elster commented then. "The gift of setting out, in a few lines, a precise, novel, and fertile causal analysis is far rarer" (p. 104). Fortunately, Tocqueville had done both things. Having found a number of psychological mechanisms of note in Tocqueville's work in the earlier volume, Elster now turns to mostly new topics.

In what is an unapologetically appropriative project, with an eye to Tocqueville's inadvertent contributions to the "nuts and bolts" of contemporary explanatory social science, Elster is able to cover a whole series of doctrines. In effect, Elster grinds Tocqueville's masterpieces to bits, then recovers his local insights, from the source of beliefs to how self-interest works, and from the effects of mobility to the causes of revolution. This "atomic" reading is undoubtedly as brilliant as it is provocative. The objection that Tocqueville was not attempting to be Elster's predecessor is addressed disarmingly: Elster surmises that the great thinker was simply hampered by an elitist distaste for pedantry and rationalism. In spite of the essayistic form of Tocqueville's prose and the aristocratic bent of his mind, Elster supposes, a work longs to step out. And by the end of this original and intrepid book, Elster has shown that the figures of thought Elster relabels in the jargon of the present day—he cites spillover and compensation effects, for example, or the complementarity of long-range preconditions of events and their short-term triggers—were in fact part of Tocqueville's mental toolkit. Of these mechanisms, the so-called "Tocqueville paradox," according to which not intransigence but reformism precipitates revolution, is well-known, but Elster finds that Tocqueville went much further. "One of the surprising experiences I had when writing this book," Elster records in a perhaps unintentionally amusing aside, "was to discover how close Tocqueville came to formulating (but not to formalizing) basic insights of game theory" (p. 187).

No doubt most Tocquevillians will reject Elster's book for reducing their hero to a mere precursor of present styles of thought. For his part, while profoundly learned in history, Elster's presentism means he does not emphasize either historical context or even how historians might proceed to incorporate causal mechanisms as an explicit tool, and therefore to raise what Elster rightly says is a rather low "proportion of theory to fact" in most history books—Tocqueville's aside (p. 9). What is perhaps most unsatisfactory about the book is that Elster's decision to pillage Tocqueville for his own program means that it is impossible to know what he thinks about various arguments he chooses not to discuss. He admits that, through lack of coverage, he cannot go beyond his isolation of separable causal mechanisms to prove that everything else in Tocqueville's writings was worthless. The main reason this is troubling is that Tocqueville himself surely did not

respect any distinction between social science and political thought, or causal mechanism and normative theory. The reader interested in *inquiétude* will find Elster citing some relevant passages in both his earlier book and his later one (and he even mentions the influence of the tradition of French moralists). But Elster does not really come to grips with the Tocqueville's disengagement of the psychic role of perceived insignificance in motivating conformism (see pp. 21, 38–42, 47, 86–89). Rahe is at least right that Tocqueville's core proposition is that the "unlimited independence" of belief formation and social enterprise in democratic society undermines itself, with the result that "men who find it very difficult to put up with superiors will patiently endure a master, proving themselves to be proud and servile at the same time" (*Democracy in America*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer [2004], pp. 503, 795). This paradox is clearly a proposed causal mechanism, but it is hard to know what Elster makes of it. (He does confidently dismiss the bulk of *Democracy in America*, including these passages, as "almost sophomoric" [p. 4].)

But in Tocqueville's thought, the syndrome whereby liberation leads to self-enslavement was linked to other paradoxical mechanisms, in the erection—however misguided—of a scheme in which such mechanisms interlocked. The best way to understand Tocqueville's overall response to the threat that insignificance will drive conformism is to focus on his widespread appeal to another causal mechanism. It was his proposal that if excessive independence prompts anxious submission, then homeopathic limitation of freedom can work to ward it off. Rousseau—for whom homeopathic remedies also figured pervasively—undoubtedly helped Tocqueville to his argument that a little slavery will keep more away: "a salutary servitude . . . allows . . . good use of . . . freedom" (Tocqueville, p. 490; compare Jean Starobinski, "The Antidote in the Poison: The Thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau," in *Blessings in Disguise: Or, The Morality of Evil* [1993]). By and large, Tocqueville reposed his hopes in short-circuiting the syndrome whereby liberation can lead to its opposite: his proposed mechanism is to be found in the rationale for most of his famous enthusiasms, whether for local government or partial associations, dogmatic religion or traditionalist wives. What remains unclear, even after Elster's book, is what if any validity this mechanism might have. Clearly, the central worry about Tocqueville's remedial scheme is that it is not obvious that one sort of conformity could really serve to avoid another, let alone that unfreedom in small things is the sole way to preserve liberty in large ones. Meanwhile, one must look elsewhere, especially Elster's *Explaining Social Behavior* (2007), to understand why he thinks that even if specific mechanisms function on their own, they cannot interlock in creating larger explanatory theories—as Tocqueville himself evidently believed.

If Rahe correctly focuses on Tocqueville's proto-existentalist account of political anxiety, culminating in *Democracy in America*, it is a pity that his book ultimately falls into contemporary culture wars for which

it is literally meaningless to claim the *moraliste* for one or another side. Perhaps most revealingly, Rahe seriously underplays Tocqueville's increasing focus on norms or *mœurs* rather than laws, a distinction hoary in social thought by the time he wrote but that he had to learn himself by writing (cf. p. 318, n. 24). A close reading of *Democracy's* first volume, and its classic treatment of the tyranny of the majority, shows that this distinction is one that Tocqueville took more seriously only as he went on. Yet even in the end, the dominant focus of that volume remains formal institutions rather than informal customs, even as he is absolutely clear that the nether pole of majoritarian tyranny—whose roots in anxiety Tocqueville had also not yet clearly discovered—occurs not in governmental but in sociocultural forms. It is therefore unsurprising that the second “sophomoric” installment of *Democracy in America* is a work of cultural criticism, rather than the geographical and institutional analysis that Montesquieu taught and that Tocqueville made so prominent at first. All this means that perhaps Tocqueville's crucial revolution, the conversion of political theory into cultural criticism, made him a forebear of many different schools of thought, and not just the American right or game theory alone. Analytically, if not substantively, Tocqueville paved the way for Frankfurt School Marxism, and the most chilling passages in Tocqueville's critique of the

tyrannical majority read like nothing so much as a dry run for Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. It is this that makes Rahe's preferred emphasis on the contemporary administrative state so problematic, since Tocqueville offered so powerful an analytical move away from formal to informal domination.

Beware inexhaustibility: it may allow you to serve too many followers. Although it has recently been convincingly argued that Tocqueville never dropped out of either American or French social thought, it is hard to account for his extraordinary rise to fame today, which has included at least five recent new editions of *Democracy in America* in English translation, and innumerable championships of his genius. These two volumes, even Elster's superb intervention, do not exhaust their subject, if only because the variety of Tocqueville's insights suggests that he will never serve a single master. Whether the specific mechanism accounting for widespread informal submission in democracy that Tocqueville proposed or his generalizable mechanism for avoiding it do or could function as he claimed is open to dispute. But they are surely there for future versions of both “regime analysis” and “social science” to rediscover and put to work.

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S. A. SMITH. *Revolution and the People in Russia and China: A Comparative History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 249. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99.

S. A. Smith has produced a challenging new history of familiar themes that illuminates some dark corners and suggests fresh approaches to older stories. His book may be the most thoroughgoing social history of Russia's and China's workers in revolution, and it is certainly the most arresting, original, and stimulating treatment to appear recently. Rather than the conquest of state power, Smith makes the transformation of workers' identities the subject matter of revolution. His close attention to the leading disputes in the current literature has produced both a critical, up-to-date survey and original and compelling solutions. His achievement is the more impressive for being grounded in a richly documented historical account of the widely varied experiences of worker migrants to St. Petersburg and Shanghai from before their revolutions until well into the twentieth century. He unpacks their histories in successive chapters analyzing the formation and transformation of identities with regard to place of origin, personal individuation, gender, and national and class allegiances. The usual revolutionary parties and leaders remain in the background, though Smith incorporates them into a rich matrix of the concerns and changes that rural migrants underwent as they confronted the economic, organizational, and ethical chal-

lenges and opportunities of Russia's and China's most modern and Westernized cities. Given the ultimate failure of the revolutionary visions in both countries and the present flagging interest in labor history, Smith suggests a new and engrossing way to think about both.

While presenting new, poststructuralist avenues of inquiry, Smith views them within a broadly Marxist, developmental framework. The growth of class consciousness is the thematic red thread linking his examination of identity change in two *ancien régimes* during a period of capitalist transformation and aggressive international competition. For Smith, this transformation was the revolution: political ideology and organization enhanced the revolution, but it drew its greater meaning from the experience of those swept into its vortex rather than from its political interpreters. In both countries, he shows that class formation did not culminate in the conquest of political power but continued as a social process responding to the incentives and pressures of the new regimes. The meaning of “revolution” is thus uncoupled from its political results and reinterpreted as a series of transformative experiences, almost irrespective of political outcome. Revolution is no longer something workers “made,” if it ever really was, but the changes of identity they experienced.

How does this version of revolution stand up to the phalanx of political histories of the twentieth century's two greatest upheavals? Smith's study can be seen as an implicit critique of accounts that substitute the class consciousness of a small worker elite for that of the class as a whole and that claim or imply that the conquest of political power represented the historic will of the working class. Smith contends that the development of class in these two countries had a much more personal, material, and psychologically consequential history than the preparation of new political regimes. Yet, the question may also be raised of whether Smith's own evidence, based on the experience of a few, can be said to represent that of an entire class. At times the evidence he presents does not even bear out what it purports to show. It turns out, for instance, after a lengthy discussion of place-of-origins identity, that it was not a powerful contributor to building consciousness of class. In the Russian case, the best that is said is that *Landsmannschaft* may not have contributed to, but did not prevent, the development of class identities. The Chinese case appears to be even weaker. The chapter on gender identities explores several interesting questions, especially with respect to women's experience, presenting fascinating evidence on the interaction of conservative village mores and the determined break with them that many women workers made in their new urban environments. Yet very little results from the comparison of Russian and Chinese identities; they are simply related side by side. Nor is it clear how new gender identities contributed to the growth of class consciousness.

Some may also wonder whether the experience of migrants to industrial work in urban settings was representative of revolutions in two overwhelmingly peasant societies. Even granting the primacy of identity transformation over control of the state, workers were small minorities in pre-industrial societies. Indeed, peasant existence is only the starting point for Smith's migrants, who find new identities and a working-class orientation. The study thus has a "Russian" bias in privileging workers over peasants, and it makes China's side of the story more of a minority's tale. The Chinese revolution was made less by the transformation of peasants into workers than by the reshaping of peasants and other non-proletarians into militant patriots for whom class organization was only one of a number of strategies drafted into service.

Still, granting that "revolution" can be defined as the transformation of identities of at least some of the principal players in the events, the experience of peasant migrants in both revolutions has an importance disproportionate to their numbers. The significance of Smith's study rests not on its definitive revelation of the revolutions' driving forces, but on its insights into the grassroots experience of the two revolutions. The transformation of workers' lives does not exhaust the subject of revolution, but the level of detail and intimacy that

Smith achieves certainly brings new and inspiring insight to its study.

As such, the work is a tour de force in both its thoroughness and its critical imaginativeness. The range of sources Smith draws on is impressively rich and broad, ranging from the most recent monographic work to literature, film, and popular culture. Memoirs in two languages create a greater sense of contemporaneity and authenticity. Smith's mastery, appreciation, and use of a wide methodological literature add comparative depth and cogency to his arguments. Contentious issues are engaged with thoroughness and sometimes brilliant insight. Some of the apparently contradictory issues mentioned above are directly and cogently addressed. For example, in making the case that the collectivism of class formation is compatible with the individuation of personal identities among workers, Smith challenges common (and common sense) claims of their incompatibility by adapting to his case work on "misrecognition," the dismissal of an entire group with which an individual identifies him or herself, a level of offense separable from personal affronts to the individual. This distinction makes it possible to view the assertion of the individual worker's personality as an organic part of organizing against class oppression, and the intuitively obvious notion that one can expand and perfect one's own personality while embracing collectivism finds a rational explanation.

The comparative aspect of the study is used to great advantage in assessing the relative weight of class and nation in each country's history. Here, Smith again challenges received wisdom. In this case, class triumphed in Russia, while nationalist sentiment dominated the Chinese Communist movement. While granting the primacy of the dominant strain in each case, he presents evidence of an allegiance to nation in Russian workers' rhetoric which even the militantly internationalist Bolsheviks obliquely recognized. In China, where clan, regional, and religio-ethical ties remained powerful, Smith shows that stronger class consciousness emerged among workers during periods of open political struggle such as the May Fourth Movement. Furthermore, the Chinese Communist Party's successful appeal to all classes was clinched not by a purely nationalist message, but by viewing the national effort as an anti-imperialist movement, placing it within a framework of international class struggle.

In light of the more recent transformation of these revolutions into different forms of authoritarian capitalism, Smith's study may hold a broader message, despite the reservations and beyond the virtues mentioned above. What can we regard, after all, as the residue of revolutions that inspired so many people in their beginnings but failed by the measure of their own utopian projections? Smith's densely packed, polemical, methodologically sophisticated study provides a compelling answer.

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LARS SCHOULTZ. *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. 745. \$35.00.

In late 1988, as the Cold War was drawing to a close, Fidel Castro told the president of Angola, "We don't know how the United States will interpret peace and detente, whether it will be a peace for all, detente for all, coexistence for all, or whether the North Americans will interpret 'coexistence' as peace just with the USSR—that is, peace among the powerful—and war against the small. This has yet to be seen. We intend to remain firm, but we are ready to improve relations with the United States if there is an opening" (Memcon [Castro, dos Santos], Dec. 17, 1988, p. 28, Consejo de Estado, Havana).

There was no opening. As the Soviet Union teetered on the brink of collapse, U.S. officials demanded that Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, who was anxiously seeking U.S. aid, cut all Soviet aid to Cuba. The collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 meant that Cuba was alone and in desperate economic straits. Washington tightened its embargo on the island, and U.S. officials hoped that hunger and despair would force the Cuban people to turn against their government.

Why such hatred? The answer lies, in part, in Castro's betrayal of the special relationship that had existed between the United States and Cuba since the early 1800s, when President Thomas Jefferson had longed to annex the island, then a Spanish colony. Henceforth, as Lars Schoultz writes in this book, the United States had felt "a presumption of ownership" (p. 18) toward Cuba: Cuba's destiny was to belong to the United States.

Destiny was finally fulfilled in 1898: the United States joined the Cuban revolt against an exhausted Spain, ostensibly to free Cuba. But after Spain surrendered, Washington forced the Platt amendment on the Cubans; it granted the United States the right to send troops to the island whenever it deemed necessary and to establish bases on Cuban soil. Cuba became, more than any other Latin American country, "an American fiefdom" (Tad Szulc, *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* [1987], p. 13) until 1959, when Fidel Castro came to power and tweaked the imperial beak of the American eagle.

This book covers the entire span of U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba through the administration of George W. Bush. Schoultz has an unparalleled grasp of U.S. sources—from government documents to Congressional records, unpublished memoirs and interviews with protagonists American and Cuban. His analysis is lucid and thought-provoking, and he writes exceedingly well. Reading the book is a pleasure. It is, by far, the best book on U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba, not just about the entire sweep of the fifty years, but also on each subsection of it, with one proviso: on the Carter period it shares first place with Wayne Smith's *The Closest of Enemies: A Personal and Diplomatic History of the Castro Years* (1987). Smith, who was

the director of the State Department's Office of Cuban affairs and then head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, is both a participant and a gifted scholar. His book has stood the test of time. With this one exception, Schoultz's book dominates the field.

As Schoultz indicates, U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba encompass four phases. In the first, through the end of the Kennedy administration, the United States was engaged in an intense program of paramilitary operations, economic warfare, and sabotage designed to visit what Kennedy's special assistant, Arthur Schlesinger, has called "the terrors of the earth" (Arthur Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times* [1979], p. 516) upon Castro; Schoultz correctly labels these operations "state-sponsored terrorism" (p. 5). As former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms noted, the president's own brother, Robert Kennedy, was in charge of the program to assassinate Castro.

The onslaught abated after John F. Kennedy's death. Schoultz writes that National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy "was soon encouraging everyone to face reality. 'The chances are very good that we will still be living with Castro some time from now,' he said; 'we might just as well get used to the idea'" (p. 6). The United States would try to "pinch [Castro's] nuts," in Lyndon Johnson's earthy phrase, using the embargo to cripple the Cuban economy, but would abandon paramilitary operations and, eventually, assassination attempts. This relative restraint was made easier because Cuban support for armed struggle in Latin America waned by the late 1960s and Washington's fear of the spread of Castroism in the hemisphere ebbed. Cuba was downgraded to a nuisance—until late 1975.

Between November 1975 and the following April, 36,000 Cuban soldiers flooded into Angola to repel a South African invasion that had been encouraged by the United States. Angola marked a dramatic shift in Cuban foreign policy—not of motivation or geographical focus, but of scale. Before Angola, about forty Cubans had fought in Latin America and fewer than 1,400 in Africa. But from the late 1970s through the late 1980s, more than 1,000 Cuban soldiers were stationed in Nicaragua; tens of thousands remained in Angola (their number peaked at 55,000 in 1988), and 12,000 went to Ethiopia in late 1977. It was a policy without equal in modern times. During the Cold War, extra-continental military interventions were the preserve of the two superpowers, a few West European countries, and Cuba. And West European military interventions in the thirty years between the rise of Castro and the end of the Cold War pale in size and daring compared to those of Cuba; even the Soviet Union sent far fewer soldiers beyond its immediate neighborhood. In this regard, Cuba was second only to the United States.

Gorbachev put an end to Cuba's extracontinental for-



ays. With an unwitting but firm hand he led the Soviet Union to implosion, paving the way toward a unipolar world dominated by the United States. By 1991, Cuba stood alone. In his dissection of U.S. policy toward Cuba since the end of the Cold War, Schoultz explores every nook and cranny of U.S. policy making: in the White House, in Congress, and among pressure groups. He writes so well and his analysis is so compelling that the details never overwhelm the narrative flow.

Schoultz's narrative is propelled by two interlocking questions. First, "how have [the] Cubans managed to get away with it?" (p. 4). For fifty years they have defied a superpower that has overwhelming military and economic superiority. And second, "how [has] Washington's unproductive policy managed to keep going?" (p. 561). Why, in the face of clear failure, did the United States "doggedly" spend "most of the past five decades openly and actively trying to overthrow the island's government?" (p. 561).

Schoultz's answers are nuanced. "At the most rudimentary level," he writes, "this book is simply a case study in an intellectual tradition stretching back to the fifth century B.C., when Thucydides, chronicling conflicts among Greek city-states, captured perfectly the bedrock principle of what we today call realism: the strong will do what they want, and the weak will accept what they must. Realism is a part of our ideology—an important part" (pp. 3–4). But Thucydides, and modern realists, would have difficulty explaining why, "when the Cubans refused to accept what they must" (p. 4), the Colossus of the North did not crush them. U.S. policy toward Castro's Cuba, Schoultz argues, illustrates "the constraints that the modern world now imposes on the exercise of power . . . There is no better example of how we are obliged to control ourselves—and, therefore, of how today's foreign-policy-making process actually works" (pp. 4, 6).

I do not agree with everything Schoultz says about these five decades of U.S. policy toward Castro's Cuba, but I am always impressed by the elegance of his arguments and by the evidence he marshals to support them. The fact that I disagree with several of his conclusions made reading his book all the more interesting.

I have, however, one reservation about Schoultz's methodology: he relies virtually exclusively on U.S. documents. As I read the book, I had the feeling that I was watching a tennis match in which I could see only one of the players. Schoultz's book, as its title indicates, is not about U.S.-Cuban relations, but about U.S. relations with Cuba—a subtle but important difference. To Schoultz's credit he never pretends to know more than he does, a rare virtue among scholars of U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba, who so often feign knowledge of what Castro was thinking and what his "true" intentions were. Schoultz, by contrast, goes only as far as his evidence allows him. I appreciate his restraint.

However, I wish he had sallied beyond the U.S. archives. Arguably, this is an excessive request—not one writer on U.S.-Cuban relations has done it. But Schoultz's book is so good and his research in the U.S.

archives so exemplary that from him one must ask more, even if this would have meant several more months of research.

Let me return to my tennis analogy. It is fine to focus on only one player, but it is impossible to fully assess that player's strategy without also taking into account the opponent. In this case, based on U.S. sources, Schoultz brilliantly describes U.S. policy. But were Washington's perceptions of Cuban motivations and policies accurate? To answer these questions, scholars must probe beyond U.S. sources.

I do not fault Schoultz for his failure to pry classified documents from the closed Cuban archives; I know only too well how excruciatingly difficult this is. But other archives would have shed light on Cuban policy. The most valuable are those of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), a very close Cuban ally in the 1970s and the 1980s. Schoultz uses the few GDR documents that have been published in the *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* to good effect, but research in the GDR archives would have added richness and texture to his book and would have helped him solve some riddles. For example, when he writes about the clash between the Carter administration and Cuba due to the Zairean exiles' incursion from Angola into Shaba province, Schoultz frankly admits that he does not know who was right: Carter, claiming that the Cubans were involved, or Castro, asserting the opposite. The GDR documents would have helped him understand that Castro was telling the truth, not Carter. The Russians have also declassified documents that clarify Cuban policy, and many of these are close at hand, at the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C. The memoirs of former Soviet officials, particularly two former ambassadors to Cuba, would have been very useful.

Schoultz's book offers a striking contrast. One of its outstanding qualities is the author's absolute lack of ethnocentrism in assessing U.S. policy, his ability to cut through the rhetoric and the tropes of U.S. culture to cast a dispassionate look at U.S. motivations and actions. His research, however, is ethnocentric: almost exclusively based on U.S. sources.

I have only one factual reservation about Schoultz's discussion of U.S. policy toward Cuba. He writes that the October 1983 Grenada invasion "marked the end of any significant interest in Cuba during Ronald Reagan's years in the White House . . . Cuba simply faded into the background" (p. 394). I disagree. Cuba was a major pillar of Sandinista Nicaragua, and Reagan was obsessed with Nicaragua and the Cuban presence there. Furthermore, the presence of more than 30,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola haunted the Reagan administration and influenced its policy toward southern Africa. Washington's concern peaked with the arrival of significant Cuban reinforcements in Angola in late 1987. The South African archives include hundreds of minutes of conversations between senior U.S. and South African officials, as well as U.S. memoranda to the South African government, that illustrate how important the Cu-

ban presence in southern Africa was to the Reagan administration from 1981 through 1988.

The fact remains that this is a superb book; it is also timely. In Washington, the war against Cuba continues: U.S. officials and pundits ponder what conditions to demand of the errant Cubans before the United States lifts its embargo, forgetting that it is the U.S. government that tried to assassinate Castro, that carried out terrorist actions against Cuba, and that continues to occupy Cuban territory—Guantánamo, the filthy lucre of

1898. As U.S. historian Nancy Mitchell has pointed out, “our selective recall not only serves a purpose, it also has repercussions. It creates a chasm between us and the Cubans: we share a past, but we have no shared memories” (Nancy Mitchell, *News and Observer* [Raleigh], Nov. 1, 1998, p. G5). Schoultz’s book goes a long way toward correcting the record and bridging the gap between myth and reality.

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

JOHN BURROW. *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2008. Pp. xviii, 517. \$35.00.

John Burrow has given us an outstanding study of the writing of history in the West, from virtually the earliest time down to the present day. It is well written, comprehensive, and a pleasure to read. But it is confined to what he calls the “known world,” and, beginning with Heraclitus, it takes sides with Greece against Persia, making an early contrast between East and West, between despotism and freedom, and also between ancient and modern, where “modern” means the open political life of the Greek polis. The contrast is with the “despotic court” of the Persians.

It is perhaps unfair of me to point out that this book is essentially a history of European endeavors (as the subtitle but not the title makes clear). Under present circumstances there is little else to expect. History as written is essentially nationalistic, in most cases chauvinistic, limited to the boundaries of one nation (for school, university, or national purposes) and given undue prominence (from a non-nationalistic standpoint) to the achievements of the writer’s country. This characteristic is understandable but often misleading. One thinks of Marxist writings about Europe, or Europeans writing about Greece, or the many East-West contrasts in demography, political, legal, or religious behavior. In these spheres, Western historians have definitely misled the world: our institutions need to be seen in a world perspective.

That is not to say a great deal cannot be achieved by concentrating on a limited set of written materials (because what we call “history” is in effect the written, even when based on oral evidence). The alternative is world history, which is not well viewed by recent Europeanists, from Karl Marx onward. But if you can have a World War I or II, you must surely have world history.

History—as with epics, chronicles, annals, and romances—depends essentially upon writing. That is not to say that accounts (or visions) of the past did not occur in purely oral societies; they did, despite the fact that the recorded past, in predictable form, can only occur with literacy. That is obvious. But history in this sense

can and does occur in all societies with writing, not simply the West, and to confine the history of histories to Europe (and its extensions) is fundamentally an error and only feeds into European conceptions, and misconceptions, about their own uniqueness. Of course, these assumptions of uniqueness have a certain plausibility. But European history is only unique in a very special sense. Who could possibly deny the category to the work of Ibn Khaldūn or to Rashīd ad-Dīn’s history of the world (early fourteenth century), or to the annals of the Chinese, where every dynasty had to give an account of their predecessor? To exclude these from the story is possible in the context of “European Thought,” but it only contributes to the errors of European ethnocentrism on a wider scale. There are many European historians contributing to this, from my standpoint, blinkered point of view, not simply through neglect but through conviction. This conviction gives rise to assumptions of Asiatic “femininity,” servility, despotism, and luxury that reinforce Eurocentric history and does nothing to explain China’s (or India’s) contemporary position.

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MARY JO MAYNES, JENNIFER L. PIERCE, and BARBARA LASLETT. *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 186. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This collection of essays is coauthored by historian Mary Jo Maynes and two sociologists, Jennifer L. Pierce and Barbara Laslett. The five essays constitute a cross-disciplinary examination of personal narratives that aims, in the authors’ words, “to examine varieties of individual selfhood and agency ‘from below’ and in practice, as constructed in people’s articulated self-understandings” (p. 1). The authors made a choice to write using the collective “we,” which not only gives the project a unified voice and style but also allows for a broad range of examples from the authors’ disciplines, as well as from other disciplines and fields including anthropology and psychology as well GLBT studies,

women's and gender studies, feminist scholarship, and labor history.

The book combines in one eclectic study the various dimensions of personal narratives that range from collecting them as oral histories, writing them as autobiography, or writing academic studies on various forms of them including letters, diaries, family histories, memoirs, and travel writings. The cross-disciplinary approach and the volume's wide range are among the book's strengths. The authors divide their subject into two broad categories: studies based on archival material of the kind mentioned above and oral histories. Then they examine the various issues related to the construction of personal narratives and their analysis including the theoretical and methodological issues pertaining to the social and historical construction of subjectivity; how personal narratives are constructed; the influence of genre on personal narrative sources and their interpretation; the epistemological, methodological, and ethical considerations related to personal narratives; and the rhetorical techniques used to present arguments based on personal narrative evidence, the formulation of truth claims in analytic writing, and the relationship between the analyst and the audience.

The first chapter, "Agency, Subjectivity, and Narratives of the Self," is crucial to understanding how the authors frame their argument and analysis and is also an excellent introduction to the theoretical and methodological debates in Western social science concerning the post-structuralist undermining of the subject in Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought. It is not possible in a short review to convey adequately the complexity of the issues discussed in this succinct chapter. For their part, the authors assert the continued relevance of subjectivity and selfhood and argue that personal narrative analysis enhances our understanding of human agency.

According to the authors, lives are lived at the intersection of individual and social dynamics and within a specific historical context or temporality that is the life course of the individual. The importance of historical context to the construction of self in personal narratives is a theme that runs through the volume and is specifically addressed in chapter two. Although the authors stress the importance of historical and institutional context in the analysis of personal narratives, they caution that it is not sufficient, because "individuals are shaped by their contexts but never reducible to them" (p. 67).

The authors illustrate their various points and arguments with examples from academic works in various disciplines and fields that introduce the readers to research, methodologies, and issues outside of their own. In chapter four, "Personal Narrative Research as Intersubjective Encounter," the authors chose as an example of the dimensions of the researcher-narrator relationship the work of feminist geographer Richa Nagar and her account of her fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in the early 1990s on identity politics involving the life histories of south Asians living in the capital.

Nagar, a Hindi/Urdu speaker of Gujarati origins, discovered that people's presumptions about her identity shaped the relationship and her research. Nagar began to adjust her dress depending on whom she was interviewing, switching from a *salwar kameez* to a *sari* to pants, a T-shirt, and tennis shoes. The authors also shed new light on classics based on personal narratives, such as Martin Bauml Duberman's *Stonewall* (1993) and Alessandro Portelli's *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (1991).

The authors also discuss the critiques of a positivistic epistemology in the social sciences and the emergence of alternative epistemologies focusing on the production of "situated knowledge" (p. 98). As the anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod has argued, "every view is a view from somewhere and every act of speaking, a speaking from somewhere" (p. 98). The volume ends with a discussion of how to evaluate the truth claims of personal narratives and how to generalize from evidence that is by its nature highly subjective and personal.

The volume is not a methodological how-to guide for scholars and graduate students doing research involving personal narratives as archival material or oral histories or even autobiography. It does, however, provide guidance in the analysis of personal narratives from multiple dimensions within an up-to-date theoretical framework. Examples of published works from various disciplines enliven the text's interdisciplinary perspective. The volume is recommended for scholars and graduate students.

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CHRISTOPHER DUMMITT and MICHAEL DAWSON, editors. *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*. (Institute for the Study of the Americas.) London: University of London. 2009. Pp. xix, 186. \$32.00.

It is a truism that every generation rewrites history. How and why are always interesting to explore. This book suggests that in Canada there is a need to rethink historical practice from top to bottom and to do so in ways that spark new debates and extend discussion.

A short introduction is followed by eight essays. Four address specific themes of importance, such as Quebec's place in Canadian historiography, oral history and the issue of authority and engagement, periodization, and social history and the project of inclusiveness. Four others, however different they may be, focus on the general issue of how Canada needs to be historicized beyond nationhood. All historians of Canada will benefit from confronting the pastiche of perspectives found between the covers of Christopher Dummitt and Michael Dawson's edited collection.

No consensus or unity emerges among the authors, save for their agreement to disagree as long as they do so in ways that break from the confines of past paradigms. Old debates are not of much interest to anyone in the collection and are at times loosely represented—

even occasionally misrepresented—in the introduction by Dummitt and Dawson. The editors convey a sense of the contentions of the recent past as “overused, even stale,” “largely polemical and polarizing” (p. x).

To be sure, some of the essays in the collection also rely on polemic and polarization. Steven High’s discussion of oral history seems overstated and one-sided in its assertion that oral history was met largely with “anger and sarcasm” in the 1970s (p. 23). Certainly some curmudgeonly types did drone on about the inadequacies of oral history as genre and method. They did a lot of complaining, and not just about oral history. Many others, however, took a different approach. High’s account gives the latter group short shrift, and as a consequence misses much that would have been worth addressing, both in terms of oral history and what he designates “movement history.” It is perhaps necessary for High to polarize and polemicize, precisely because he claims that oral history conducted as a sharing of authority among subjects, interviewers, and the public is a way of producing an engaged history that he insists has never been present in Canada. In contrast, I can think of a number of examples of “engaged,” “movement-type” history that appeared in the 1970s and 1980s, some dependent on oral history, some not. In staking out this ground, High manages to cite writing (such as Leon Fink’s insightfully destabilizing account of the mythologizing of community, the potential of public history to distort as much as it reveals, and the troubled ethics of interview-based scholarship) that should prompt serious questioning of many of his premises. It does not. High prefers to present oral history and the sharing of authority as a panacea, rather than, perhaps, as useful components of an engaged history that, depending on what it is addressing, develops different ways of building possibilities that will generate fresh understandings.

High is not alone in his proselytizing. Advocates of transnationalism such as Adele Perry and Katie Pickles sound the death knell of the nation, striking a blow against what Pickles describes as “self-contained parochial historiographies that remain eerily engulfed under a veil of cultural cringe” (p. 143). Perry proclaims that Canadian historians “need to begin to write histories that reject . . . the ‘artificial homeyness’ of the nation and instead begin to think long and hard about what the nation means for peoples and communities” (p. 139).

Perhaps, but we might think equally decisively about what peoples and communities are. When Magda Fahrni, for instance, appropriately calls for Canadian history to be more comparative and, within that injunction, insists that historians of English Canada actually engage with Quebec, it is difficult not to extend the argument. Canada certainly needs to be problematized, but so too does Quebec, which is likely to be seen in essentialized ways even more so than the nation within which it has always existed uneasily. This interrogation of nation/people/community is also central to the questioning of conventional periodization that Dawson and

Catherine Gidney elaborate for the twentieth century, arguing that we need the perspective of the *longue durée*. No doubt, but their emphasis on continuity in history needs also to be supplemented with an appreciation of rupture and disjuncture. Even Fernand Braudel’s deep structures, albeit articulations of continuity, were situated with a sense of periodization.

In almost every essay in this book, then, there are suggestions and insights with which it is possible to agree, even applaud. A page later there is likely to be something that is judged as less salutary. For a social historian of my generation and inclinations, the lines of differentiation are often drawn politically. When Andrew Smith commences his discussion of the British Empire in Canada by quoting Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper on the benign and brilliant history of British imperialism, insisting that “a major research focus” of Canadian historians should be to understand “how Canada became a success story” (pp. 75–76), a few hairs on the back of my dissident neck stand up. Still, I found thought-provoking and stimulating in a number of ways Dummitt’s witty, if cavalier, characterization of the ostensible dead-ending of a social history of inclusiveness. Whatever my many differences with Dummitt, I could take some of his argument and engage with it usefully. His claim that “more conservatives and (capital L) Liberals” in the profession would produce histories that “all Canadians could recognise and engage with” (p. 106) nonetheless seems a bit far-fetched.

There are no Maoists in this text, at least none that I could discern. That alone differentiates this generation (heavily weighted to cultural and gender historians) from my own cohort. And yet there are echoes of Mao Zedong’s late 1950s sloganeering directive to let a thousand flowers bloom. This clarion call for change was soon followed, however, with the carnage of the mid-1960s Cultural Revolution. The contributors to this volume want their own kind of historiographical cultural turn. Relentlessly revisionist, these new crusaders are prone to proclaim the need for change for change’s sake. What has been written in the past is brusquely presented as inadequate, wrong, or lacking in the requisite good graces that fresh minds, seemingly, bring to the new historiographic page. These champions of a diversifying new history seem united only in their demand that it is high time to “go beyond” what has existed in the past. In its calls to rethink everything, and to do so in new, uninhibited ways, the collection of essays pays scant attention to the achievements of past Canadian historiography or the complicated nature of its often conflicted purposes. I hope this generation of Canadian historians fares better than the Red Guards of 1966.

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AMY LONETREE and AMANDA J. COBB, editors. *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conver-*



sations. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xxx, 475. \$29.95.

Seventeen essays from two *American Indian Quarterly* (AIQ) special editions on the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) comprise this multidisciplinary anthology, which the editors have organized into four sections on history, indigenous methodology and community collaboration, interpretations and response, and nation and identity. The anthology contains strong essays, many of which are suitable for courses in museum studies and memory.

The anthology opens with Ira Jackson's origin story of the Georg Gustav Heye collection, which the city and state of New York transferred to the Smithsonian Institution (SI) in 1989. He situates the collection in the history of modern professional, institution-based acquisition of Native material culture among East Coast social and academic elites. Through Jackson's essay we better understand relations among Heye, the original collector, the anthropology establishment, and prominent institutional collections such as the Bureau of American Ethnology, the U.S. National Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and those of universities. Heye's collecting goals, practices, and relations with the collecting establishment gave shape to an ambitious Western hemispheric collecting project that, due to unmatched funding requirements and sheer enormity, has strengths and weaknesses as Jackson explains. Heyes's not uncommon disinterest in Native people, history, and well-being, noted by Jackson, created Native bitterness about museums that they see as representative of colonial destruction and barriers to their material culture.

Patricia Pierce Erikson and Judith Ostrowitz contribute institutional histories of two SI bureaus, the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), and specifically the Department of Anthropology, during the developmental years of the NMAI. Erikson examines the impact of the NMAI on the Department of Anthropology plans for a permanent installation intended to showcase the NMNH Native material culture collection. Curator correspondence with the SI Secretary, quoted at length, conveyed more than reasoned objections to the NMAI and to the approaching Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation legislation (NAGPRA). The curators held deep resentments and even animosity toward the NMAI and NAGPRA based on inflexible intellectual elitism among the archaeologists and linguists particularly. Theirs were views widely shared in the discipline. She explores the evolving position of Secretary Robert McCormick Adams on repatriation. The essay is challenging, partially because of multiple themes, if the reader is unfamiliar with NMAI history.

The infrequently discussed formative period of the NMAI is the subject of Ostrowitz's essay. She historicizes NMAI community consultations and the architectural design processes for the mall museum and the Suitland, Maryland, collections facility. Her recogni-

tion of the significance of the early consultations to NMAI planning is laudable if at times simplified. But she misses the institutional context of the consultations as a piece of NMAI history. When the NMAI invited groups of Native people from varied professions, tribal experience, and stages of life to meet with SI officials and associates, the planners sought their ideas and visions to fuel the creative processes of museum planning. Unexpectedly, participants initially refused the NMAI agenda, instead pressing the Secretary and W. Richard West, Jr., about repatriation legislation and SI intentions. After NAGPRA passed in November 1990, subsequent consultants continued to press SI officials about progress in completing the required collection inventory and return of SI held human remains. Community people not privileged to testify before Congress creatively insinuated themselves into the NAGPRA debate and into SI and NMAI policy.

Ostrowitz shines light on the most effective work to emerge from the consultations: contributions that informed the architectural program and design for the Suitland facility. Ann Trowbridge from the Venturi, Scott Brown architectural design firm attended consultations and integrated shared Native knowledge and demands about the care of cultural materials into the architectural program for the collection facility. The mall museum receives much attention, but the Suitland facility is probably the greater success in the NMAI story. Correction to the record: In late 1989, well before the decision to hire West, I, as sole Native member of the Secretary's internal committee on the NMAI, conceptualized and developed a methodology for creating consultations in various regions of the United States, guided by a local Native collaborator. Planning took months of work by me, my collaborators, and an NMAI administrative staff of one initially, a matter of public and institutional record. The omission is one example of incomplete research and reliance on a small pool of oral history sources commonly found in essays about the NMAI. Nevertheless, Ostrowitz's focus on the early years of NMAI makes a case for the significance of the period.

The anthology engages the curatorial reliance on abstraction in the permanent exhibition and questions about the NMAI and the state, which I argue are intertwined. U.S. colonialism, settler society, genocide, ethnocide, and land theft—central to U.S. history and to the history of Native America after the invasions—compose the unacknowledged elephant in the NMAI. Exhibitions of many guns and many books and bibles stand in for invasion, violence, coerced labor, and religious conversion, undeclared wars, the settler society, land alienation, broken treaties, many Trails of Tears, the Marshall trilogy, reservations, unfit starvation rations, broken economies, language loss, outlawed cultural practices, and federal Indian policy and law in short, the substance of modern Native historical consciousness and that which has been erased from U.S. history. Sonya Atalay in "No Sense of the Struggle," effectively argues that the significance of Native sur-

vival cannot be understood absent the history of destruction. Violence against Native people exists in many forms—cultural erasure and language death, for example—but there is also murderous violence, and the museum has failed to bring it to the public's attention in a direct way. Why?

West expressed opposition to controversial history early, as several authors note. Also, from the beginning the NMAI management privileged Native artistic visions of Native America. Unsurprisingly, the curators produced an artistic interpretation that side-stepped direct engagement with the assault on Native America and left the viewing public uninformed and unchallenged. West's early directive and perhaps the minority status of Native staff, as noted by Paul Chaat Smith, meant that abstraction—artful, ambiguous, intellectual, removed—was destined to be. But given that Native America is an intellectual ground zero for most of the world, certainly most Americans, abstraction as stand-in for history and experience was destined to fail.

Simultaneously, outside the NMAI similar omissions of history allowed multiple readings of the opening day celebration. Pauline Wakeham's admirable analysis of the NMAI inaugural parade as reconciliation performance uncovers common colonial practices hiding in plain view. The NMAI and state bureaucracies orchestrated reconciliation between Native Americans and the United States, with throngs of Native people from all parts of the country in traditional dress present on the national mall. Absent, as noted by Wakeham, was acknowledgment of past atrocities and assaults on Native sovereignty, a requirement for reconciliation. Atalay, Wakeham, and Myla Vicenti Carpio's "(Un)disturbing Exhibitions" share questions about the museum and the state and the curious content of the inaugural exhibitions and public programs, drawing attention to NMAI's persistent problem with history. In each case, by ignoring history that is central to if absent from the history of the United States, the NMAI threw away an unprecedented opportunity to instill Native America in the national consciousness.

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MICHAEL E. BROWN. *The Historiography of Communism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 249. \$25.95.

An integral part of modern history the world over, communism is a vast and complicated phenomenon. This book does not offer a comprehensive evaluation of its subject; it is composed of seven previously published articles, which range from historiography to anthropology to sociology.

Michael E. Brown divides his book between the positive and the negative. The negative, where the historiography of communism is concerned, is anticommunism, a Cold War agenda converted into scholarship, in Brown's view, and then generalized back into politics. The "generalization of anti-communism" took on

manic proportions after the fall of the Berlin Wall, thus distorting two areas of inquiry: the history of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc; and the history of socialism, or of the Left, in the United States (p. 26). A denial of the social in the study of history encourages a denial of socialism in the political sphere, and such is the sad legacy of American anticommunism in the last several decades.

The way forward, for Brown, is to reassert the social. History cannot be aligned with the retrograde dictates of nationalism. It must be made to resemble sociology so that it will be possible "to recognize history as the history of society" (p. 51). Brown advocates a particular kind of socially minded reading, an invitation to the dialectical imagination, critically inclined and able to evade "the failure of theory to envision opposition" (p. 137). Failure, in context, is the failure to envision opposition to capitalism. In the book's one essay on anthropology, capitalism is less at issue than "the mystification of exploitation that is the culture of the West" (p. 151).

Brown's book is bracingly iconoclastic, anything but a restatement of conventional wisdom. That said, his arguments about U.S. and Soviet history are bizarre. When addressing the historiography of the American Left, Brown is not interested in party politics, in which socialism has played a marginal role. He dismisses "institutional politics"—the constitution, the legal system, elections—as merely the mechanics of hegemony, thereby refusing to participate in "anti-collectivist discussions of individual rights" (pp. 38, 181). As a sponsor of globalization, the United States is a de facto contributor to the "genocidal aspects of capitalist postmodernity" (p. 166). If globalization has been a Holocaust of sorts, it follows that Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 "made it necessary and even possible to think about the dangers of fascism once again" (p. 195).

Brown admits to exploitation in the record of Soviet history and does not celebrate Vladimir Lenin or Leonid Brezhnev; but neither does he see Soviet history as the refutation of communism's promise. (China, the communist state grown into a capitalist superpower, is entirely missing from this book.) The Communist Party "represented, at least to an extent greater than elsewhere, social values opposed to the capitalist exploitation of labor"—if not always on the side of the angels, then safe from being on the side of the devils (p. 217). Where Brown most wishes to see historiographical revisionism is with the end of the Cold War: the "popular mobilizations" in Eastern Europe were illusory; and the breakup of the Soviet Union had an "immediate effect [that was] catastrophic" (p. 160). Brown's words are ironically similar to those of Vladimir Putin, who has referred to the breakup of the Soviet Union as "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century."

The problem with these essays is not the political orientation of its author; it is Brown's confusion of history and politics. He only engages the ideas of like-minded historians, "socialist scholarship," as he terms it, citing

from historians of the Soviet Union such as Stephen F. Cohen, Moshe Lewin, and Alec Nove to prove assumptions he has already taken for granted (p. 66). Since anticommunism is simply a function of political reaction, it does not merit intellectual respect, and so a historian like Richard Pipes, whose books on Soviet history are historiographically central, does not even appear in Brown's bibliography, not to mention the body of the text; the same is true for the anticommunist books of François Furet, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Leszek Kołakowski, and many others.

The last two essays—"Left Futures" and "Rethinking the Crisis of Socialism"—reveal that historiography, for Brown, is merely a proxy for speculation about the socialist movement in America. Here Brown makes his goal explicit, the conditional hope that "if we are to compose a progressive movement we must agree that we are all Socialists together" (p. 183). In a political pamphlet, this might be a fully sustainable thesis; in a work of historical scholarship, published by an academic press, it is self-indulgent at best, though it explains the absence of opposing points of view in this unusual book.

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ANN LAURA STOLER. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 314. \$22.95.

How does imperial power fail, if it does? Ann Laura Stoler's historical ethnography of the colonial archive allows us to count the ways as few studies of empire do. Her central claims will be familiar to those who have followed her work: namely, that archives are processes and not things (p. 20); that "affective knowledge . . . [is] . . . at the core of political rationalities" (p. 98); that reading along the archival grain reveals the "molten relationships" between bureaucratic regimes and personal lives (p. 278); and that the vellum of empire is particularly useful material for assaying its fractured, uneven, and halting practices.

Stoler builds a case for the urgency of attending to the "rough interior ridges of governance" (p. 2) through the whispers, asides, and imperatives of what remains of the official mind in the archival records she unfolds before us. At stake is the fiction that state power in its national/imperial forms is either omniscient or fully in control of itself; at risk are narratives of Dutch colonial rule that fail to read the archive for evidence of "the fragile security of the Dutch police state" and the "false security of Europeans . . . nestled in it" (p. 18). Even for practitioners of critical imperial history, this argument is more often a destination than a starting point. In this respect, Stoler's book returns us to the unfinished business of imperial hegemony as the subject of postcolonial history. As urgent is her claim that statecraft is "affective mastery" (p. 67), that the realm of sentiment and feeling holds the key to the limits, stumblings, blindneses, and failures of imperial ambition. Here affect is

not merely a dimension of imperial power or a technology of the self; it is, she insists, indispensable to any explanatory framework of empire *tout court*.

The affective center of Stoler's study is Frans Carl Valck, a servant of the colonial state whose multilayered accounts of the 1876 murder of a Sumatran planter's wife and children allow her both to reconstruct a minor but non-trivial example of the precariousness of plantation political economy *and* to excavate the vulnerability of state power to the unforeseen collisions of colonizer and colonized, labor and capital, administrator and native. Valck's story disables the fiction of a self-confident ruling officialdom and highlights the gap (of status, ambition, and certainty) between Java's "middling masters" and their superiors, whether local or metropolitan. It also permits glimpses of how the ordinariness of colonial life was disrupted by native subjects who erupt in the archives not so much as actors but as forces—forces misread by Valck's betters and only slightly less dimly apprehended by him. Yet we also see how, why, and under what conditions Valck produces a micro-critique of colonial rule as he comes to realize that "unrest" in and around his bailiwick is rooted not in natives' propensity for rebellion *per se* but in a variety of lateral connections between plantation exploitation and indigenous anticolonial "sentiment."

Native structures of feeling are notoriously hard to get at and, for better or worse, this is not an asymmetry over which Stoler wrings her hands. That Valck has the perspicacity to note the planters' role in shaping local motivations for the murders costs him a lot. It also makes him the tragic hero of Stoler's book. This is not because he brings the colonial state down but because in him we have a palimpsest on which the "ill-coordinated" (p. 231), overburdened, and inefficacious mechanisms of empire on the ground are overwritten.

Some readers will find the microcosmic scale of this story unsatisfying; others will question the portability of its methods and insights; still others will bemoan so much attention to the charmless Valck and the comparative occlusion of Gayos, Malays, and Chinese workers. Stoler, for her part, is unapologetic about turning her ethnographic powers on a figure of colonial middle management. It is precisely this object she intends to render hypervisible by reading "along" the grain. In an age of bureaucratized imperial war like ours, I can appreciate this, though it has its costs as well, and as a politics it may be more or less welcome depending on the locative position of the reader. What is striking is how few methodological options we still have for getting out of the grids of colonial intelligibility in which we find ourselves entangled in the wake of earlier empires. Getting "out" of those grids was Claude Lévi-Strauss's exhortation (p. 8); it is hard not to read this book in the shadow of his recent death.

Apropos this particular moment of late imperial decline, there is no small irony in having, between two covers, this rich and deep reading of the archive as evidence of empire's "graphic" power: of the writerly colonial state, its silences and violences. How, one won-

ders, will empires fail differently (if they do) in this contemporary global culture of virtuality? And with what technologies will scholars read about, never mind assess, those terrible histories?

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ASHER D. BIEMANN. *Inventing New Beginnings: On the Idea of Renaissance in Modern Judaism*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 428. \$60.00.

It may be best to let the author of this dazzling, but somewhat dizzying, volume explain its character in his own words: it is "an essay on the idea and use of 'renaissance' in modern Jewish thought. Its conceptual presupposition is that 'renaissance' acts as a narrative imagination, as a fixed emplotment of the historical experience, and that it both reflects and constitutes a particular way of thinking and writing history" (p. 1). In short, this is not a narrative history but very definitely an extended essay. It is not a chronologically arranged account of the idea of renaissance in Judaism nor, for the most part, an analysis of the actual renaissance that was announced by the philosopher Martin Buber at the beginning of the twentieth century and that ripened in German-speaking lands during the Weimar years.

Asher D. Biemann, whose field is modern Jewish thought as well as Jewish intellectual history, has divided his challenging volume into two parts, the first of which is the furthest removed from empirical history. Entitled "Thinking in Renaissance or A Grammar of Beginnings," it dwells mostly in the realm of critical theory. Drawing upon an impressive array of thinkers, from the ancients and medievals to moderns and contemporaries in what are only loosely connected, formidably erudite mini-essays, Biemann takes up various aspects of the idea of renaissance more as category than as historical phenomenon. It is for him, in summary form, "the desire for a New without the terror of newness and the longing for an Old without the pressure of the past" (p. 9). In context, the subchapters represent various aspects of Biemann's division of the concept of renaissance into three phases or elements: beginning, beginning anew, and turning. Of these, the last is the most original. It is one translation of the Hebrew word *teshuvah*, which also means returning and repentance. Thus Biemann introduces a moral element into the idea of renaissance, especially as it manifested itself in Judaism: "How we think about time and how we *begin* bears upon how we think about ourselves and where in time—or outside of it—we locate others" (p. 47).

Part two, entitled "Writing in Resurrection or The Semantics of Restoration," moves from the strictly theoretical into the realm of historiography, elaborating what the concepts outlined in the first part have meant for the writing of Jewish history. Biemann begins his discussion with the twentieth-century philosopher and ideologist Simon Rawidowicz, who famously declared

that the Jews were "the ever-dying people." They were therefore, of course, also the people that was always beginning anew. The discussion of Rawidowicz leads backward to the nineteenth-century Galician enlightener Nachman Krochmal, who first posited the idea of Judaism historically undergoing Vico-like ascending cycles of growth, blossoming, decay, and again new growth. This, in turn, opens the way to a broader discussion of how Jewish historiography has envisaged Jewish history as "a history in resurrection" and, because this resurrection is seen as occurring through *teshuvah*, also as "an attempt at ethicizing history" (p. 171). Biemann exemplifies such an approach by brief discussions of the writings of major figures in the modern history of Jewish historiography: Heinrich Graetz, Simon Dubnow, and Salo Wittmayer Baron, among others. He sharply contrasts the historicist and exteriorized historiography of Isaac Marcus Jost with the inward-turned historical narrative of Abraham Geiger, which—more characteristic of the mode of thought Biemann seeks to bring out—elaborates a Jewish history that undergoes persistent revitalization.

However, Biemann does not limit himself to historians. Of at least equal interest to him are the modern Jewish philosophers, especially Hermann Cohen, Buber, and Franz Rosenzweig. In the writings of Leo Baeck, who distinguished sharply between the Greek notion of *historia* as inquiry and the Hebrew idea of *toladot* (generations), lies a *Denkweise* that turns back to the prophetic literature with its sustained focus upon beginning anew and the task that the forward glance imposes on the individual and the community. These thinkers were, of course, part of a larger movement, including German reactionaries, that called for rebirth and revitalization. But Biemann argues that the Jewish thinkers, for the most part, avoided the perils of romanticism, remaining faithful to what he terms a Jewish classicism. Eschewing nostalgia, the Jewish renaissance sought renewal rather than retrieval. Like the Reform movement, as envisaged by Geiger, it related selectively to Jewish tradition and attempted to draw out its spiritual and ethical core. However, it differed in setting forth a Jewish aesthetic sans aestheticism, which could serve as a portal for the activity of conscience.

This is an ambitious book of immense complexity, difficult to comprehend fully, seeming at times to be loose ended, but certainly worthy of critical reflection.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

EMMET KENNEDY. *Secularism and Its Opponents from Augustine to Solzhenitsyn*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. x, 278. \$74.95.

This brief, incisive, and interesting overview of the history of the emergence of modern secularism since Saint Augustine and the Middle Ages is certain to attract in-



terest. With his concluding sections on Fedor Dostoevsky and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Emmet Kennedy shows all too vividly how secularism, once seen by the men of the Enlightenment as the answer to humanity's greatest difficulties, has instead become a vast problem in itself. If Kennedy always maintains an austere neutrality bound to disappoint those looking for definite conclusions and solid answers, he shows very effectively how long and tortuous has been the run-up to modernity's most fundamental problem.

It is definitely useful to view the rise (and fall?) of secularism as a long and complex process of emergence in which the European twelfth-century renaissance culminating in the thirteenth-century philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas and, later, the Protestant Reformation are seen as crucial stages. Aquinas, of course, was in no sense a secular thinker. But he mattered in the history of secularism because, for the first time in the post-classical West, he differentiated reason and faith with a clarity and thoroughgoing power of classification that created a sphere of understanding and justification effectively autonomous from theology and faith. The role of the Reformation in fragmenting and individualizing modern religion speaks for itself. Kennedy is an expert in particular on the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and, given his specific expertise and the culminating role of the Enlightenment in the forging of modern secularism, his assigning more space to this phase than to anything else seems perfectly justified. The three thinkers that he particularly highlights in this connection, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant, were not actually secular thinkers. However, they carried further the Reformation's fragmentation of the West's religious consciousness by individualizing faith and removing it from the control of theologians still further than had the Protestant reformers, and they created a basis for moral autonomy even though each thinker's personal morality was still basically theological and indeed Christian.

It seems decidedly eccentric, however, to write a history of secularism that says almost nothing about the major atheists, materialists, and deists (apart from Rousseau) of the Enlightenment. About Pierre Bayle we are told next to nothing. Thomas Hobbes and Julien Offroy de la Mettrie are absent, Denis Diderot is mentioned only in passing, Paul-Henri-Dietrich d'Holbach goes unmentioned, and even Voltaire appears only very marginally. The greatest weakness of the book, though, is Kennedy's failure to engage with the question of how the secular Enlightenment proposed to replace the social, political, and personal morality provided by religion (whether Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or neo-pagan) with an alternative, fully secular system of morality capable of serving as a basis for civilized and orderly laws, education, attitudes, and politics. Writing to Voltaire, Diderot insisted that it was not enough for the *philosophes* to show that they understood truth better than Christian theologians. They also needed to demonstrate that they were morally in the right, able to cultivate attitudes morally better than those nurtured by

their adversaries, and that "*la philosophie fait plus de gens de bien que la grace suffisante ou efficace*" (letter to Voltaire, Paris, September 29, 1762).

If there is no secular morality capable of buttressing the core values of modern society, including basic human rights and the civics taught to children in school, then secularization cannot replace church authority, theology, and religion. Both Dostoevsky and Solzhenitsyn identified the great weakness of modern secularism and Enlightenment in what they saw as its moral nihilism. It was clear from the outset that this was the decisive issue. This is why Baruch Spinoza entitled his great work *The Ethics* (1677). But then Kennedy says nothing about Spinoza or Spinozism and nothing about the great Enlightenment moral debate. No viable history of secularism can be written like this.

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NERINA RUSTOMJI. *The Garden and the Fire: Heaven and Hell in Islamic Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 201. \$45.00.

Nerina Rustomji provides a wide-ranging examination of the relationship between the physical landscape and the development of social mores in this condensed and readable exploration of how Muslims have used images to represent heaven and hell on earth. Rustomji pays particular attention to the significance of material culture in displaying and working to shape the religious, aesthetic, and cultural outlook of a civilization that spans fourteen hundred years and territory stretching from Africa to China. The helpful highlighting of how "invoking the unseen" allowed Muslims to relate to the "seen" world of their daily lives yields a fresh approach to defining one of the common understandings that have come to typify Muslims and Islam in different regions and time periods.

Rustomji proceeds both chronologically and thematically, moving from the earliest datable Muslim literature to specialized manuals devoted to a full elaboration of the connection between this world and the next. Chapters one and two focus on the eighth-century recension of Ibn Ishaq's biography of the prophet Muhammad to uncover early Muslim attitudes toward the promise and visions of the afterlife. Rustomji does not address the historiographical or source-critical issues of the dating of Ibn Ishaq's work, although she does differentiate among the purported origins of certain traditions and uses such distinctions to illustrate more carefully the conceptions of the afterlife held by early Muslims.

Chapter three projects these early notions forward to show how eschatological concerns translated into a "code of ethics" that precluded the use of objects representing luxury and pleasure, including silk, silver, and women. This may be the most original and compelling part of the book, and is thoughtfully framed by the historical and literary context Rustomji gives in the surrounding chapters.



Chapters four and five are topical overviews of references to the imagined landscape and social worlds of heaven and hell in the Qu'ran and early Muslim exegesis of such references. Rustomji discusses fountains and rivers, trees, perfumes and senses, precious metals and stones, fire, animals, pain and punishment, bodies and families, markets, food and drink, and female companions. The last section offers a brief account of the so-called "*houris*" of the Qu'ran and their role in the depiction of the afterlife as a reward for certain believers.

Chapters six and seven take Rustomji's study into the well-developed genre of heaven and hell conceptions, both in the eschatological manuals of the ninth through thirteenth centuries and in the influence of the "Garden and the Fire" in mosque mosaics, illustrated manuscripts, and landscape architecture. These chapters are less a survey of the available evidence and more a highlighting of how images of heaven and hell influenced medieval Islamic attitudes.

Rustomji concludes with a brief epilogue that touches on the comparative implications of her research, mentioning applications to contemporary events and to medieval Christian notions of paradise and damnation. There is room for further emphasis and reflection on how her particular approach, combining the study of selected texts and manifestations of material culture, could have brought additional strength to this conclusion and helped to situate the significance of Rustomji's methods within the more generic study of religion and of its premodern visual conception.

This book is a welcome addition to a small and growing body of scholarship that attempts to use and understand the history of shared fantastic conceptions as a means for uncovering the social history of varied civilizations.

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PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER. *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850*. London: Reaktion Books. 2008. Pp. 205. \$45.00.

Written by a respected specialist of the Habsburg Empire, this book belongs to a distinctive (primarily American) genre. Relatively brief so that it can reach the classroom, it offers a survey of Habsburg-Ottoman relations in the early modern and modern periods. Unencumbered by theory, it is a non-polemic but firm rebuttal of Edward Said. Finally, it is held together by a moral story with purportedly practical implications. Structured in three chapters, it illustrates Paula Sutter Fichtner's thesis on transformed perceptions about the "Turk": from bloodthirsty, barbarian conqueror and unbeliever, to "trivial, ignorant and hapless fool" (p. 98), to a genuine effort at scholarly understanding and appreciation.

The first chapter gives a background survey up to the second siege of Vienna in 1683. It covers well-trodden ground and is richer on the Habsburgs, briefer on the

Ottomans. It shows convincingly the extent to which the Ottoman military threat was both a dynastic and religious challenge. Well into the eighteenth century the house of Habsburg carried the mantle of prime defender of Roman Catholicism. That much of the horrendous and repetitive depictions of Ottoman cruelty, treachery, and bestiality was sheer propaganda meant to discipline the public as well as guarantee the living of scores of writers, artists, and composers should not deter from the sincerity with which the belief was held by many. An additional characteristic of the Habsburg clergy, well described in the book, was its success in utilizing the state for institutional purposes, undermining the appeal of Protestantism. Still, the statement that, unlike the Ottomans, who had only one religious mission built in their territorial drive, the Habsburgs had two—against Islam and against the Protestant Reformation—is questionable (p. 28). The Ottomans likewise waged bloody wars against heterodoxy within Islam, especially against the Kızılbaş (Alevis, Shiites) in Persia and within their borders.

The second chapter is a synthesis of existing historiography on the eighteenth-century metamorphosis in perceptions. With the passing of real military threat, a shift from inflammatory stereotyping to factual reporting occurred, together with a more secular outlook on Muslims. Commercial contacts intensified. Vienna, like the rest of Europe, partook in the craze over Oriental exotica but excelled in its most cultivated art form: musical theater. Turkish themes were ubiquitous in the work of Christoph Willibald Gluck, Franz Joseph Haydn, Antonio Salieri, Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Franz Xavier Süssmayer, and, of course, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. A new development in the second half of the eighteenth century was the emergence of Russia as a great power and common enemy for both Habsburgs and Ottomans. This goes a long way to explain the shift in stereotypes, and while Fichtner devotes a paragraph to it, she neglects this influence in the subsequent analysis.

Nor are these chapters free of error: the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca did not give the Romanovs rights to intervene on behalf of their Bulgarian coreligionists (p. 88); the Ottomans did not adopt Islam in Anatolia (p. 22), the Turkic tribes that conquered it in the eleventh century were already Muslim; Bosnia was not incorporated in the Habsburg Empire in 1912 (p. 16) but officially annexed in 1908, while for all practical purposes it was incorporated already with the 1878 occupation. More irritating is the anachronistic use of concepts, especially Europe(ans) and Central Europe(ans) throughout the book, leaving the impression of an already molded identity in periods when this was not the case.

The final chapter explores the rise of oriental studies in Austria, with an appropriate focus on the Oriental Academy and its most illustrious student and scholar, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. In many ways, the whole book culminates in a tribute to this prodigiously erudite, and prolific savant. This section is also the book's

best part, based as it is on original archival research. It brings to life the academy's curriculum and activities, whose stated goal was to furnish able diplomats securing a competitive position for the empire in the East, and whose unintended but not rejected result was the formation of a cadre of remarkably well-educated scholars striving for an objective understanding of the East, among whom the idiosyncratic Hammer and after him, Alfred von Kremer, enjoy pride of place.

Based on these two portraits of scholars steeped in the critical positivism of nineteenth-century historiography and naively assuming that their story provides proof in and of itself, Fichtner launches her critique of Said. Luckily, this is confined to a few pages in the "Coda" and the introduction that display a simplistic and caricatured reading of *Orientalism* (1979). A benevolent reader will dispense of this, as well as the somewhat rosy belief that the message of "honest and rigorous teaching and scholarship" and fact-based understanding of the enemy coming from Vienna can be set as a positive example for today's Western democracies (pp. 173–174). Chronologically, as well as methodologically, this book ends in the nineteenth century.

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BERNARD BAILYN and PATRICIA L. DENAULT, editors. *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 622. \$59.95.

No one has done more to establish, promote, and institutionalize the field of Atlantic history than Bernard Bailyn. His only real rival in this regard is another titan, Jack P. Greene. From his intellectual perch at Harvard, Bailyn has—in some ways since the early 1950s—been working within an Atlanticist perspective, and his contributions to the development of this perspective over the past fifty-odd years have been as varied as they are impressive. In addition to his own pioneering—and always superb—scholarship in the field, he has (like Greene) devoted a great deal of time and intellectual energy to creating programs intended to foster and support Atlantic history, most notably, in Bailyn's case, Harvard's International Seminar in the History of the Atlantic World.

Despite its modest name, this "seminar" is actually part of a much broader project, the aim of which is "to advance the scholarship of young historians of many nations interested in the common, comparative, and interactive aspects of the lives of the peoples of the Atlantic world, transcending local and national boundaries and to help create an international community of scholars familiar with approaches, archives, and intellectual traditions different from their own." In pursuit of such ends, the Harvard seminar sponsors an annual conference as well as other workshops and meetings on various aspects of Atlantic history, offers research and travel grants, and compiles and maintains

bibliographies and syllabi germane to the field. Bailyn established the seminar in 1995 and has served as its director ever since. He shows few signs of slowing down, as this collection of essays Bailyn co-edited with Patricia L. Denault makes clear.

The essays were first presented as papers at a 2007 conference in Cambridge sponsored by the Harvard seminar. In an incisive, if a bit defensive introduction, Bailyn points out that this volume, as the title suggests, consists of soundings or probes "into the complexity of the Atlantic world as it developed from the first European contacts with the Americas to its mutation into a different, more global world three centuries later" (p. 41). More specifically, the essays, according to Bailyn, should be seen as "efforts to search, in selected fields, beneath the surface of events for the latent structures and the underlying flow of ideas and beliefs that shaped the manifest world and bound it together [to] reveal the intricately woven webs of pan-Atlantic relationships" (pp. 41–42). The essays included in the volume—most, but not all, by distinguished senior scholars—certainly achieve these aims, and, in so doing, add considerably to our understanding of Atlantic (and other) histories.

The "selected fields" are as varied as they are important. Indeed, the volume can be read with profit by almost any historian interested, even marginally, in the period treated. This said, the essays included in the volume will appeal most to scholars interested in certain themes or areas: slavery and the transatlantic slave trade; commercial patterns in the Atlantic world; and transatlantic religious, scientific, and intellectual communities and networks. Regarding the first of these themes: in their respective essays Stephen D. Behrendt and the team of Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton afford readers new insights into the workings of the slave trade, in the former case, by capturing in rich detail the complex of ecological, meteorological, and seasonal variables structuring the trade, and in the latter by describing the ways in which the little-understood political history of Africa affected both the trade itself and the subsequent history of enslaved Africans in the Americas.

In their well-executed essays David J. Hancock and Willem Klooster focus on trade and commercial patterns in the Atlantic world. In his case study of the Madeira wine complex, Hancock "highlights three key attributes of Atlantic [economic] organization—decentralization, networks, and self-organization," which in his view also informed a number of other trades in the Atlantic world during the so-called early modern period (p. 115). According to Hancock, an appreciation of the degree to which these attributes informed such trades can help us at once to complicate and enrich our understanding of economic life throughout the Atlantic basin. Klooster's findings on the "ubiquity of contraband trade in the early modern Americas" performs much the same function, compelling students to rethink and perforce to modify traditional distinctions between licit and illicit trade and conventional

emphases on imperial/national economic narratives (p. 141).

Broadly speaking, the other eight essays also deal in one way or another with networks, often quite intricate in nature, relating to religious communities, scientific exchanges, political thought, and intellectual matters more generally. In these essays we learn, for example, about the formidable Atlantic networks of the Jesuits (J. Gabriel Martínez-Serna); the communications networks of three dissenting religious communities: the Mennonites, Quakers, and Pietists (Rosalind J. Beiler); and the importance of typological thinking—that is, thinking drawn from “the Christian tradition of reading contemporary events and actors as the fulfillment of older biblical episodes” (p. 237)—among commentators engaged in explaining and interpreting the New World from all of the leading colonizing powers (Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra).

In her illuminating examination of medical practices in the West Indies in the eighteenth century, Londa Schiebinger demonstrates the complex ways in which “scientific exchange” occurred among Amerindian, African slave, and European groups, while Mark A. Peterson and Beatriz Dávila demonstrate some of the ways in which Bostonians in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century and denizens of the Rio de la Plata in the early nineteenth century engaged other individuals, other bodies of thought, and—in a broad sense—other societies in the Atlantic world. And in two excellent sketches Neil Safier and Emma Rothschild detail how two very different types of “cosmopolitans”—the Brazilian Hipólito da Costa and the Scotsman David Hume, respectively—navigated the Atlantic world during the Enlightenment.

Luckily for readers, this work includes one other essay: Bailyn’s introduction, wherein he offers, as he modestly puts it, “Reflections on Some Major Themes.” In actuality, this is a major piece in and of itself, in which the author not only summarizes and contextualizes each of the essays included in the volume but also assesses the present state of the field. Regarding this assessment, Bailyn comes across as being overly sensitive at times about global history, an alternative framework for understanding and interpreting the “early modern” period that has captured a great deal of attention and swayed a good many minds over the past decade or two. To be sure, this pose may itself be “latent”—to use Bailyn’s famous formulation—and, in any case, it scarcely diminishes the manifest achievements of either the essay or the volume under review.

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NICHOLAS M. BEASLEY. *Christian Ritual and the Creation of British Slave Societies, 1650–1780*. (Race in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 223. \$44.95.

In the early seventeenth century, British travelers colonized the island of Barbados, initiating the creation of a British plantation empire that spanned the Atlantic. Even as they established new forms of commerce, consumption, and production centered around the plantation economy, British slaveholders desired to remake something of the Old World, especially in the realm of culture and religion. But the conditions of life in the plantation Americas constantly reminded these colonists of the very real distances and differences between the colony and the metropole. In the face of tropical climates, large-scale plantation slavery, and black majorities that threatened to annihilate or absorb them, “re-creating as much as possible of English political consumer and religious culture was vital to white slaveholders’ pretensions to dominance” (p. 6).

Focusing on Barbados, Jamaica, and South Carolina, Nicholas Beasley chronicles the great lengths to which the British colonial elite used the structure and rituals of the established church to maintain economic and racial hegemony. In a series of chapters devoted to church seating, holy days, marriage, baptism, the Eucharist, and mortuary ritual, Beasley suggests that British colonists created a “comprehensive ritual environment” (p. 53) geared toward maximum social impact. That is, the elite utilized religion as a mechanism to ensure their continued dominance. To take but one example, the practice of public marriages legitimized and formalized elite unions while the private and informal ceremonies of enslaved Africans marked their marriages as illegitimate and unimportant. Notably, Beasley is careful not to regard religious practice in the colonies as a “proxy for more fundamental social processes” or as mere “ideological cover for efforts at social and political domination” (p. 15). Under Beasley’s investigation, the plantation elite emerge as deeply religious, even though they were as deeply invested in the maintenance of social, economic, racial, and religious hierarchies. Arguing against scholars who see the British plantation colonies as “devoid of any meaningful Christian practice,” Beasley contends that religion was central for slaveholders who desired to maintain cultural connections with the metropole even as they found themselves constantly transformed by life in slave societies. Beasley asserts that the neglect of public worship in the plantation colonies reported by contemporary visitors and—in a jab at current historiography—“reiterated by many historians” (p. 24) is not borne out in the archival records.

Beasley, by his own acknowledgment, is most interested in the white minorities of the plantation world. Still, his treatment of African American religious practice has much to recommend itself. Restricted from the full exercise of state-sanctioned church practice, enslaved Africans developed religious cultures based both on their varied negotiations with the master class and traditions, beliefs, and practices drawn from the African experience. Beasley tends to focus on the former as the most important factor in the development of black religious life, neglecting some of the generative aspects

of African culture that influenced black religious expression, even outside the purview or influence of the master class. One of the unforeseen consequences of the harsh distinctions imposed by the colonial elite was the development of independent religious expression among enslaved Africans. In many ways, this independent religious life served as the basis of black identity throughout the plantation Americas.

Ironically, in their effort to maintain the authority and dominance that they enjoyed in the mother country, British slave holders ended up creating, sustaining, and exacerbating notions of racial difference particular to the Americas. If some elite authorities looked back with nostalgia on the class differences endemic in the Old World, they flattened those same distinctions into a broader sense of a coherent "whiteness" erected as a foil to the black majorities that daily surrounded them.

To be sure, Beasley's work will be read along with a growing literature devoted to religious expression in the Atlantic world. Following John K. Nelson, Beasley argues that the Atlantic frame allows one to see evidence of a "pervasive Anglican culture" in Barbados, Jamaica, and South Carolina linked not only geographically around the Atlantic but also temporally to the early traditions of Western Christendom. In this sense, state-sanctioned religion, tropical climates, black majorities, and the plantation system all conspired to produce a common religious culture. When articulated at its best, Beasley's view of the Atlantic brings not only institutional religion but also slavery and the plantation enterprise into sharp relief in different Atlantic sites. At times, however, Beasley treats the three sites of his "common religious culture" as interchangeable, using evidence from one to substantiate claims about the other.

Taken together, Beasley's work is an interesting and important contribution to the study of the religious cultures of the Atlantic World that will be useful both to scholars focused closely on the field and to those people interested more generally in the religions and cultures of the early Americas.

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BÁRBARA O. REYES. *Private Women, Public Lives: Gender and the Missions of the Californias*. (Chicana Matters Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 231. \$50.00.

This book examines how the colonizing mission system in Alta and Baja California shaped the lives of early indigenous and Spanish-speaking peoples by focusing on the experiences of three women: Bárbara Gandiaga, Eulalia Callis, and Eulalia Pérez. While scholars have explored issues of gender, conquest, and power in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California and have examined the lives of Callis and Pérez in particular, Bárbara O. Reyes's centering of women's relationships to the mission project (as she refers to it) brings their im-

portance in reproducing the social and racial hierarchies of power and the conquest and colonization of the region to the fore. In analyzing women's unequal relationships to the mission system, Reyes demonstrates that women's private lives were decidedly public and that private and public zones on the frontier overlapped, were dependent, and constantly changed.

This study shows that women's ability to circumvent the colonial order depended upon their status. While Eulalia Callis, an elite Spanish woman, publicly challenged her Spanish spouse's honor and was reprimanded for doing so, the Native woman Bárbara Gandiaga's accusation of the murder of two Spanish priests resulted in much harsher consequences: death by gunshot. Instances such as these, Reyes argues, points to a California socio-racial order in which Native women experienced coercion and violence, *mestizas* (racially mixed, Spanish-Indian women) exercised some mobility, especially if they worked for the mission project, and Spanish elite women had access to comforts denied to their lesser female peers, although they still had to follow Spanish codes of virtue and honor, which were oppressive to women.

This book, although relatively brief, is qualitatively rich, containing six chapters divided into two parts followed by eight appendices containing Spanish transcriptions (and English translations) of key archival documents. To provide readers with an understanding of the social, political, economic, and legal constraints in which the three women lived, the first part focuses on the religious orders—Jesuit, Dominican, Franciscan—that facilitated the conquest and colonization of both Californias. It describes the process through which the missionaries established and organized the mission system and how, in turn, they disrupted and reorganized local indigenous communities and societies. Part two gets to the heart of the book: the women and their relationships to the mission system. Chapter four focuses on the myth and history of Bárbara Gandiaga and her role in the murder of two missionaries. With only shreds of evidence, some of it based on legend, Reyes reconstructs the ways in which Gandiaga's alleged actions threatened the viability of the conquest and colonization of the region. Ultimately, as Reyes describes in rich detail, the authorities put Gandiaga to death in a public spectacle to reinforce the power of the colonial state. Chapter five then turns its attention to Eulalia Callis, who attempted to divorce her spouse; Spanish Governor Pedro Fages, for his infidelities with a Native girl. The religious authorities were not supportive, however, believing her move threatened male honor as well as the stability of the colonial enterprise. Unsurprisingly, the priests persuaded her to drop the petition, a move the religious and secular authorities repeated throughout the nineteenth century.

The last chapter examines the life and work of Eulalia Pérez, a *mestiza* and the famous *llavera* (key-keeper) of Alta California's Mission San Gabriel. Pérez's *testimonio* (narrative), gathered as part of Hubert Howe Bancroft's history of the region in the 1870s



and 1880s, demonstrates her significant roles in the mission system as well as the power relations that structured that institution. The priests, Reyes reminds us, imposed coercive roles and relations on their employees, particularly Indian laborers, and even forced Pérez, a widow with grown children, to remarry against her wishes.

The book under review draws heavily from secondary sources and quotes them liberally throughout. It promises to make a significant contribution to the fields of Chicana/o, Spanish Borderlands, the American West, and colonial Latin American history for its expansion of our understanding of the mission system in both Californias. Joining the chorus of recent scholars who have challenged Herbert Eugene Bolton's premise of the "missions as civilizing agents," Reyes rightfully points out that the mission project, while central in producing and reproducing colonial hierarchies, was not immune to challenges from within and without. Indigenous peoples, such as Gandiaga and her peers, Reyes demonstrates, posed real threats to the safety and security of the enterprise and its leadership, slowing considerably the pace and scope of the conquest and colonization. By uncovering the various ways in which Native and Spanish-speaking women, in particular, limited and shaped the public nature of the mission project, Reyes's work contributes to our knowledge of the complexities of gender, race, and social class on Mexico's northernmost frontier.

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KERRY WARD. *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*. (Studies in Comparative World History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 340. \$85.00.

The Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC) was the largest commercial enterprise during the *ancien régime* period. During its heyday the Company employed more than 40,000 personnel. Founded in 1602 by a charter granted by the Estates-General of the Dutch Republic, the VOC first thrived on privateering before establishing itself as a major trading enterprise in Asia. In addition to its headquarters in Amsterdam, the VOC had offices and warehouses in the major cities of the Dutch Republic, while the center of its overseas operations was Batavia on Java with subsidiary offices in the Near East, the coast of India, China, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Japan. The VOC has been described as "a state in the state" as the terms of its charter allowed the Company to decide about war and peace in the area east of the Cape of Good Hope.

In part, this book discusses the Company's almost insatiable demand for labor. Its most important labor market was situated in the Netherlands, as the Company required yearly around 4,000 new employees ranging from experienced captains to inexperienced teen-

age boys to sail their ships. In addition, the Company recruited large numbers of soldiers for service overseas. Between 1600 and 1800, the VOC sent about one million men to Asia, about forty percent of whom returned to Europe. About half the personnel came from surrounding countries, and most of these served in jobs in which the pay was low and the mortality high.

This book points out that the Company relied on the market for free labor in Europe, and on that for slaves in Asia. In Batavia, the number of Europeans in the employ of the Company was estimated at only around 5,000 during the middle of the eighteenth century, in Ceylon at 2,700, in North East Java at 1,750, and at the Cape at around 1,300. In addition, most of the settlements also housed "free burghers," i.e. immigrants from Europe or former employees of the Company who had decided to remain in Asia. In all of these settlements slaves performed most of the menial work either for the Company or as private slaves in the households of Europeans. Yet, the supply of slaves in Asia and the amount of available investment capital were not sufficient to start producing tropical cash crops that could compete with those from the colonial New World. On Java, the VOC franchised its sugar production to the Chinese, who were allowed to operate their own labor regime, using immigrant servile labor from China.

The area within the Company's domain that most resembled a New World colony was the Cape of Good Hope, the "tavern of two seas." Yet the Company's attempt at attracting larger numbers of European settlers failed. At the time of the British takeover about half the population consisted of slaves drawn from various areas in and around the Indian Ocean. Several studies including this one suggest that the Cape economy would have profited from more labor, be it free or unfree. Exiling law offenders from Batavia to the Cape was one way of increasing the labor supply. The majority of these exiles were slaves, but this book focuses on the elite: the European company servants and Asian nobles who had broken the law, a treaty, or an agreement. In order to explain how this trickle of forced migrants came into being, Kerry Ward does an excellent job in describing and explaining the organization and day-to-day operation of the VOC in Asia and South Africa. In this, you could have no better guide than Ward.

However, the exiles from Batavia would never solve the labor shortage at the Cape. Actually, many of them were high ranking Company officials and Javanese noblemen who increased the demand for servile labor at the Cape during their period of forced exile rather than diminishing it. Some of these elite exiles returned to Java, an option that was usually denied to the banished slaves. In spite of the truly excellent analysis of the administrative and judicial structures of the Company's operations in Asia, the title of this book promises more than its contents deliver. A comprehensive history of all



forced migration to the overseas settlements of the Dutch East India Company remains to be written.

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GARY Y. OKIHIRO. *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*. (The California World History Library.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 255. \$24.95.

This book by Gary Y. Okihiro is the second volume in a trilogy on history and its conventions of space and time. The first, *Island World* (2008), looked at the spatial categories of islands and continents through a history of Hawai'i's interaction with the United States, whereas *Pineapple Culture* "interrogates the tropical and temperate zones through the discursive and material career of the pineapple" (p. 1).

The book reads a bit like two books. The first three chapters are a dense, at times slow-moving, but innovative exploration of the long historical material and discursive engagement between temperate and tropical zones. The pineapple itself is nowhere to be found in these pages, a hint that the book is not a straightforward history of a commodity or place (i.e., Hawai'i) but rather a short history of the world that implicitly challenges the way we understand time and space. The first chapters look at how human wants fueled travel in the form of exploration, trade, and conquest, with a particular focus on how this travel not only forged empires in a material sense but eventually led Europeans down a path of geographic determinism in which "temperate" peoples were seen as inherently superior to their "tropical" counterparts. The narrative includes a fascinating discussion of the role of science and various bodies of knowledge in the building of empire, both materially and discursively.

These early chapters make for a compelling, if at times disjointed, read that is certainly worth the price of admission. Had they been more explicitly tied to the author's theoretical questioning of history as a linear narrative (which subtly informs the whole project), or to the final two-thirds of the book, which focus more squarely on the pineapple, the study itself would have been quite different, more coherent, but perhaps less imaginative.

The rest of the book is an innovative, highly readable, fast-moving reframing of world history with the pineapple, Hawai'i, and the practices of empire at the center. Although these chapters are filled with all sorts of pineapple lore, blending cultural studies, food history, anthropology, and transnational research, this is not a simple history of the pineapple or an argument about how important the pineapple has been to world history. Okihiro does take us through the early history of the pineapple, its "discovery," domestication, and eventual arrival as a luxury commodity in Europe before turning to its transformation into a plantation crop, affordable industrial fruit, and subject of advertising campaigns

and popular culture. The story also includes the rise of Dole Fruit and a particularly insightful exploration of Hawai'i in history. But Okihiro's archeology of the pineapple is far-flung, and ultimately about the creation, place, and practice of desire, empire, and historical writing as much as it is about the commodity itself.

Told in relatively few pages, this is an ambitious book that is geographically and temporally unbound, literally spanning the globe and thousands of years. It makes for an exciting, if at times random, read that interrogates history while writing it. Okihiro's ultimate contribution, aside from the wonderful exploration of the fruit's place in history, is his innovative look at the interplay of capitalism—the development of markets, empires, trading routes—and human desire. This is what makes the book unique, powerful, provocative, and at times a bit frustrating.

This book should be read and thought about, not only by those interested in the history of food or Hawai'i but by anyone interested in the geographies and histories of empire, science, and the uneven rise of modernist culture, as well as those of us interested in rethinking the very process of making and writing history.

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LEORA AUSLANDER. *Cultural Revolutions: Everyday Life and Politics in Britain, North America, and France*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 243. \$19.95.

It has been a long time since historians accepted that there were fundamental and self-evident links and parallels between the British upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century and the American and French revolutions of the eighteenth century. Leora Auslander's ambitious book revisits the question and sets out to show that all three convulsions were both symptoms and accelerators of deeper cultural transformations in the everyday life of the countries where they occurred. Below the public reconfigurations of state power, she contends, lay profound cultural currents bringing changes in clothing, food, entertainment, everyday décor, and public representations that were "not simply imposed by revolutionary thinkers and leaders, but generated by those who lived their politics more quietly" (p. 4). The changes in turn reflected the growth of commercialization and consumerism in all three societies. These developments proved as much a source of alarm as of satisfaction for revolutionaries keen to repudiate former ways and to foster behavior and tastes conducive to the perpetuation of revolutionary achievements.

Certain key assumptions underlie Auslander's approach. The most general is the widespread but deeply contestable belief, dear to cultural historians, that revolutions only happen when they become conceivable. More specifically, she clearly finds that the essence of all three cases was the creation of republics. Yet only in the American Revolution was this the goal right from the start. By far the most interesting sections of the

book, in fact, are the ones on the United States, where the contributions of Africans and Indians, not to mention women, to the elaboration of powerful and distinctive cultural habits in the new republic are convincingly explored. The colonists who became republicans were far more than the "provincial Englishmen" they have seemed to many historians too reliant on the evidence of the written word. Distance, slavery, the proximity of Native Americans, and more active patterns of female sociability gave the American revolutionaries and their heirs a character and way of life separate from their increasingly remote European cousins. Despite the worries of some Founding Fathers, an American republican culture scarcely needed to be fostered in order to ensure the survival of the new polity and its values. Traumatic as the process might have seemed to many at the time, it was easy enough (military effort apart) for such a society to throw off allegiance to George III and to give his descendants no further thought.

In Europe, the problem was quite different. Neither the men of 1642 in England nor those of 1789 in France had any thought of replacing monarchy. They were only led to it with extreme reluctance, over several years of crisis and fruitless attempts to cut deals with impossible monarchs. Auslander briefly acknowledges this but passes on all too quickly to the creation of republics, thereby minimizing the effort needed to create instant republican institutions and habits for unprepared populations. In France, this process half-worked, although the proof comes not from a relative dearth of contemporary evidence, which clearly perplexes the author, but from the resurfacing of republican traditions whenever successive attempts to restore monarchy collapsed. In Britain, the Cromwellian commonwealth left few traces except widespread revulsion, despite the overblown claims made in the concluding chapter here. Renewed arguments have recently been advanced that the true British revolution occurred not in the mid-seventeenth century but in 1688. Auslander, however, scarcely mentions a revolution once conventionally dubbed glorious. And many of the things she does mention are erroneous or misleading. She can never make up her mind whether she is talking about England or Britain. She misunderstands British doctrines of parliamentary representation, appears to think that Charles I fought a battle at Nottingham, and concludes that after 1660 crown and aristocracy really lost control of both polity and society. She substantially overestimates the numbers of the French nobility, is deeply confused on how the system of venal offices operated, and thinks that only the French king wore red heels. Nor was boycotting British goods in the 1760s an American invention: the Irish had tried it in the 1720s. Much of the interpretation of images and artifacts, finally, appears extremely dubious or fanciful.

Certainly there are bright insights and interesting ideas scattered throughout the text; although a sometimes convoluted style and an insistence on calling almost every secondary authority cited a historian (as if it was not obvious) makes for some turgid reading. But

in the end Auslander is trying to herd cats. The material is too diffuse, uneven, and contradictory to be fused into a coherent, much less convincing, argument. The reasons why earlier generations of historians abandoned trying to tie these three cases together remain as persuasive as ever.

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ROBIN PRIOR. *Gallipoli: The End of the Myth*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 288. \$35.00.

Was the Allied attack on the Gallipoli peninsula in 1915 a close miss, a campaign that nearly captured the Straits and the Ottoman capital, knocking the Ottoman Empire out of the war? And, if successful, would the occupation of the Straits and the capital have shortened the war considerably by freeing up Allied troops from the Caucasus to Iraq and Egypt and persuading the Balkan states to join the war? Could Allied success at Gallipoli have saved thousands of military and civilian lives and perhaps altered the entire course of the twentieth century by heading off Russian collapse and the triumph of Soviet communism, as has been widely speculated in so many previous studies of the campaign?

Robin Prior's excellent if somber new account leaves no room for entertaining such romantic counterfactuals. The plans for the campaign were ill conceived, mutating without much clear thinking from plans for a purely naval campaign to a combined naval and land operation with some 100,000 troops. Prior's meticulous analysis shows that responsibility cannot be placed only at the feet of Winston Churchill, who as First Lord of the Admiralty pushed for a greater offensive role for the navy in the war. After failing to secure approval for several operations in the North and Baltic seas, he convinced the War Council of the Dardanelles campaign. In Prior's estimation the members of the council, and especially Secretary of State for War Herbert Kitchener, veteran of the Mahdist and Boer wars and "expert of the east," and Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, should never have allowed themselves to be persuaded, or at least not without first interrogating and then rectifying aspects of how the campaign would be conducted. Many of the details, such as the considerable number of heavy and medium guns on the Asian side of the Straits, were never discussed. Much rode on the hope that Ottoman panic at the sight of the British fleet would lead to surrender in the capital. Churchill even made the fantastic claim that once the government was toppled, Ottoman troops could be hired as mercenaries to march on Austria-Hungary together with the armies of the Balkan states.

The reality looked very different. Minesweeping efforts were a fiasco. Spotter airplanes—tasked with reporting to the ships where shells were falling in relation to Ottoman targets—were weighed down so much by their new radio equipment that they were forced to fly within range of Ottoman rifle fire. Prior concludes that the campaign never stood a chance of success, and that

"Like many other 'lost opportunities' of the First World War, perhaps the opportunity was never there to be lost" (p. 176). From the Allied perspective Gallipoli has come to stand for great tragedy because of its great futility: a futile episode in a futile war. On the Ottoman, now Turkish, side, of course, Çanakkale (rather than Gallipoli, or Gelibolu) has occupied an entirely different place, one that accounts for the very different historiographic traditions that have emerged. On the Ottoman-Turkish side, victory in 1915 marks the beginning of Mustafa Kemal's liberation of the Turkish nation, and the naval attack is often seen as vindicating the decision of April 1915 to arrest Armenian leaders in the capital and to deport Christian populations from the southern Marmara region.

Over twenty detailed maps guide the reader through the engagement, which lasted eleven months, and twenty-four photographs show the men who fought and died in it. In his chilling calculation of killed and wounded, Prior concludes that Allied casualties reached 390,000. This figure includes non-battle casualties, as dysentery and other diseases infected some 5,000 troops per week by October 1915. Prior's casualty figures make the campaign more lethal than earlier estimates suggested. More than half of all Allied casualties were British but included troops from India and French Senegal. On the Ottoman side, casualty totals were similarly high, consisting of Turkish and Arab troops. In sum, this book sets a new standard for assessing the Allied Dardanelles campaign in 1915.

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ANDREAS FAHRMEIR. *Citizenship: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 299. \$60.00.

The history of citizenship—that is, the idea that all individuals should be members of a particular state to which they owe allegiance and which, in turn, gives them protection and guarantees their rights—has been inextricably linked to the rise of the modern nation-state. Although the nation-state is allegedly giving way to the forces of globalization, Andreas Fahrmeir cautions his readers that "any prophecy about citizenship's impending demise . . . will probably prove mistaken" (p. 232), the subtitle of his book notwithstanding. Indeed, as this excellent book suggests, equal citizenship rights in a democratic nation-state are a relatively recent achievement that, so far, few of its beneficiaries are willing to trade in for the promises of citizenship in supranational communities. By undertaking a comparison of four nations that includes Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany and stretches from the early modern era to the twenty-first century, Fahrmeir offers the most comprehensive historical account of citizenship in the Western world to date. Within the self-imposed confines of its analytical framework, his book represents an achievement unlikely to be surpassed any time soon. Drawing on an impressive

grasp of the vast literature on all four countries under study, the author combines detailed empirical knowledge with methodological rigor and a clear argument. Perhaps most remarkably, unlike many other historical comparisons, Fahrmeir does not merely tell parallel national stories but succeeds in integrating the comparative method at the subchapter level, giving all four countries equal weight.

Modifying Thomas Humphrey Marshall's well-known distinction among civil, political, and social rights, the author organizes his narrative around four major themes: formal citizenship reflected in the laws governing naturalization, migration, and the issuing of passports; political participation; the right to earn a living; and welfare entitlements. Fahrmeir relates these features of modern citizenship to class, race, ethnicity, gender, and religion as markers of social inclusion or exclusion. Although he concedes that formal citizenship tended to converge with political, economic, and social rights in the decades after World War II, the book demonstrates that the latter were never consistently linked to the former. Two partly conflicting dynamics, the author concludes, drove the evolution of citizenship since the late eighteenth century: the quest for emancipation, participation, and liberty on the one hand and the pursuit of efficiency by a constantly expanding administrative state on the other (pp. 230–231).

Fahrmeir is mostly interested in the efficiency part of the story which, he argues, had a greater impact on the emergence of modern citizenship than the "emancipatory logic" (p. 231). In fact, he explicitly embraces a "perspective from above" that "neglects the perspective of those affected by citizenship policies" (p. 7). This "top-down" approach comes at a considerable price, including an often technical language replete with legal and statistical information. More importantly, social movements are virtually absent from Fahrmeir's narrative. Legal and political change, it seems, occurred largely as an elite response to structural economic and social transformations or war-related mobilizations. The struggles for equal rights waged by the labor and women's movements or, for that matter, the African American civil rights movement as well as the dogged resistance their demands for full citizenship encountered scarcely play a role in Fahrmeir's study. For example, this reader found it hard to fathom that the author's account of the demise of Jim Crow segregation and the expansion of black voting rights in the postwar United States completely ignores the black civil rights movement as a key agent of change (pp. 179–180), alluding vaguely to "domestic debate" instead. Even a synthesis of citizenship policies that emphasizes continuity and structural forces should at least include a few paragraphs on the significance of "bottom-up" pressures, unless it intends to send the message that these were negligible altogether.

Moreover, Fahrmeir's claim that the duties attached to citizenship, especially military service, had little bearing on the extension of rights of citizenship (p. 8)

appears to be somewhat at odds with his focus on the state's search for efficiency. Actually, the author frequently refers to the state's interest in maximizing the numbers of soldiers, the equalizing effects of wartime sacrifices, and the need to reward loyalty by granting rights (pp. 65, 119, 138, 231). At least in the American case the "citizen soldier" has arguably been an important discursive arsenal for women and minorities seeking inclusion, participation, and welfare entitlements.

In sum, Fahrmeir's book leaves the reader with an ambivalent impression. As a comparative history of the laws, policies, and administrative practices that shaped citizenship in four major Western countries, it is undoubtedly an admirable accomplishment. But in its deliberate omission of emancipatory movements and moments, it appears unnecessarily rigid.

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### ASIA

CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH. *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xxv, 472. \$35.00.

Christopher I. Beckwith is known as a prolific specialist in historical linguistics—see, for example, his recent work, *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages III* (2008). He has tackled historical subjects in the past, and his most notable work in that field is the highly regarded *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (1987). The present volume, an ambitious study of 5,000 years of Central Eurasian history, represents a bold departure from his previous work.

At the onset, Beckwith sets out a number of objectives. Following a passionate rejection of "Modernism and its hyper-Modern mutation, Postmodernism" (p. x), he announces his intention "to write a realistic, objective view of the history of Central Eurasia" (p. xii) from the Bronze Age to the present, and to do so in a way that is accessible to the non-specialist. One of his more important goals is to dispel the notion that Central Eurasian peoples were "barbarians" who eked out a meager existence as pastoral nomads in the steppe as they waited for the next opportunity to invade their more "civilized" sedentary neighbors. Throughout the volume he mounts a vigorous defense of the Central Eurasians, and in this regard he goes so far as to turn the received wisdom on its head: "Recognition of the struggles of the Central Eurasian peoples against the more than two-millennia-long mistreatment by their peripheral neighbors is long overdue. The warriors of Central Eurasia were not *barbarians*. They were heroes, and the epics of their peoples sing their undying fame" (p. xxv).

Beckwith pursues these and other goals through twelve chapters that cover Central Eurasian history

chronologically from the age of epic traditions and chariot warriors to the twenty-first century, taking readers from Europe to the Pacific and from the tundra to the Indian Ocean. An important focus of the volume is Beckwith's concept of the "Central Eurasian Culture Complex," which, he argues, emerged in the Bronze Age among the proto-Indo-European peoples, who were indigenous to Central Eurasia. The central features of this "Culture Complex" are a common foundation myth and the *comitatus*, a political system in which a group of warriors pledged their undying loyalty to their leader. From the time of the Scythians, Central Eurasians flourished—economically, culturally, and politically—at the center of the great Silk Road trade and communication system that linked the Eurasian periphery. Incursions from short-sighted peripheral powers (e.g., China and Rome) periodically disrupted this equilibrium, leading to the collapse of the *comitatus*-based states. This change then led to the disruption of overland trade and the subsequent collapse of the peripheral states themselves. This collapse was then followed by the emergence of a new *comitatus* power in Central Eurasia and the stabilization of the Eurasian socio-economic and political system, until that too was upset by another incursion from the periphery, and so on.

Beckwith locates the permanent break in this cycle in chapter ten, "The Road is Closed," with the rise of Portuguese commercial activity in the Indian Ocean and the European establishment of a "Littoral" system that brought the continental Silk Road trade to an end. According to Beckwith, "the closing of the borders, severe restrictions of international trade, and elimination of all significant Central Eurasian polities destroyed the economy of Central Eurasia . . . The direct result was the severe impoverishment of Central Eurasia—especially its center, Central Asia—and its rapid plunge backward into darkness in technology and every other aspect of culture" (pp. 241–242). He continues, "Central Eurasia suffered from the most severe, long-lasting economic depression in world history. It declined into oblivion, while the coastal regions of Eurasia, nurtured by the commercially minded European navies, prospered as they never had before" (p. 262).

The final two chapters bring the saga, as envisioned by Beckwith, to the modern day, as the Russian and Chinese empires carved up Central Eurasia and subjected it to the "onslaught of radical modernism" that led to the region's utter collapse. The volume ends with an epilogue on "The Barbarians" (pp. 320–362) and two more specialized appendices, one on "The Proto-Indo-Europeans and Their Diaspora" (pp. 363–375) and a second on "Ancient Central Eurasian Ethnonyms" (pp. 375–383).

Beckwith presents his theories authoritatively, but there is a tendency toward oversimplification and there is much with which informed readers will disagree. To cite just one example, the notion of a Central Asian decline in the early modern era and the relationship between the regional economy and the growing Euro-



pean maritime trade in the Indian Ocean remain points of ongoing research and debate. Still, this volume is certain to provoke lively discussion across the field.

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JACQUELINE H. FEWKES. *Trade and Contemporary Society along the Silk Road: An Ethno-History of Ladakh*. (Routledge Contemporary Asia Series, number 8.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xiii, 196. \$170.00.

This book seeks to present an ethnohistory of Ladakhi merchant communities who conducted trade along the old Silk Road linking South and Central Asia during the early twentieth century until trade ended when India and China closed their borders in 1962. The city of Leh in Ladakh was an entrepôt in this trade between Central and South Asia, and it is here in Leh that Jacqueline H. Fewkes discovered what she describes as an "archive" of personal and business papers kept by descendants of two early twentieth-century traders, Bahauddin Khan and his son Shamsuddin Khan, whom she describes as "two Arghun caravan route officials in Leh" (p. xi). This archive, the majority of which dates between 1900 and 1948, forms the documentary basis of her study.

The anthropologist author supplements the Khan archive with interviews of the descendants of other traders, including some whose names and addresses she finds in the archive and tracks down in Hoshiarpur and Amritsar. Contrary to a popular belief that Ladakhi trade with Central Asia was primarily in silk and pashmina, the documents attest to trade in a wide range of goods, "carpets, cloth, synthetic dyes, manufactured pharmaceuticals, drugs, weaponry, household items, jewelry, and clothing" (p. xi). But the principal interest of the author is not the things traded or trade itself, about which there is little in the book, but in the identities of the trading communities.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one describes the setting and maps out three caravan routes that linked Leh to Lhasa, to Central Asia, and south to the Punjab. Part two is the book's core, wherein the author analyzes three key components that define who caravan traders were. The first characteristic and a central focus of the author's interest is community identity; of special interest is the meaning of Arghun identity, the group to which the Khan family belonged. The author explains that informants commonly identified merchants by their occupational specialty and the place where they were from (e.g., "banker from Khotan") or simply where they were from (e.g., "Yarkendi," "Afghani"). During the heyday of trade, the Leh bazaar was cosmopolitan and a site of many languages. Traders were also identified by ethnic terms. Hors are Uyghurs from Central Asia, and Lala or Gaddi are Hindus from the Punjab, for example. Among these groups, the author considers the Arghun special because they do not fit her sense of a classic definition of ethnic group. She contends the Arghun are a uniquely cosmopolitan group created through intermarriage between Sunni

Muslim men from Central Asia and local Ladakhi Buddhist women who converted to Islam. The couples and their descendants are Arghun. Today, Arghun identity is ambiguous: they are a subset of Ladakhi in one sense, but as Muslims they are excluded under Indian law from claiming the benefits of local identity. In a later chapter, the reader learns that Indian identity politics and religious communalism in the 1980s have fueled this alienation and made Arghuns targets of attack. One wonders then, are not the Arghuns a classic example of the plasticity of ethnic attribution?

The second characteristic of traders is that they pursued one of four occupational strategies associated with the old caravan trade: *Aqsaqal*, literally "white beard," seem to have functioned like respected elders or minor officials in caravan trade. Middlemen were the second occupational category, and *Aqsaqals* often also fulfilled this function perhaps because their respected status enabled them to facilitate trade. *Kiraiyakash* were the people who provided caravan horses, mules, and dzo and who transported goods. The fourth category were *munshi*, sometimes *patawari*: persons literate in official languages, who wrote up the documents of trade.

The third characteristic of traders and a key feature of the author's argument is the cosmopolitan character of the traders and of their goods. She describes three commodities in particular to make her case and to demonstrate how commodities linked trade to industrial production around the world: cotton piece goods, especially British and Japanese manufactures; synthetic dyes; and drugs produced from *Cannabis indica*. In short, both Arghun and the commodities they traded were cosmopolitan. The final chapter in this central section of the book describes the demise of trade with the closing of borders.

Part three concludes the book including a brief discussion of how many of the Uyghur traders immigrated to Turkey in the 1960s financed by the Turkish government, which had embraced them as Turkic people.

Readers who hope to find a carefully documented ethnohistory will be disappointed by this book. The author obfuscates her sources and includes little ethnographic detail about the traders, their kin networks, and the nature of trade itself. The discussions about community identities and what has happened to them, however, add to knowledge of these fascinating caravan traders.

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BRIGITTE BAPTANDIER. *The Lady of Linshui: A Chinese Female Cult*. Translated by KRISTIN INGRID FRYKLUND. (Asian Religions and Cultures.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 374. \$65.00.

This work, an expanded translation of the author's *La Dame-du-bord-de-l'eau* (1998), is an important addition to explorations of Chinese religion and local history through the study of cults. Like Xiaofei Kang's *Cult of*



*the Fox: Power, Gender, and Popular Religion in Late Imperial and Modern China* (2005), Brigitte Baptandier's study is also a contribution to gender history, for it is about the cult of a female deity, Chen Jinggu, her mediums, the Daoist sect that she dominates, and the women who seek help from her. The cult articulates the needs and sufferings of women and children, glorifying the feminine and offering rituals to assist women's fertility and their children's survival. The book's central themes are the mythic sufferings of Chen Jinggu, who in becoming a deity voluntarily aborted her fetus and died as she tried to save her community from drought, and the lives of the women who frequent her temples. The author seeks to recapture the feminine strain in Daoism, lost in its mainstream traditions but preserved in the Mount Lü Sannai tradition identified with Chen Jinggu. She indicates, though, that escape from China's patrilineal society is available only to mediums and shamans like Chen Jinggu herself. Replete with information on Chinese myth and ritual, this book explores in subtle detail the resonances between women's needs and the cosmological, astral, and bodily patterns familiar in Daoist thinking.

Historians, especially those outside the China field, will find the author's approach unfamiliar. The book is not based on conventional historical records such as gazetteers or dynastic histories and it is certainly not presented as history: "[n]o doubt it sometimes jumbles the way historians would arrange things," the ethnologist-author confesses (p. 261). Baptandier's main written source is the *Linshui pingyao zhuan* (*Pacification of the Demons of Linshui*), a virtually canonical linked series of stories of uncertain authorship about Chen Jinggu, who Baptandier believes lived during the Tang dynasty (618–906), and Chen Jinggu's apotheosis. The method of the first six chapters is to develop one theme at a time, more or less according to the chronology of Chen Jinggu's story. The iconography and ritual in the temples of today guide the author in these chapters. The last four chapters are based on Baptandier's ethnographic research before 1987 in Taiwan, and since then in Fujian. By bringing together Daoist cults, folk mythology, and popular fiction, Baptandier demonstrates "the close relations that exist between the acts, beliefs, rites, and myths that are usually treated independently" (p. 261). If anyone doubts the unity of Chinese religion, despite its polytheistic and polymorphous nature, this book ought to convince him or her.

The book's idiosyncratic arrangement draws attention to correlations and persisting meanings, not to historical change, yet it contains information about important historical processes linking religion and local social history. There is the story of the cult itself. As in the case of other deity stories, an individual's meritorious deeds transcend a bad death. This process transforms the individual into a deity and establishes a relationship of mutual dependence with her community. Belief in this deity gradually expands far beyond a local following. This expansion was assisted not just by "splitting incense" for new communities and by imperial canon-

ization, but by the spread of Chen Jinggu's story in the vernacular, a story whose content serves to boost the cult in numerous ways: it attaches the deity to the events of local history in Fujian in its ninth-century foundation as the kingdom of Min; it assimilates subordinate spirits to become assistants and, eventually, objects of secondary worship in the Lady's temples. These spirits notably include the Thirty-six Concubines whom the White Snake disguised as the empress displaced from the King of Min's palace. The story also absorbs tamed demons, including the White Snake (the object of a pre-Chinese shaman cult) within the persona of Chen Jinggu, and it puts down rival cults and sects through personified representations. One of these personifications, whom the Lady defeats in battle, represents the rival Mount Mao sect. Besides these ideological elements, attentive readers will be able to find in this work much evidence of the syncretic process by which Chinese culture was standardized in the late imperial period.

One has to work to extract these diachronic themes, and it must be said that the introductory and closing words give little direction. Yet, Baptandier's authority as an ethnographer of Chinese religion is impressive and her familiarity with relevant Daoist sources is unmatched. Readers may prefer to begin at the end with the straightforward account of the Lady's medium in Tainan and the excellent middle chapters on the rituals of the flowers and the passes showing the temple's relationship of women and children. The difficult and often speculative first chapter, on sexual categories, might well be left to the end. For China historians, this book is an authoritative addition to other work on the spread of cults and will repay close reading.

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JOANNA HANDLIN SMITH. *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 405. \$34.95.

The importance of private philanthropy in premodern China has long been recognized by historians, but for monographs on the subject one has had to turn to works in East Asian languages. Joanna Handlin Smith's *The Art of Doing Good* will not satisfy readers who require a chronological account of charity in China, but it provides an extraordinarily detailed account of benevolent societies in east-central and northern China in the last decades of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). One might equally well describe the book as a contribution to the study of premodern China's social elite, the so-called "gentry," whose core consisted of men qualified for bureaucratic office through examination success, but considered in their role as members of their home communities, where they were not permitted to hold bureaucratic posts. The book deepens our understanding of gentry identity by portraying a few gentry philanthropists through their own eyes and projects. Although by no means neglecting the various ways in

which being charitable served class and personal self-interest, the author generally constructs a strikingly empathetic account of her protagonists, who are credited with authentic philanthropic spirit as well as other motivations, such as self-importance. It is good to see some unabashed acknowledgement of philanthropic instincts in this very careful work of scholarship.

Handlin Smith describes late Ming philanthropy—everything from saving the lives of animals to feeding famine victims and sponsoring their medical care—through the activities of four elite leaders of benevolent associations, and one semi-elite co-founder “relegated to the role of . . . gofer” (p. 140). Her fullest treatment is of two individuals who kept detailed diaries, the high-brow Qi Biaoja, *quondam* official and semireformed devotee of luxury garden-keeping, and Lu Shiyi, a government student and minor author. Qi’s self-representation is as a tireless and highly competent relief organizer who is in the right in his debates with peers about philanthropic policy, and who prepares the plans that guide the actions of benevolent associations. Despite his youth (thirty-nine in the famine year of 1641), he is confident in his dealings with officials, who bow to his superior organizational foresight and intelligence. By contrast, Handlin Smith portrays Lu as a man of narrower horizons who lacked Qi’s strategic perspective on relief work. Preoccupied with moral self-improvement, Lu used his diary as a spiritual account book, noting the day-to-day fluctuations in his attentiveness to virtue. The chapter devoted to him is a timely contribution to recent studies of seventeenth-century Chinese subjectivity in general and introspective journals in particular. We are beginning to understand the limitations of the conventional view that Confucian culture was distinctively communitarian—a polar opposite to the supposedly individualistic culture of the West.

The book’s great strength lies in its close portrayal both of the organizational efforts of these gentry, and of their inner lives as they struggled for effectiveness in “doing good.” A fuller contextualization of the phenomena described would still have been welcome. Handlin Smith notes more than once that where the state features in her story, it does not fit the image of the moribund establishment of a terminally declining dynasty. To the contrary, officials such as the famous Chen Zilong displayed appropriate diligence and retained their authority. But who today assumes that a uniformly feckless, demoralized provincial bureaucracy was *de rigueur* for moribund Chinese dynasties? A time-travelling eighteenth-century Chinese official might, on the other hand, have diagnosed dynastic decline in 1640s China by the very fact that the gentry were carrying a larger share of the responsibility for famine relief than would have been theirs under the meticulous state paternalism of high-Qing times. What level of involvement in the planning and delivery of famine relief was normal for the high-Ming state? In *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (2003), Roger V. Des Forges narrates a late (and tardy) sixteenth-century re-

lief operation that was funded largely by the central government and directed by a specially appointed official with previous relief experience. He represents this effort as the last strong performance of a declining Ming relief system (pp. 34–35). One wonders how the respectable local people selected to run philanthropic granaries (pp. 52–53) in that purportedly state-directed operation would have portrayed their role. Would they too have made themselves the heroes of initiatives and advisors of officials? Future research might attempt an integrative account of the ebbs and flows of the respective shares of state and private effort in famine relief over the whole Ming-Qing period, refining what is already known about the eighteenth-century demarcation of responsibilities. Not only would such an investigation seek precision in distinguishing trans-dynastic trends from cyclical phenomena; it would also take full account of the credit-claiming tendencies of sources written from both the state and private viewpoints.

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PAUL A. COHEN. *Speaking to History: The Story of King Goujian in Twentieth-Century China*. Foreword by JOHN R. GILLIS. (Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes, number 16. A Philip E. Lilienthal Book in Asian Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 354. \$39.95.

Historians have long been aware of the role that narrative making plays when they write the past as history and create historical explanations. However, reality, reference, and representation not only work together when author-historians write history. They can also come together when historical subjects imagine history by retrieving the contents of a shared cultural reservoir of stories and symbols and applying it to make sense of their experiences. This process is convincingly demonstrated by Paul A. Cohen in his superb new book that traces the powerful reemergence of an ancient story in China’s turbulent twentieth century, when Chinese society faced a dangerous combination of external threats and internal discord. The story that is at the center of the book dates back to the fifth century B.C. King Goujian, the ruler of the Kingdom of Yue, fell out with the Kingdom of Yue in one of the last major conflicts of the Spring and Autumn period. After initial defeat, King Goujian devised a long-term strategy to outflank his rival and eventually to lead his state to victory. During the long years it took him to prepare for his country’s ultimate victory, Goujian never indulged himself in luxuries but instead ate simple food and forced himself to taste gall. He wanted to remember his earlier humiliations by means of this practice. The popular Chinese idiom “sleeping on brushwood and tasting gall” refers specifically to Goujian’s unrelenting determination to seek revenge and victory through constantly recalling a past defeat.

This story was revived time and again in China’s modern period. When confronting Western imperialism,

references to King Goujian were included in the endless calls not to forget the nation's humiliation at the hands of Western powers. In China's war against Japan, too, the story served as vehicle to drum up support and unite the country behind Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist leader. The Chinese people were told to seek inspiration in the model of King Goujian and patiently to prepare for the day of victory and strive for the cleansing of the national humiliation. After Chiang Kai-shek lost the civil war and had to retreat to the island of Taiwan, the story of Goujian again resonated in powerful ways with the Nationalist goal of reversing the humiliating defeat in 1949. Even Chiang Kai-shek's communist opponents were not immune to the power of this story. In the early 1960s, Mao Zedong's policy of the Great Leap Forward on the mainland coincided with an outright King Goujian fever: the emphasis now was on self-reliance and perseverance, on the Chinese people building their own brand of socialism independent of the great brother Soviet Union. Even in the contemporary period Cohen finds numerous fascinating references to King Goujian, testifying to the unabated power of the narrative in an age of commercialization. The meanings, however, now appear in more diverse ways as in the present King Goujian's story is no longer exclusively tied to patriotic usages in the tradition of national humiliation; the story has also become privatized, related more to personal rather than collective experiences. Cohen maintains that the multiple and frequent uses of the Goujian story rested on its astounding adaptability, which allowed it to speak to some of the more important events in twentieth-century China by offering emotional support and encouragement in times of crises and defeat. What Cohen calls "insider cultural knowledge" was repeatedly mobilized for working through traumatizing episodes of history.

Cohen has examined an impressive wealth of texts created throughout the twentieth century, mainly from literature, newspaper articles, and theater plays. Most of his sources have received little or no attention in scholarly studies. They offer fascinating glimpses into Chinese sensibilities and perceptions, although some of Cohen's long summations of the sources tend to be a little tedious. There also are some questions that would have been fruitful to pursue further. How central was the Goujian story in comparison to other symbols and ceremonies, both modern and traditional? Does it make a difference when historical subjects resort to this and not to other stories? In this context, it is regrettable that Cohen's study mainly focuses on the texts and their writers but leaves out the equally crucial question of how a broader audience responded to the circulation of the story. Finally, what does it say about Chinese nationalism when a story of revenge and humiliation was so central to its narrative?

These questions notwithstanding, Cohen's book brilliantly defines and illustrates the importance of narrating and narration in shaping historical experiences. He argues that narratives such as King Goujian's form a cultural resource that binds communities together. He

explores in detail some of the consequences of such a cultural repertoire and its repeated symbolic sharing for historical sensitivity and sensibility, cultural assertion, and historical representation. This sharing occurs in and beyond the textual in art, public history, and performance. Combining theory with history, Cohen's book compellingly expands the boundaries of the discipline and charts a new role for unconventional historical forms and modes of expression.

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KLAUS MÜHLHAHN. *Criminal Justice in China: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 365. \$29.95.

This book is a splendid survey of an important subject. Klaus Mühlhahn's focus is primarily on the institutional practice of punishment in twentieth-century China. Discussions of the other aspects of the criminal justice system—the development of the court system, the spread of new forms of legal consciousness, the professionalization of legal representation, and so on—appear, if at all, only to provide the supplementary context to the main concerns of the study. The complex history of penal practices in imperial China, too, is confined to a single chapter under the suggestive title of "The Right Degree of Pain," which sets the scene for the examination in detail of the changes of the twentieth century. Still, Mühlhahn has set himself a challenging agenda. This book, he notes, "examines not only how justice is handled in legal procedures but also how it operates in political, social, and cultural terms: embodied in power mechanisms, traditions, value systems, ideas, and social structure" (p. 4). He intends "to bring to the fore the complexity of human institutions and the ambiguity of human agency in history" (p. 10). Furthermore, although Mühlhahn acknowledges that the use of the testimonies of survivors to reconstruct the experience of prisoners raises "fundamental issues" of representing and interpreting history, he still gives voice to those who were victimized and traumatized by the Chinese criminal justice system (pp. 9, 13).

These goals constitute quite a tall order, but Mühlhahn takes on the tasks with an admirably systematic approach that complements his ambitious objectives. Indeed, the great strength of Mühlhahn's study is that he has brought together a number of disparate issues, some of which have been tackled by other scholars in the past, and woven them together into a coherent narrative on the evolution of penal practices in China. In doing so, he is able to highlight some of the key features, such as the use of labor within the system, and to give the reader a good sense of both the continuity and the change throughout the entire period. For example, the first of his three chapters dealing with the twentieth century—"The Prison Regime"—that covers the period from the fall of the Qing to the Japanese invasion could be read fruitfully in conjunction with Frank

Dikötter's *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China* (2002). Like Dikötter, Mühlhahn finds the republican prison to be "an institution characterized by a remarkable hybridity, an outcome of this melding of elements from different social and cultural origins" (p. 124).

Mühlhahn then turns to an examination of Chinese penal practices during the war years. While the shortest of the three main chapters, this chapter is also perhaps the most novel. Titled "Trials of Terror," it shows that from 1938 to 1949, "the GMD [Guomindang] government started to open up a number of internment camps for holding alleged political enemies and members of oppositional groups" (p. 132). At the same time, in the communist-controlled areas, the penal regime was "based on the ideas of reeducation, thought reform, and the benefits of hard physical labor" (p. 147). Mühlhahn concludes that "while the systems in areas under CCP [Chinese Communist Party] and GMD rule were based on different theories and regulations, it is striking that similar developments on both sides pushed the respective criminal justice systems in comparable directions" (p. 171).

The last of the three main chapters—"Reform through Labor"—provides a finely grained analysis of the penal regime in the first thirty years of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the eve of the reform era in 1978. Adding to the earlier works of Michael Dutton, Børge Bakken, Hongda Harry Wu, and others, and utilizing the recent steady stream of literary works and memoirs by ex-prisoners, Mühlhahn's chapter—over a hundred pages in length—is a superb synthesis of the various strands of penal practices of the Chinese government. The penal regime of the PRC, Mühlhahn reminds us, was in some ways quite decentralized. There were a "wide range of informal, administrative, and criminal punishments available to several adjudicating bodies" (p. 220), which resulted in a "comprehensive, nationwide, yet somewhat scattered and unregulated system of penal labor" (p. 227). As he did with his chapter on the republican period, Mühlhahn looks to the writings of the prisoners to provide a human dimension to his narrative. Those who are familiar with that literature would probably not be surprised by Mühlhahn's remark that, despite the penal regime's avowed goal of re-education, "[w]hat comes through most clearly in the writings of many who were inmates in the Laogai [Reform through Labor] is that what they actually encountered was not so much a process of remaking as one of deprivation and loss" (p. 275).

Mühlhahn ends with a short review of the changes in the criminal justice system in the reform era of the last generation. For anyone who welcomes an intelligent, succinct yet comprehensive work on the modern Chinese penal system from a historical perspective, this volume has undoubtedly set the standard. For the specialist, there is the minor irritant of the absence of a bibliography and Chinese characters; the omission of

the latter is unfortunate given the importance of legal discourse to Mühlhahn's analysis.

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*University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]*

JAY TAYLOR. *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 722. \$35.00.

Chiang Kai-shek dominated the history of China during the twentieth century along with his rival, Mao Zedong. He is often portrayed in Western scholarship as a dictator and the man who presided over a corrupt regime that lost China to the communists in 1949. Now Jay Taylor, drawing on a wide range of sources, especially Chiang's personal diaries, has produced a "revisionist" work that provides fresh insights into Chiang, the soldier, the revolutionary, the conservative, the nationalist leader, the national hero during the War of Resistance against Japan, and the man who ruled Taiwan from 1950 to 1974.

The book is divided into four parts. Part one is concerned with the growth of a young man, his early education at home and in Japan, the Nationalist revolution in which he was deeply involved, and the "Nanjing decade" that followed. During those years, Chiang showed himself to be a stubborn, lustful, ambitious, and short-tempered man. Yet Taylor finds him "a pragmatic compromiser, backing down and making concessions to warlords, Japanese, Communists, and Americans in negotiated settlements that he considered tactically wise" (p. 52). Chiang was crafty and suspicious of people around him, yet Taylor sees him as a neo-Confucian, shrewd, sincere, and "not at heart a cynical man" (p. 52). Despite the Blue Shirts movement in the 1930s, Taylor considers Chiang fascist "neither in ends nor in means" (p. 101), contrary to the view held by the late Lloyd E. Eastman and others.

The second part of the book focuses on the War of Resistance. Taylor's aim is to demonstrate that Chiang, not Mao, was devoted to fighting the Japanese from beginning to end. In Taylor's account, Chiang stubbornly defended the nation and eventually brought victory home through his dealings with his American allies and the Soviet Union.

Part three on the civil war highlights the role of the U.S. government in seeking a political settlement to the war: first the failed Marshall mission and then American aid in airlifting Nationalist troops to Manchuria. Taylor corrects the view stated in the U.S. State Department's *United States Relations with China, With Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949* (1949) that Chiang had acted against American advice on Manchuria, where Nationalist defeats soon led to the demise of his regime. According to Taylor, Chiang did not blame the Americans for the loss of China. Instead, he blamed



his fractious and undisciplined party and army; his own failure to have built a modern effective organization; and the Soviet Union, which provided material support to the Communists. Chiang could have also blamed himself for his military and strategic miscalculations in the battle for Manchuria and North China.

Part four is about Chiang's last twenty-five years in Taiwan. Here, Taylor recounts the story of Washington's shifting policies toward Taiwan and Beijing under successive administrations during the Cold War; how Chiang sought to secure American aid in defense of Taiwan and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu; and his dream of eventually "recovering the mainland." Additionally, Taylor writes about the economic development of Taiwan under Chiang's rule.

This book has considerable strengths: wide coverage, meticulous details, rare revelations, fresh insights, and readability. It is extremely interesting, mixing scholarly research with occasional anecdotal accounts, including Soong Meiling's alleged one-night-stand with Wendell Willkie. However, the book is not without its shortcomings. Unabashedly pro-Chiang, Taylor paints an exceedingly positive portrait of him, even though he acknowledges that Chiang was "a highly contradictory figure" (p. 2). Like Mao, Chiang was a complex man. Yet Taylor readily accepts Chiang's view of himself as "a moral, sincere, up-to-date Confucian Christian . . . motivated less by the desire for personal power than by a vision of a unified, modern, independent China" (p. 10). In attempting to "revise" previous scholarship, Taylor has gone too far. Although conscious of Chiang's failings and personality flaws, he is quick to defend Chiang's behavior and actions at almost every point, and tends to take Chiang's words at face value, even though Chiang's diaries have been edited by writers from within the Nationalist Party and the Chiang family. He seldom suspects Chiang's ulterior motives. Instead, he views Chiang as a "naively earnest and conscientious man" who "was not ruthless or violent by nature" (p. 591).

In Taylor's final analysis, Chiang was a man with a vision for a modern China that could be realized only through national unity, a strong government, and a disciplined populace willing to sacrifice for the defense of the country. Like Mao, Chiang was committed to a unified China. Taylor does not hold Chiang responsible for the loss of China, even though the Communists were surprised at the speed at which the Nationalist troops were defeated during 1947–1949. Also, while calling Chiang a dictator, Taylor seems to think that he laid the foundations for a democratic Taiwan. All of these conclusions make refreshing reading, but not all will be widely shared. In fact, Taylor's reassessment of the Generalissimo is a reminder of the Nationalist Party's official view that Chiang was a filial son, a self-disciplined neo-Confucian, a national hero, and a great leader.

The book also contains a number of errors. Sun Yat-sen was *zongli* at the founding in 1905 of the Revolutionary Alliance, not *zongcai* (p. 17); Chiang Ching-kuo

was not elected *zongcai* following his father's death (p. 585); Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin were not editors of *Minbao* (p. 19); the warlord period did not begin after the Wuchang Uprising (p. 21); and the Taiwan Governor Chen Yi and the Communist General Chen Yi were not of the same name (p. 370). Typographical errors include Chen Jitang, not Chen Jidang (p. 111); Shao Lizi, not Shao Lici (pp. 405, 406); Song Xilian, not Song Xiliang (p. 418); Cao Juren, not Cao Zhuren (p. 459); and Iris Chang, not Irish Chang (p. 626, n. 58).

Nonetheless, this is a major work of scholarship that will be widely read by students of modern Chinese history and politics.

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MARCIA R. RISTAINO. *The Jacquinet Safe Zone: Wartime Refugees in Shanghai*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 206. \$27.95.

This is a compact, well-researched biography of the French Jesuit Father Robert Charles Emile Jacquinet de Besange, whose relief work with refugees in Shanghai saved about half a million lives during World War II (or, as the Chinese call it, the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan) in 1937–1945. In contrast to the widespread attention given to "China's Schindler," the German Nazi John Rabe, for his efforts to save many Chinese during the Nanjing Massacre, or the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, who rescued over 70,000 Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust, Father Jacquinet's "humanitarian service" has been little known to China specialists or the reading public. Marcia R. Ristaino aims to redress that imbalance with this valuable study of Jacquinet's life and accomplishments.

Born on March 15, 1878, to an aristocratic family in Saintes, Jacquinet received a vigorous, well-rounded priestly training before he was sent by the Society of Jesus in 1913 to serve in Shanghai. In the early twentieth century, China was in a state of constant social disorder and political violence. Athletic, intelligent, and full of confidence, the young missionary quickly distinguished himself as "a man of action" widely admired among Shanghai elites for his superb organizational skill and fearless commitment to "alleviating crises" (p. 31). When Japan invaded Shanghai in August 1937, Father Jacquinet was vicar of the new parish of St. Pierre and a professor of English at Aurora University in the French Concession. He was also senior chaplain to the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and involved in the Famine Relief Committee and the International Committee for the Social Welfare of Shanghai. These positions enabled him to play a key role in providing safety for victims of the war.

The Japanese attack brought havoc to the Chinese districts of Shanghai and forced millions of Chinese people to try to find refuge in the foreign settlements. The authorities in the foreign settlements were reluctant to let in all these refugees for fear of social chaos and political trouble. In this context, Father Jacquinet



championed the creation of a “safe zone” in the war-torn Nanshi district to save the refugees. As he explained, the “safe zone” was “purely and simply what it is called: a district of safety for the non-combatants” (p. 55). Establishing this zone was a seemingly impossible task, yet through determination and relentless negotiations with the Chinese government, Japanese army, and the French Concession authorities, he made it happen. Many refugees found safety—and a measure of normality—in the “Jacquinot safe zone.” To maintain the zone, Father Jacquinot raised funds and mobilized support in Shanghai and abroad, and he courageously and skillfully navigated the complex politics of wartime Shanghai. The safe zone concept was subsequently copied in other parts of China, and especially famous among them was the zone in Nanjing during the Japanese massacre. As a result of Father Jacquinot’s courage and organizational skills, about half a million lives were saved in the war. In 1940, as many refugees were repatriated to their hometowns, he was ordered by the Jesuits to return home, allegedly in order to “serve in French relief and protection work” (p. 135). The Shanghai safe zone was closed. Father Jacquinot failed to establish a safe zone for the victims of Nazi attacks in France. He died in 1946. Although he was unable to realize his vision of refugee protection in his own country, the legacy of his safe zone in China lived on. The “Jacquinot Safe Zone” was cited as a shining example of the protection of civilians in countries at war in both the Protocols and Commentaries to the Geneva Convention of 1949.

Drawing on archival research in different parts of the world and written in a simple, clear prose, this book makes a significant contribution to the study of World War II in China. It also draws attention to the subject of refugees in modern warfare by bringing to light the important figure of Father Jacquinot. Ristaino, however, stops short at delving into the complexity of her subject’s life and the world of intrigues in which he tried to save victims of the war. For example, we learn that the Jesuit priest was criticized by some of his colleagues for his “independence that is a little disquieting . . . [hence] unable to have full confidence in the methods of his mission” (p. 54), yet the book has little discussion about these criticisms. Were they triggered by Jacquinot’s insistence in enmeshing himself in Chinese and Japanese politics and the political activities of the foreign settlement authorities, as the author briefly mentions? (p. 135). In what ways did he get involved in the political relationships and intrigues that led both to his success in saving refugees and to his forced return to France? Also, a note of correction: the picture on page 37 is not a photograph of urban refugees seeking protection from the violence. It is a famous picture of Chinese peasants trying to destroy a railway track in order to resist the Japanese invasion. Whatever problems this book has, it is an impressive work about a truly impres-

sive individual whose commitment to save lives made World War II in China a little less inhumane.

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JOEL ANDREAS. *Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China’s New Class*. (Contemporary Issues in Asia and the Pacific.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 344. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

This is an essential book for specialists seeking to understand the murky issues of class in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) since 1949; it is also highly engaging and accessible to non-specialists. Joel Andreas uses Tsinghua University—China’s premier science and technology university—as a window onto larger historical patterns of party organization, education, and class in the PRC during this period. Using archival sources, oral history interviews, and secondary literature, he crafts a narrative that offers few surprises for scholars of the PRC but is nevertheless deeply satisfying: familiar pieces come together in new ways to form a crystal-clear picture of class relations and transformations.

Pierre Bourdieu’s tripartite model of economic, political, and cultural capital serves as the book’s analytical frame. After 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) effectively eliminated economic capital as a basis of class division. However, cultural capital (i.e., educational advantages) remained concentrated in the hands of the “old elites,” and the political capital institutionalized in the party bureaucracy had created a class of “new elites.” In the early years of the PRC, a tremendous social gulf separated these two groups: very few intellectuals were party members, and very few party members were intellectuals. By the end of the Mao era, many more people possessed both party membership and a university degree. Why? First, educational institutions served as a key channel for party recruitment, while the children of party officials enjoyed special access to elite schools. Second, Mao’s repeated efforts to undermine both the inherited educational advantages of the old elites and the new political privileges of the party officials ironically brought the two groups together as they recognized a shared interest in preserving social stability.

Thus, the ascendancy of “Red experts” came about not because of Maoist politics but in spite of them. The “rise of the Red engineers” was a victory for the technocratic ideology that Soviet advisors in China during the 1950s had already embraced, but which Mao saw as a betrayal of Marxist revolutionary values. The new merging of political and cultural power crystallized in the Dengist 1980s, ending the Marxist commitment to class leveling and constructing instead a class hierarchy “very much in accord with the elitist Saint-Simonian vision of socialism” (p. 240). With the 1990s came the reemergence of economic capital as a force for class creation. Andreas leaves it to future scholars to determine the relationship between the newest elites and the

Red engineers of the previous decade, but he predicts that the groups will once again merge over time as people “scramble to convert” one form of capital into another (p. 253).

Andreas’s story of how these transformations unfolded at Tsinghua University is both exciting and illuminating. Although others have written about Tsinghua University in the Cultural Revolution, Andreas offers a broader historical context and delivers new insights even for that well-covered period. I especially appreciated his treatment of the changing forms that activism at Tsinghua University took: “compliant activism” in the early PRC succumbed to a genuine “rebel spirit” in the early Cultural Revolution, which degenerated into “sycophantic rebellion” under the leadership of the workers’ propaganda team.

Drawing on György Konrád and Iván Szelényi’s study of communism in Eastern Europe, Andreas asks whether the creation of a technocratic class was from the beginning an intentional goal of the CCP, and whether it was inevitable. Contrary to Konrád and Szelényi, he finds that communists in the Mao era pursued class-leveling policies in both the cultural and political spheres because such policies were consistent with their understanding of Marxism-Leninism. He makes short work of the “inevitability” question through an appeal to the empirical data: his explanation rests on “privileged groups defending vested interests” rather than “inexorable universal causes” (p. 277).

I admire Andreas for his success in taking seriously the goals of the Chinese communists without succumbing to apologism. For example, he recognizes that the Cultural Revolution provided access to primary levels of education never seen in China before or since, and he treats the workers’ propaganda team with unusual fairness, noting the “enthusiasm, endurance, and abilities” (p. 173) the workers brought to the task of implementing egalitarian policies at Tsinghua University; at the same time he does not shy away from documenting the violence and often self-defeating destructiveness of the radicals’ actions. Still more refreshing is his ability to separate his study of intellectuals from his status as one himself. Our justifiable indignation over the treatment of intellectuals during the Mao era has often obscured the very real privileges that intellectuals continued to possess. But as Andreas points out, “Despite the handicaps imposed on them, children from educated families still enjoyed important advantages in the education system” (p. 187).

The only thing I missed was a discussion of Richard Curt Kraus’s *Class Conflict in Chinese Socialism* (1981), if only to explain how our understanding of the subject has changed since its publication.

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MARY G. MAZUR. *Wu Han, Historian: Son of China’s Times*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2009. Pp. xiii, 515. \$110.00.

In this well-researched and well-written intellectual biography, Mary G. Mazur highlights a question that goes far beyond modern Chinese intellectual history: how does a historian balance his or her allegiance to truth about the past with a passion for social action in the present? Wu Han (1909–1969), as Mazur masterfully shows, tried to do so and ended up as a victim caught between conflicting loyalties, which he had tragically assumed were synonymous.

By 1966, with the Cultural Revolution turning full blast against him, the “historian” discovered that being a “son of China’s times” was more burdensome and more bewildering than he had ever imagined. The two aspects of Mazur’s title clashed in Wu Han’s mind and life as he witnessed the lessons of China’s totalitarian past reenacted during the reign of Mao Zedong. In the Ming dynasty (Wu Han’s academic specialty), as during the Cultural Revolution, an intellectual who spoke his mind was punished with *mie zu*, the destruction of individual and family life alike. The same scholar, who in the late 1920s had embraced the calling of the historian convinced that “historical research has no glory or glamour, except that of finding the truth” (p. 87), entered the 1960s dismayed by the mountain of lies about the past and present being expounded in the name of a leader he had come to both love and admire.

To Mazur’s credit, this study evokes the quest for historical veracity and its tragic compromise in times of social revolution with compassion as well as a critical eye. The author’s commitment to a nuanced evocation of Wu Han’s life has been facilitated by the expanding possibilities for historical scholarship after the reestablishment of United States-China relations in 1979. During earlier decades, American China scholars could only conjecture about contemporary history at a distance from Taiwan and Hong Kong—as can be seen in James Pusey’s slender monograph *Wu Han: Attacking the Present through the Past* (1969). This work, like other English-language discussions of Wu Han, focused on a single aspect of Wu’s voluminous scholarship: one play that he wrote about the Ming dynasty official Hui Rui. This play and its central character irked Mao and became the spark for the conflagration that began the Cultural Revolution.

Mazur, by contrast, set her sights on a wider, more encompassing portrayal—one that would do justice to the full complexity of Wu Han’s life as well as the development of professional historiography in China from the 1920s onward. The “historian” was to take center stage in this ambitious project, while “son of China’s times” became an accompanying theme documented by scrupulous attention to the political activities that engulfed Wu Han more and more from the late 1940s through his tragic death in 1969.

Mazur was both fortunate and intrepid in her extensive use of oral history materials. Clear about her subject and her goals, she was able to compile 138 interviews, starting with Wu Han’s sister in 1985 and culminating in conversations with his nephew, colleagues, and students throughout the 1990s. Mazur’s

carefully numbered list of interviewees as well as the voluminous documentary evidence she amassed by and about Wu Han enabled her to juxtapose the “living texts of memory” (p. 4) with the written record in a way that reaches far beyond the myth propagated by the People’s Republic of China of Wu Han as a “patriotic scholar.” In contrast to the official television series about Wu Han aired by Beijing in 1990, this book demonstrates how a foreign scholar can bring both objectivity and empathy to a subject that remains politically sensitive on the Chinese mainland.

One key theme that runs through this study is the relationship of the modern intellectual to a consciously inherited cultural tradition. Wu Han, as Mazur shows us, saw himself as an heir to the *shi da fu*, the scholar-officials who served emperors while seeking to benefit society as a whole. Starting with his early and frequently revised biography of Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of the Ming dynasty, Wu Han wrestled with the dilemmas of autocracy as it affected the educated elite while unifying the country and even improving the economic conditions of the peasant class.

In his books published before the communist victory in 1949, Wu Han had placed some of the blame for China’s ills on “parasitic scholars” (p. 63) who had failed to engage in practical concerns while safeguarding their own privileges and intellectual autonomy. Later, as Mao’s rule became increasingly despotic, this self-reflective historian went on to bemoan the loss of ethical values that Confucianism had placed in the hands of scholar-officials. By the time he penned his essays on the critical inheritance of traditional morality in 1962 and 1963, Wu Han himself was vice-mayor of Beijing. As a result, his views about the past carried great weight—and great risks.

Mazur depicts Wu Han’s journey from academic historian to public official with detail and narrative verve. The reader meets and follows the young Wu Han as he struggles against his father’s petty aspirations for a bureaucratic position. Mazur shows how the choice of a university career enabled a rebel against Confucian patriarchy to fulfill personal ambitions for meaningful work. Even Wu Han’s ailing and captivating wife, Yuan Zhen, receives extensive attention in this study, which brings to life an intellectual partnership that challenged conventional views of love, marriage, and progeny. It is to Mazur’s credit that she is able to weave into the life of this one historian many of the larger concerns with autonomy, emancipation, and revolution that have animated Chinese intellectuals from 1919 to the present.

Most striking, in this context, is Wu Han’s deepening sympathy for the communist movement. China’s war with Japan wore down his self-imposed isolation from political activism. Disenchanted with the Nationalist regime, Wu Han rose to public prominence on waves of student enthusiasm and support. What university teacher can resist the passionate cries of his students, especially in times of political persecution and assassination?

From his initial involvement with the Democratic

League in the 1940s through his secret membership in the Communist Party in 1957, Wu Han became an increasingly willing tool in the hands of the autocratic government that rivaled Ming despotism on the Chinese mainland. Flattered by Mao’s personal interest in his historical scholarship and convinced that the Communist Party needed to silence voices of opposition, he did not shy away from attacking other intellectuals in the 1950s. Mazur shows us this evolution with striking details, including that of a banquet in which Wu Han was served much higher quality rice than his own family members.

In the end, however, Wu Han could not abandon his commitment to *dao tong*, the rule of morality above naked power. By the 1960s, the historian had circled back to his earlier commitment to veracity in a way that did not spare his life—only his posthumous reputation as a man of conscience and of principle. Mazur’s study will enable readers to confirm through Wu Han’s legacy certain conclusions drawn from broader reflections upon the value of historical research, such as those found in Margaret MacMillan’s *Dangerous Games: The Uses and Abuses of History* (2008). Both books help us grasp how the study of the past nurtures a unique sensitivity to truth in the darkest of times.

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EIKO MARUKO SINIAWER. *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan, 1860–1960*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 270. \$39.95.

In an era when economic, social, and cultural issues dominate scholarly discussions of Japan, Eiko Maruko Siniawer’s study of political violence seems at first glance to be a welcome return to historical considerations of Japanese democracy. Siniawer’s book, however, is not an investigation of democracy but rather a historical narrative of the antecedents for the apparent involvement of organized criminals—yakuza—in contemporary Japanese politics. She punctuates her narrative with material drawn from a wide variety of primary documents such as memoirs, autobiographies, newspapers, and police reports as well as the work of Japanese scholars. The logic she uses to link gamblers and ruffians to Japanese parliamentary politics, however, is flawed.

Defining violence as “physical coercion of the physical body” (p. 5), Siniawer focuses on ruffians and yakuza, which, citing Charles Tilly, she lumps together as “violence specialists.” Whereas Tilly defined “violence specialists” broadly to include soldiers, police, foreign mercenaries, and drug dealers, Siniawer uses the expression to label a small group of actors outside the Japanese state who were paid for committing violence in the political sphere. “Ruffians” is her translation for the members of violent groups or *bōryokudan*. Siniawer’s decision to omit soldiers and police from her study exaggerates the influence of her violence specialists and obscures the way that the government, through

conscription and militarized education, indoctrinated all male citizens in forms of violence. The neglect of state violence extends more generally to the nation itself. Although the word "nationalists" appears in the title of the book, nationalism and patriotism remain undefined and there is virtually no acknowledgment of the nation as a contested concept. Also missing from her analysis is any serious consideration of the relationship between ideals of masculinity and the deployment of violence in politics.

Siniawer's definition of democracy prevents her from considering how yakuza are celebrated in popular culture as commoners who exemplify virtues that the samurai elite once claimed as their reason for existence. She defines democracy as simply "a participatory form of government with a representative body and a constitution" (p. 7), omitting any consideration of freedom, equality, and rights. She fails to see how yakuza in public office were emblematic of the destruction of hereditary hierarchy, one prerequisite of democracy.

Siniawer's five substantive chapters center around violence specialists considered ancestral to present-day yakuza. In the first two chapters, she discusses the Meiji Restoration and its aftermath in terms of "men of spirit" (*shishi*), gamblers (*bakuto*), and activists (*sōshi*), who later served as ruffians for parliamentary parties. She is insistent that gamblers acted as violence specialists in both the Meiji Restoration and the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū Minken Undō*) and thus linked democracy to violence specialists. Her argument ignores the violence inherent in the Meiji Restoration, which was dominated by samurai committed to the use of military skill in the service of the emperor. Further, it does not necessarily follow from the fact that some rights activists were gamblers that all political activists were. The third chapter, on ruffianism in the political parties, pays no heed to the assumption of other scholars of the 1920s that universal manhood suffrage expanded the electorate to a point where it was no longer possible to win elections through bribery. Ignoring her own evidence that ruffian violence was often directed at candidates rather than voters, she argues instead that universal manhood suffrage marked a shift from intimidating voters to bribing them. In the fourth chapter, Siniawer uses the Home Ministry categorization of ultra-nationalist groups as violent groups (*bōryokudan*) to link ruffians and yakuza to fascism and the demise of the prewar political parties. She identifies ultra-nationalist groups with strike-breaking and anti-leftist activities, but her selective use of Japanese continues her mystification of criminal violence and obscures the point that the ruffians or violent groups were opposing the violent (*bōryoku*) overthrow of the ruling class.

Because of the destruction of war, Siniawer argues, postwar democracy was characterized by "widespread intolerance of violence" (p. 149). At the same time, she finds a continuation of violent democracy in what she claims is the incorporation of yakuza into the conservative nexus that resulted from the twin policies of the

so-called American "reverse course," the relaxation of postwar political purges and the persecution of communists. Using the logic of guilt by association, she links Japanese business interests and the United States Central Intelligence Agency to the conservative nexus and the yakuza.

Siniawer's book, which is filled with colorful details on the past century and a half of Japanese political life, is much more solidly grounded in historical data than most books on the yakuza. We cannot, however, accept uncritically her assessment that violence was "a systematic and deeply rooted element of modern Japanese political life" (p. 2), for her overarching argument rests on too many weak definitions, suppositions, and unsubstantiated assertions.

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MIRE KOIKARI. *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 226. \$54.50.

In this book, Mire Koikari applies the insight of several recent theoretical trends to the study of the Allied occupation of Japan (1945–1952). She draws on recent studies of the Cold War and on postcolonial and feminist theoretical perspectives, and thus is able to paint a complex picture of the gendered, classed, racialized, and sexualized dynamics of the occupation.

Koikari is particularly keen to challenge the myth that gender equality was a "gift" from the occupying forces. It is surprising to see that this myth is still perpetuated, for there has been extensive scholarship on the question, particularly from scholars based in Japan who have documented the lobbying efforts carried out by Japanese women immediately after the surrender. Nevertheless, Koikari brings nuance to the discussion by focusing closely on interactions between feminists in the bureaucracy of the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (SCAP) and their counterparts in Japanese civil society organizations.

Koikari focuses on the coalitions between United States and Japanese women that existed after 1945. One of the possible reasons for these successful coalitions is that many Japanese feminists had been politically active for decades. Thus, rather than being taught about democracy by their U.S. counterparts, they were bringing to fruition efforts they had been making since the early twentieth century.

By drawing on recent theoretical perspectives on the gendered dimensions of the Cold War, Koikari adds further complexity to this discussion. She argues that the study of gender policy in occupied Japan cannot be isolated from global and regional geopolitical trends. She is able to identify coalitions of thought where the themes of democratization, liberalization, and gender equity were embedded in discourses of U.S. hegemony and anticommunism. She sees feminists as complicit in the establishment of the United States-Japan alliance



in East Asia in the same manner that many of them had been complicit with Japanese imperialism until 1945. Koikari argues that the triumphalist narrative of democratic, pacifist, and egalitarian postwar Japan has been framed in a context of amnesia about Japanese imperialism in the first half of the twentieth century. She describes gender policy during the period of the occupation as "Cold War imperial feminism in the Far East" (p. 5).

Koikari does not, however, challenge the United States-centered nature of much of the discussion of the Allied occupation of Japan. By focusing almost exclusively on the documentary record left by the "SCAP feminists" and their Japanese allies, she reaffirms the apparent dominance of the United States in the Allied occupation.

Scholars, such as Robin Gerster in *Travels in Atomic Sunshine: Australia and the Occupation of Japan* (2008), have moved their focus outside of Tokyo to look at those parts of Japan that were largely managed by the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces. These studies have often focused on how Japanese people as workers and domestic servants interacted with Allied military forces, civilian personnel, and their families, bringing everyday power relationships between occupiers and occupied into stark relief. Reading Koikari's book through the perspective afforded by such studies, I could not help wondering whether the "SCAP feminists" were also taking advantage of the services of domestic workers, while forging rather more egalitarian and homosocial bonds with elite Japanese women.

In other recent studies of grassroots interactions between occupiers and occupied, we can also see that descriptions of the Allied occupation as a heterosexual romance involve more than metaphor. Rather, metaphor and reality intermingled and collided in complex ways as couples who attempted to marry across the borders of nationality had to deal with the military bureaucracy and the immigration regulations of their destination country.

Thanks to such studies as Koikari's we are able to discover a more complex picture of the Allied occupation of Japan, and there is now the potential to link this specific period of Asia-Pacific history with other colonial situations and sites of military occupation. Koikari describes how the "figure of the Japanese woman was strategically deployed to articulate US nationalism and imperialism in the Cold War context" (p. 14), a perspective which is suggestive for thinking about more recent deployments of the figure of woman as a justification for military occupation and intervention.

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JOHN PRADOS. *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War, 1945–1975*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2009. Pp. xxvii, 665. \$34.95.

At the very outset of this panoramic, multidimensional account, John Prados reminds us—as if he needed to—

that the Vietnam War remains highly contested terrain. One of the delights of this volume is the verve with which its author knowingly plows smack into that terrain. He directly engages, and in many cases demolishes, a host of shibboleths about the war. Prados holds particular disdain for the ahistorical analogies advanced and the superficial strategic lessons drawn by pundits and scholars eager to show that the United States could, and should, have prevailed in Vietnam. As the subtitle makes clear, for the United States and its South Vietnamese allies the conflict was, in his emphatic judgment, "an unwinnable war."

But this is no mere polemic. Rather, Prados's powerfully presented and meticulously argued account, buttressed by a staggering amount of documentary evidence, meets the most exacting standards of scholarship. The prolific author's latest book forms the capstone of more than three decades of careful research and measured reflection on the Vietnam War, work that previously yielded no fewer than six monographs on different aspects of the conflict. Presented in crisp, colloquial prose that features pungent and frequently irreverent assessments of key figures and events, Prados's sweeping history may be the single most important book yet written on the Vietnam conflict.

Interpretive overviews of the Vietnam War abound, of course. Yet many of them, written by specialists in diplomatic, international, or political history, slight the actual clash of arms that forms so fundamental a part of any war. Tellingly, a recent edited volume comprised of cutting-edge scholarly essays on various aspects of the Vietnam conflict, Mark Philip Bradley and Marilyn B. Young's *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars: Local, National, and Transnational Perspectives* (2008), included not a single contribution by a specialist in military history, nor any essay that dealt in more than cursory fashion with the war's military dimensions. Another common genre of interpretive overviews tends to focus on the Vietnam battlefield to the exclusion of almost all other variables, slighting policy decisions, social conditions, domestic politics, and the wider international context.

Prados stands apart from that unfortunate bifurcation in the Vietnam War literature. He writes with skill about the intricacies of strategy, tactics, and operations and brings into sharp relief such relatively underappreciated—but crucial—matters as intelligence, command, morale, organization, logistics, supply trains, and infrastructure. Yet he does so without ever losing sight of the war's domestic, international, social, political, and economic dimensions—elements that, in the end, proved more determinative to the outcome than any battles. He heaps praise on General Creighton Abrams and his more efficacious tactical approach from 1968 onward, for example, while insisting that the shift occurred much too late to alter the war's course. This study's integrative approach marks it as a distinctive contribution to the vast literature on the Vietnam War.

Other elements of Prados's history distinguish it as



well. For one, his study devotes fully half of its pages to the post-Tet Offensive period, critical years that receive relatively short shrift in many standard accounts. Since a wealth of newly declassified materials from the Nixon era has recently become available in the United States, Vietnam, and elsewhere, that section of the book provides numerous fresh revelations and details. Second, Prados rightly stresses the centrality of the Republic of South Vietnam to all U.S. hopes and plans; unlike most volumes on the war, his pays sustained attention to the Saigon regime's structural weaknesses—the Achilles' heel, as he terms it, of American strategy. Third, this study achieves a rare balance between its focus on the decision making and troop movements of the United States and South Vietnam, on the one hand, and those of their North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front adversaries, on the other.

Another of the book's singular features derives from its acute analysis of changing American domestic opinion, and especially the antiwar movement; not just an intriguing phenomenon in its own right, it was a driving force behind the Nixon administration's reluctant move toward systematic troop withdrawals and is, more broadly, "intrinsically necessary to understanding the war" (p. xiii). Fittingly, Prados opens the book with a vivid dramatization of the April 1971 confrontation in Washington, D.C., between the Vietnam Veterans against the War and the Nixon White House, a microcosm for the author of a government engaged in a tragic and unsustainable war against its own citizens—and its own warriors.

I am often asked by students, colleagues, and friends about what they should read if they only have time for one book on the Vietnam War. Thanks to John Prados, I now have a ready answer.

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SCOTT LADERMAN. *Tours of Vietnam: War, Travel Guides, and Memory*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 289. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

"Vietnam is more than a war" has become a popular expression with American historians and anthropologists eager to authenticate their sensitivity to the integrity and complexity of Vietnamese culture. As it turns out, however, the phrase is a marketing slogan ginned-up by the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) for the consumption of American travelers who might otherwise be squeamish about dropping dollars where they or their fathers had dropped bombs.

Such are the nuggets turned up by author Scott Laderman in his search for the ways that institutions mediate the making of peoples' memories of the past. Treating travel guides as an institution that performs such a role—arbitrating the "truth" of travel experience even before it has begun—he goes on to tell us that English-language guide books produced by VNAT ex-

clude the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City from mention while the Vietnamese editions include it. Laderman suggests that this difference occludes American memory about the war and continues to validate national unity as the most important theme in the history of the Vietnamese people.

Laderman's primary interest is in American social memory. His use of guidebooks such as *Lonely Planet Vietnam* and *Fodor's Exploring Vietnam* as primary documents is a clever approach to that topic, one yielding a first-rate example of what good "public history" looks like. Laderman's background in American Studies gives him a solid grasp of cultural studies and his writing an interdisciplinary flare and stylistic shading that will invite readers from many academic fields and levels, the book-buying public, and thoughtful travelers.

Laderman's object of study is the social construction of memory, and the author weaves his narrative with threads from the history of the American war in Vietnam and the history of tour books about Vietnam. For the first, he creates a case study of Hue, the city where the National Liberation Front and army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (aka the Viet Cong and North Vietnam) waged a fight against the government in Saigon, which was a U.S. client, and U.S. troops in 1968. Known as the Tet Offensive, the fight for Hue destroyed much of the city and cost all sides many dead and wounded. But the controversies over who did what to whom, Laderman argues, are elided by the English-language tour books that rewrite the story as a "massacre" perpetrated by "communists" on Vietnamese civilians. There is "no credible evidentiary basis for this version of events" (p. 89), he says. Meanwhile, the same books leave out the devastating effect of U.S. bombing on the city and the fact that assassination teams mounted by the Saigon government roamed the city killing members of the opposition in the closing days of the fight.

Laderman's reviews of the ways the war and the period of *doi moi* are represented are well developed, but I learned the most from his history of tour books from Vietnam. Laderman begins that study with the French colonial period when guidebooks portrayed colonialism as an intervention by "benevolent foreigners" that brought modernity and peace to a region torn by conflict. Moving to the post-World War II years when the United States began to express its own interests in Vietnam, he cites *Olson's Orient Guide* (1962) as an example that treated unfavorably both the French attempt to reoccupy Indochina, and the struggle of the Vietnamese for independence, while touting Ngo Dinh Diem, the president of the Saigon government, as having been "elected by an overwhelming majority" (p. 31). Laderman's debunking of that version of the Diem regime is detailed and well documented.

The double entendre in *Tours of Vietnam* will not be missed by American veterans of the war who did their military "tours" there. They and other readers will be fascinated with Laderman's finding that travel books not only valorized the Diem government but even pro-

moted (South) Vietnam as a tourist destination for the first U.S. military personnel dispatched there in the early 1960s. Eugene Fodor, namesake of the travel-book series, was a veteran of the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner to the CIA, and a hardcore cold warrior who allowed CIA operatives to work as travel writers for the series. Drawing on sexualized imagery, Fodor's marketing of Vietnamese women as "assets" to lure travelers anticipated the formation of "sex tourism" that followed the American war. Laderman tells us about the Pentagon's own travel literature from 1963 promoting the beaches at Danang and Nha Trang as places where deployed servicemen could enjoy fishing and water skiing. Ironically, the phrase "Fun, Travel, Adventure" spun by GIs to mock their recruitment, and later appropriated for the title of an antiwar variety show, was not so far-fetched.

Laderman's use of newly published tour guides and his interviews in Vietnam with travelers using the guides make his work relevant to America in the twenty-first century. "Vietnam is more than a war" may or may not be a slogan ahead of its time; we cannot tell that from *Tours of Vietnam*. What we can tell from the author's excavation of travel guides is that Vietnam—the war—is embedded in America. From his study, considered with the unending references by press and policy makers to the relevance of that war for the unfolding military ventures abroad, we could well ask if America is yet more than the war it fought in Vietnam nearly a half-century ago.

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ANINDITA GHOSH. *Power in Print: Popular Publishing and the Politics of Language and Culture in a Colonial Society, 1778–1905*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 348. £19.99.

Anindita Ghosh's book examines the world of popular print in the region of Bengal over the long nineteenth century in colonial India. Moving away from the focus on high literature produced by the *bhadralok* elite as a prime site of the "Bengal renaissance" in the colonial period, Ghosh takes up the world of cheap, commercial print. This body of printed materials is now synonymous with Battala, the area of Calcutta where a large number of printing presses that produced it were located. Ghosh explores how print culture and debates about language became critical sites for the articulation of contested social hierarchies and aspirations in nineteenth-century Bengali society in two ways. First, in the new elite discourse on correct and proper language and literature, specific genres and registers of language now identified as vulgar or inappropriate came to be equated with marginalized social groups: lower classes, Muslims, women. Second, the popular genres produced and consumed by literate or semiliterate members of these marginalized groups became a site of resistance to the tastes, morals, and values put forward in the high literary genres and registers of the *bhadralok*.

Through this approach, Ghosh argues against the binary of viewing print either as the enabling vehicle of this flowering of Bengali literary expression, or as an oppressive, technological arm of the restrictive edifice of colonial modernity. Instead, she seeks to bring to light the creative use that marginalized groups made of the new technology and its attendant practices in order to refashion and critique elite normative arguments about culture, language, and society. In so doing, she rejects the Saidian emphasis on an overwhelming dominance of colonial knowledge in shaping a variety of cultural projects in colonial India.

Ghosh, therefore, argues for blurring boundaries between elite and popular categories. For example, she shows how, while publicly disdainful of pulp fiction, the *bhadralok's* demand for it contributed significantly to its broader popularity. Similarly, the consumption and patronage of high literary genres was also critical to the social aspirations of the lower middle classes. In this vein, Ghosh also analyzes the enmeshing of print with existing manuscript cultures, and of new, silent reading practices with older, performative ones. Instead of a break ushered in by the new technology, she suggests that the world of popular print marked a continuation of these manuscript cultures.

The strength of this study lies in the rich picture it presents of the diverse materials being churned out of Battala: farces and plays that mocked *bhadralok* pretensions to high culture and respectability, and racy, explicit *basar* songs. These songs were written by men and were frowned upon as inappropriate for women, but they were consumed by women through cheap pamphlets and sung during wedding ceremonies. Ghosh argues that lower-caste ownership of the Battala presses played an important role in extending access to, and expanding the content of, printed materials to newly literate groups (often migrants to Calcutta) and shows how this access to the printed word allowed for the mocking of stifling urban elite norms. These links among the presses, genres, and actual readers are more tenuous in the chapter on women's literature, where Ghosh suggests that women were also "producing" printed texts by virtue of being their consumers. The final chapter on "Muslim-Bengali" literature provides a fascinating picture of the continued links in content and appearance between printed materials and the existing manuscript tradition, and the many different experiments in genre, style, orthography, and script that cheap printing enabled. Written in a Persianized form of the Bengali language that was disparaged by upper-caste Hindu elites, these works circulated widely among lower-middle-class Muslims, and consciously invoked a Perso-Arabic vocabulary to mark the distance of a Muslim-Bengali register from the standard *bhadralok* one. Ghosh identifies this *keccha* literature, full of a "marvelous world," as a refuge for ordinary Bengali readers from realist novels and the dictates of high literature. However, the jump from the wide popularity of these secular romances in Muslim-Bengali to the "communalization of language and culture" by 1905 is too sud-

den, as we read that *keccha* fiction was popular among Hindu readers as well, and was produced from Hindu-owned presses. Ghosh mentions that Muslim ownership of presses increased at the turn of the twentieth century, but again, the precise links among press ownership, readers, and content remain unexplored.

For a study so rich in sketching the complexity of colonial Bengali print culture, Ghosh includes disappointingly few examples to convey the cadences of the languages that she discusses. Of course, reproducing the rhythm of these languages is not easy in standard academic prose, even more so when the language under study and that of scholarly discourse are so different. Nevertheless, Ghosh's closely researched book alerts us to the importance of paying attention to minute inflections of language, spelling, and style in locating social identity and conflict, and the possibilities opened up by print for reiterating as well as subverting hierarchy. It is an important contribution to the study of book history, colonial modernity, and the historiography of language in South Asia and beyond.

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CHAD M. BAUMAN. *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868–1947*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2008. Pp. xiv, 276. \$40.00.

This book is a study of a relatively small Christian community, known as Satnami Christians, in the northern Indian state of Chhattisgarh. The emergence of the Satnami Christians in the late nineteenth century was part of a centuries old pattern of religious change in South Asia, often involving reforms promoted by a charismatic religious teacher appealing to low-status communities. Such a reform occurred in Chhattisgarh in the mid-nineteenth century when, under the leadership of Guru Ghasidas, a majority of the low-status community known then as Chamar adopted a new religious path known as the Satnampanth. In the late nineteenth century, with the arrival of American missionaries from the Disciples of Christ and German Reformed denominations, a faction of the adherents of the Satnampanth adopted Christianity.

Chad M. Bauman sets as his broad theoretical goal a treatment of the Satnami Christians based on the assumption that “cultural identities” are “social facts,” and are largely “imagined” or “invented.” His method is to analyze collective and personal narratives of the Satnami Christians, going over ground already covered from a different point of view by the subaltern studies scholar Saurabh Dube in *Untouchable Pasts: Religion, Identity, and Power Among a Central Indian Community, 1780–1950* (1998) and *Stitches on Time: Colonial Textures and Postcolonial Tangles* (2004). Unlike Bauman, Dube treats Satnami Christian narratives in the context of a broader genre of Satnampanth narratives. He also takes seriously the role of missionaries in shaping these

stories. Bauman focuses only on Christians, and restricts his field of vision even further by declaring his lack of interest in missionaries, concentrating instead on the identification of aspects of Satnami Christianity that are “indigenous” rather than “foreign.”

It may seem odd for the author of a volume in a series entitled *Studies in the History of Christian Missions* to ignore missionaries, but it makes sense in the light of historiographical trends within the field of “mission studies,” which has become far more sophisticated during the last few decades. Mission history until recently was dominated by narratives of male clerical heroes bringing light to the heathen. In the postcolonial age, mission studies scholars have attempted to divorce the histories of non-Western Christians from foreign missionaries, who are tainted with the stigma of imperialism. Instead, goes the new story, non-Western Christians have appropriated those aspects of Western Christianity that suit their own purposes to invent indigenous, non-Western versions of Christianity.

This argument is persuasive to a degree, since it is the simplest common sense to acknowledge that Christian converts in non-Christian parts of the world were not simply stamped with a Western Christian mold. Missionaries themselves recognized this almost everywhere as they entered into complicated and varied degrees of negotiation and compromise in order to establish Christianity in inhospitable environments. Furthermore, most Protestant missionaries were committed in principle (if not in practice) to “the euthanasia of the mission”: that is, they intended to foster an indigenous, self-sustaining, self-governing version of Christianity, and then leave. From the point of view of some missionaries, the documentation of a truly indigenous, non-Western Christianity is a celebratory success story.

The practice of identifying the “indigenous” aspects of Satnami Christianity as the substance of their faith has a more urgent rhetorical purpose for Bauman, though, and that is the defense of Indian Christians from the political attacks of Hindu nationalists, who accuse Christians of being “denationalized” because of their historic association with Western missionaries. In some parts of India, Christians are under siege by Hindu nationalists and occasionally the victims of gruesome acts of violence. Anyone committed to religious liberty and human rights can only applaud Bauman's defense of the rights of Christians in India to be treated equally with the practitioners of any other Indian religion. Hindu nationalists, however, are unlikely to be persuaded by this analysis of the indigenous character of Satnami Christianity. Religious equality for Satnami Christians can hardly be sustained if it depends upon a demonstration that they have been largely free of foreign influence.

From a historical point of view, something important is lost in treating Christianity in non-Western parts of the world as exclusively indigenous. General histories of Christianity in India are now being published that assert that half a millennium of Western missionary work in India was largely inconsequential in the growth

and development of modern Indian Christianity. In Bauman's local study, a relentless search for the indigenous in contrast to the foreign produces a one-sided and incomplete account of Chhattisgarhi Christianity in which missionaries act in uniform, stereotypical ways, regardless of gender, nationality, denominational background, or theology. If one reads this book closely, it is evident that missionaries were important and often revered figures with integral roles in the Satnami Christian community. Because Bauman is interested in only one side of that relationship, though, we learn very little about how missionaries and Christian converts alike worked together to invent a new form of Christian identity, one that cannot be understood if one relies too heavily on the binary labels indigenous and foreign.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BÉATRICE CRAIG. *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of a Market Culture in Eastern Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 349. \$75.00.

Béatrice Craig documents the unfolding relationship between rural people and markets in the Madawaska region of northwestern New Brunswick and northeastern Maine for about a century following initial settlement in the 1780s. She offers a major contribution to historical writing on both sides of the border, situating her study at the leading edge both of Canadian considerations of the relationship between staples and local markets and American examinations of the rise of the market and the transition to capitalism. She charts the creation of a backwoods capitalism that resulted in large part from the many small economic decisions made by farmers, merchants, millers, and other local people.

Acadians, followed closely by Catholics from Lower Canada, constituted the region's "pioneer generation." They were attracted by the fur trade and, more importantly, the rich agricultural land along the upper Saint John River. Early settlers were market-experienced and early on created local and regional markets. Fur and wheat established their connection to export markets. These activities were mediated by a small group of "principal men" whose land speculation, personal connections, and ownership of mills, stores, inns, taverns, and other business ventures were key market conduits and a stimulus to economic growth. Midge, rust, and other factors destroyed the viability of the wheat crop and its distant market linkages after 1830. The growth of the timber industry and local demand by 1850 enabled a shift to fodder crops that found markets locally in lumber shanties and the local population. Consistent farm surpluses allowed most farmers to be market participants. By 1870 Madawaska farmers were reasonably well-off, their productivity comparable to Upper Canadian farms. But commercial farming did not result

from modernization of production; rather, farmers increased labor input but continued to rely on traditional farming techniques.

The timber economy kept the region economically tied to international markets yet provided few backward linkages, and its leaders lacked the domestically oriented entrepreneurship of Madawaska's first generation "principal men." Large commercial milling operations oriented to the extraregional staple trade had limited impact on economic development. Rather, it was local demand for sawn lumber that generated notable linkages. Custom mills belonged typically to members of charter families, entrepreneurs who often diversified into grist, carding, and fulling mills, and whose enterprises often became community focal points. General stores, too, were important market intermediaries, their proprietor's preference for cash effecting the spread of a monetized economy. They also served as important conduits for the importation of consumer goods. Local patterns of consumption focused mainly on inputs for production such as tools in the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1860, however, a "consumer revolution" had gripped the region. Infrequent purchase of simple but long-wearing garments gave way to wider acquisition of more cheaply made, fashion-oriented clothing. Households purchased cutlery, chamber pots, paint, glass panes, and many other items with increasing regularity. Craig's impressive and detailed account places local markets at the center but, importantly, also shows that links to international markets were by no means inconsequential.

This study is based on a painstaking and thorough linkage of seemingly every quantifiable regional source. Baptismal, marriage, burial, and parish registers linked with censuses, commissioned reports, and other records allow a remarkably thorough reconstitution of families and effectively elucidate the subtleties of migration, kinship networks and much else. A database of land registry records impressively reveals the complex market in land. A portrait of farm production and marketable surplus is enabled with a database built from tithing records, grain bonus payment records, government reports, census agricultural schedules, and more. The cross linking of these databases allows a remarkably sophisticated portrait of growth and change. A lengthy appendix helpfully explains the author's sources and methods. Conclusions on the role of general stores and local consumption patterns are based on more limited sources—the former, for example, are generalized from the records of just two stores.

This book is most convincing as a study of market *penetration*, especially as an expression of human agency. Less convincing is the assertion that with this arose a "market culture." Recent work on urban Canada, for example, shows that participation in markets could be remarkably advanced without culture following suit. Craig's suggestions that general stores functioned in part as new arenas of social engagement or that new consumer items led to the reorganization of interior household space were likely true. But the full-



ness of these cultural impacts is more suggested than shown, and a different set of sources is needed. The logic of this argument also appears to be that while the region was not yet capitalist, markets were reorienting its culture toward that inevitability. Only a more thorough investigation of this culture can delineate whether and how its contours might have been shaped by market development but not, necessarily, the logic of capitalism.

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ROBERT TEIGROB. *Warming Up to the Cold War: Canada and the United States' Coalition of the Willing, from Hiroshima to Korea*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 288. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Robert Teigrob's book attempts to put Canada's early Cold War history and the relationship between Canada and the United States in the context of popular culture. Five major and readable chapters concentrate on the atomic bomb, espionage (the Igor Gouzenko affair), the Third World (Philippines and India), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and finally the Korean War (or at least the issue of Canadian participation in the Korean War in 1950). With background information also provided, the chapters concentrate on the importance of newspaper and magazine analysis from 1945 to 1950.

Two strong academic views have been evident in histories of Canadian foreign policy of the period: Canadian politicians rather tamely followed the leadership of the United States in like-minded strategies of containment; or Canada worked within international organizations and utilized diplomacy to constrain or influence the more adventurous foreign policies of the United States (i.e., containing the United States as much as the Soviet Union). Teigrob's book accepts Canada's subservience in foreign policy matters to the United States but highlights the Canadian domestic environment of this support. Canada provided its own rationale for sitting alongside the United States in the containment of the Soviet Union. For Teigrob, the explanation lies in aspects of popular culture.

My own interest of the period is diplomatic history, and the story of the early Cold War period is still a history of leadership dominated by white, middle-class, middle-aged men. I was surprised not to see more mention in Teigrob's text of Louis St. Laurent and Lester B. Pearson. In defense of Teigrob's approach, the detailed opinions of eminent Canadians—W. L. Mackenzie King, St. Laurent, Pearson, and Escott Reid—can be found elsewhere. Nevertheless, St. Laurent's public pronouncements against the Soviet Union and his attempt to define the basis of Canadian foreign policy could be put in the cultural perspective championed by Teigrob.

Popular culture or cultural history allows a break with old-fashioned diplomatic history and allows considerations of issues of race and gender. Race works

quite well in Teigrob's considerations of the delivery of the atomic bombs on Japan and the racial issues inherent in prosecuting World War II to victory. Canadians gradually became aware of the racial ironies of the rise to globalism of the United States and the related issue of U.S. reactions to British imperialism. In the male-dominated North American media of the period, women were evident in a journalistic role, and, without belaboring the point, given consideration as part of the readership and polling constituency of Canada and the United States.

With a strong emphasis on newspapers, magazines and polling statistics of the day, Teigrob's analysis is hostage to the views of the editorial staff of the newspapers, a regional bias within newspapers, and the accuracy of contemporary polling techniques. That aside, the number of newspapers examined and cited is very impressive, although they might also have been listed in the bibliography and not just the endnotes to each chapter.

Teigrob provides interesting narrative when presenting the Gouzenko espionage scandal and its depiction in the 1948 Twentieth Century Fox film, *The Iron Curtain*. Here, the juxtaposition of a real Canadian-Soviet diplomatic and political problem and its immediate use in popular culture as anticommunist propaganda is a rather startling story and very well presented. The film evaluation is enjoyable, and the details of the events that challenge Canadian ideas of justice and the role of the state at the time are still pertinent.

In many ways, it is no great surprise that a Western pluralist liberal democracy like Canada should take an anticommunist stance as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union deteriorated. This study goes beyond the explanation of why the Canadian political elite pursued a policy that made them part of a willing coalition with the United States. This coalition is what most Canadians appeared to want.

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GEORGE C. HERRING. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*. (The Oxford History of the United States.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 1035. \$35.00.

George C. Herring is known primarily as a distinguished historian of the Vietnam War. His magnum opus, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*, was originally published in 1979 and has been reprinted every seven or so years since. The book's longevity and the high regard in which it is held both within and outside the academy rest on two admirable traits: Herring's fluency as a writer and his dependability as a historical guide. Scholars of the First and Second Indochina Wars turn to his book—likely, more than any other—when establishing the context of the particular event they propose to examine.

It is Herring's scholarly dependability, above his other varied qualities as a historian, that makes the



book under review such a significant historical narrative. It is the only volume in the Oxford History of the United States series—which to date has garnered three Pulitzer Prizes and one Bancroft Prize—to present a chronological survey driven by a single theme: in this case, foreign policy. The text falls just short of one thousand pages, yet the narrative is lean and compelling. It is a traditional history with high politics at its heart, although it would be unfair to reproach Herring for narrowing his analytical lens in this fashion. Episodic references to bottom-up history surely would have appeared contrived—unlikely to satisfy either traditional diplomatic or social and cultural historians. Instead we have a history of U.S. diplomacy for the ages, one that is too long to serve as a conventional student textbook but is ideal as an introduction to the subject for the educated layperson. The coverage is exemplary, the author's judgment of various administrations judicious, and his analysis of the past ten years admirably restrained, if justifiably exasperated. It is difficult to pigeonhole Herring's politics with any degree of certainty, but the authorial voice that emerges is pragmatic in tone, despairing of those administrations that have been driven by ideological dogma.

Herring's treatment of U.S. expansion through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has much in common with that of Robert Kagan. In *Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (2006), Kagan argues that the United States has pursued an aggressive expansionist policy since the inception of the American republic and that the term "isolationism" has no utility in the context of elite-level U.S. diplomacy. Herring is similarly inclined, believing that few American diplomats were haughty isolationists or Jeffersonian idealists—not least Jefferson himself. His survey of nineteenth-century American diplomacy is marvellously rich, and he makes a compelling case that John Quincy Adams's intellectual curiosity and diplomatic acuity made him the exemplary secretary of state, a role model whom all future occupants of that office should emulate.

It is impossible, of course, for any reviewer to do full justice to the range of Herring's scholarship across this vast canvas. His coverage of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations is as comprehensive and insightful as one would expect of a scholar who has focused his gaze most intently on the middle years of the Cold War. The quality of Herring's analysis is unerringly consistent across all twenty chapters, however, and revelations often can be found in areas that fall outside his natural domain.

It is a testimony to Herring's intellectual range, for example, that his discussion of fin-de-siècle America and his examination of the foreign policy strategies pursued by the Progressive presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson constitute one of the book's strongest sections. When discussing Roosevelt, the author eschews the panegyrics that invariably—forgivably, perhaps, in light of TR's compelling personal nar-

rative—creep into studies of that "damned cowboy," as Mark Hanna, President McKinley's chief political strategist, once described him. Herring's treatment of Wilson, conversely, is more sympathetic than one might expect of a foreign policy realist: "Wilson towers above the landscape of modern American foreign policy like no other individual, the dominant personality, the seminal figure" (p. 379). He offers interesting observations on the personalized manner in which Wilson conducted diplomacy, which was driven largely by his contempt for the State Department, a prejudice that many of his successors would regrettably share. His condemnation of Wilson's intervention in Mexico is clearly and forcefully made. On Wilson's broader vision of a world "made safe for democracy," however, Herring concludes that America's twenty-eighth president was simply made for a better world than ours—not that his idealism was dangerously unhinged from a Hobbesian reality, bearing significant responsibility for the chaos that engulfed international relations through the 1920s and 1930s. Herring studiously avoids dispensing approbation that is born primarily of the certitude of hindsight. It is this sensitivity of touch that will ensure that most historians of U.S. foreign relations will keep his book close to their desks.

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MARGARET MALAMUD. *Ancient Rome and Modern America*. (Classical Reception.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell. 2009. Pp. xi, 296. \$40.00.

*Are We Rome?* The title of Cullen Murphy's 2007 book on American imperial warfare and politics reminds us once again of the ancient Romans' presence in the history of the United States. The Founding Fathers and the classics have been the subject of much scholarly work, as has the importance of the Romans for our high and popular culture. Now Margaret Malamud's book traces a number of telling manifestations of the Romans in American history and resurrects some forgotten but fascinating details of American life.

Cincinnatus, Julius Caesar, Cato the Younger, Tiberius, and Gaius Gracchus: these are the principal characters from Roman history with whom prominent early Americans—Malamud focuses on George Washington and Andrew Jackson—were compared or contrasted as the political moment demanded. She effectively demonstrates that history acts as a useful handmaid for politics, especially when a past figure, event, or situation is sufficiently malleable to justify contradictory ideological goals. The Roman development from monarchy to republic to empire and from rise to decline and then fall—a story that was acutely familiar to early American politicians and many others—is a case in point. Malamud shows that knowledge of Roman history caused considerable soul-searching and led to the predictable conclusion of American exceptionalism: empire, yes; decline, no. Here Malamud could have strengthened her argument by incorporating William Appleman Wil-

liams's *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament, Along with a Few Thoughts about an Alternative* (1980), a concise analysis of the early American republic as incipient empire. In another revealing example, Malamud addresses the arguments for or against slavery that northerners and southerners took from the ancient record.

Class tensions in the late Roman Republic and unrest between labor and capital in nineteenth-century America were seen as parallels: self-made man Andrew Jackson resembled *homo novus* Gaius Marius; the Gracchi and Spartacus, reformers or revolutionaries, could speak to or for the American working man. Malamud usefully focuses on Spartacus' appearances in political pamphlets and in the long-running drama *The Gladiator*. Visual spectacles, especially those based on edifying novels (*The Last Days of Pompeii*, *Ben-Hur*) turned out to be of even greater, if more superficial, appeal. The grandeur of Roman architecture found congenial, albeit overblown, equivalents in, for example, bombastic American constructions like the White City at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (not as exclusively Roman as Malamud makes it seem); in triumphal arches, baths, or railway terminals in New York City; and in Caesars Palace in Las Vegas. Malamud links political and social concerns to their appearances in popular and especially in visual culture, including newspaper cartoons, stage spectaculars, and eventually the cinema. She deals with two Depression-era films set in the Roman Empire—in this context she is too gullible regarding Cecil B. DeMille's public protestations of moral seriousness—and with the Cold War epic *Spartacus*, based on Howard Fast's novel. Appropriate chapter titles like "The Pleasures of Empire" (chapter six) and "Imperial Consumption" (chapter nine) indicate that Rome lost much of its political and social importance at the height of the American empire. Until recently, consumerism and hedonism dominated our image of the Romans. Are we Rome, or are we Super-Rome? Before September 11, 2001, we may have seen ourselves as the latter; since then and until the presidential election on November 4, 2008, we may have felt closer to the former.

The title of Malamud's book raises greater expectations than 260 pages of text, notes, and illustrations might fulfill. Her claim to have "selected charged moments in United States history when Rome has been appropriated in order to debate the state of the nation" (p. 4) is not always borne out. Caesars Palace, the subject of her last chapter, hardly fits this perspective and is unlikely to have "realized Howard Fast's worst fears about American capitalism . . . and consumerism" (p. 229). Occasionally, Malamud could have provided some more information, for example, on the Hunkers (p. 54) or on an obscure term like *antelarium* (p. 166; not classical). In her references she tends to cite secondary rather than primary sources, thus somewhat diminishing the usefulness of her book.

A number of small errors—for example, in her description of Buster Keaton's *Three Ages* (p. 196); for

"imperial Rome" read "late republican Rome" (p. 99)—and imprecise judgments may be individually negligible but are cumulatively apt to cast some doubt on her accuracy. Accordingly, to speak of "conflicts between Romans, Jews, and Christians" (p. 122) in *Ben-Hur* overlooks the fact that no Christians in the conventional sense of the term existed yet since the novel's plot culminates with Jesus's crucifixion. It is doubtful that Edward Bulwer-Lytton, a British aristocrat, extolled Greece for its democratic values (pp. 129, 131; contrast with p. 133) or criticized wealth (p. 146). It is equally unlikely that Gore Vidal's family regarded the 1933 film *Roman Scandals* to be dangerous because of its critical view of the federal government (p. 186; Vidal's *Screening History* [1992] does not warrant Malamud's conclusion) or that DeMille's Cleopatra ends as "a wife not a careerist" (p. 193). Such verdicts are too facile. The book is largely, if not entirely, jargon-free.

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WILLIAM MCKEE EVANS. *Open Wound: The Long View of Race in America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 330. \$34.95.

Although less fashionable today than a generation ago, the idea that race is a central theme of United States history remains powerfully persuasive and frames this unique synthesis by William McKee Evans. Familiar and comprehensive yet scattered, the book illustrates how "racial ideals have functioned to justify inequality" (p. 10). From the rise of slavery to the urban crisis, Evans shows that the "racial system" continually attributed to black bodies moral weakness and limited intellect, and that Americans used race to unify, divide, or wound again and again.

The work of Evans harkens back to a golden age of race relations scholarship by George Fredrickson and Joel Williamson. If their critics harped on their tendency to locate racism in the cognition of whites—as "transhistorical," to recall the criticism of Barbara Fields—Evans shrewdly enlists the help of Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to explain how white elites imposed a worldview that served their interests while retaining the loyalty of economic underlings. For example, in the colonial period, Evans argues that whites believed in racism instead of following their economic interests by defying white elites, and that up to the eve of the crisis of secession, white prejudice fostered a national consensus despite fundamental regional divergences. From Free-Soilism to the ridicule of black intellectuals, such as Frederick Douglass, to workers' fascination with insulting minstrel shows, Evans presents examples of American exceptionalism when anti-black prejudice fostered an "extraordinary . . . alliance between the richest people in the republic and many of the poorest" (p. 115).

But Evans also observes that northern democracy differed from the southern system of planter mastery because of what appears to be a more vital public sphere.

In pamphlets and lectures, the crazy radicals and isolated idealists of the North thought outside the hegemonic structure of racism and agitated against the Slave Power, eventually fostering antislavery activism that challenged everyday bourgeois perceptions. In a recurring motif of contradiction, the author highlights the contributions of black abolitionists in concert with white reformers, even as he describes a pervasive northern racism. After the Civil War, Evans argues, this same racism fostered the rise of Jim Crow, but here and at other times the analysis slips into overgeneralization. Reconstruction also trained black freedmen in and demonstrated their fitness for citizenship, and party competition sometimes buoyed black-white cooperation. Victorian America may have been racist, but the experience of the Gilded Age city diverged from the southern one-drop rule in significant yet largely unexamined ways.

It may be more appropriate to stress complexities and discontinuities in race, as Evans does in the case of congressional legislators and populist politics. Perhaps this is one of the main weaknesses of the race relations approach that his book exemplifies: white attitudes never change significantly over time or vary much by personal characteristics (class or gender), and black actors infrequently appear as agents who change history. For example, the most significant black intellectual of the twentieth century, W. E. B. Du Bois, appears only once, late in the text, when the U.S. State Department revoked his passport, and yet Du Bois completely rearticulated racial identity, transforming modern knowledge about both feelings and facts of race.

Not until the final section does Evans focus more on African Americans, with the rise of the civil rights movement, followed by a discussion of black losses caused by the crisis of late twentieth-century capitalism. But his vision of the post-civil rights era neglects the northern civil rights struggles for racial and economic equality, organizing by black feminists and welfare activists, and new, if conflicting, iterations of race in contemporary cultures of hip-hop and black queers. In Evans's long view of "race," the power of the economic system always determined the shape of race relations, and yet he argues that American crises just as often resulted in racial anxieties rather than social revolution.

Apparently writing before the election of President Barack Obama, Evans concludes that, by the 1970s, class had replaced race as the key indicator of inequality. He feels that the dream of integration ended with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., but surely a colorblind society in which one is judged on the basis of his or her character is within reach. It may make more sense to examine why many Americans retain a deep faith in classifications based on color, physiognomy, phenotype, and other aspects of what Evans describes as the racial system, as if those things have a life of their own, existing outside historical processes. This book reflects the humanistic labors of a generation of scholars, white and black, who felt a particular repulsion at racism, and it seems to me that Evans outlines

an agenda about the study of social change that ought to be pursued in the future.

KEVIN MUMFORD  
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MARSHA L. HAMILTON. *Social and Economic Networks in Early Massachusetts: Atlantic Connections*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 204. \$60.00.

Marsha L. Hamilton analyzes community relations in a host society established by a dominant ethnic and religious group consisting of English Puritans. Three case studies are investigated: Saugus iron workers, northern Essex County farm laborers, and overseas merchants in Atlantic port towns. Each of these communities featured significant immigration by non-English and/or non-Puritan settlers. Scots Irish laborers migrated to Essex County whereas French-speaking Huguenots and Channel islanders established themselves in Boston and Salem. Hamilton is interested in the effect such subordinate groups had on social, ethnic, and religious differentiation within New England. The principal sources underpinning her research are court and town records, contextualized mini-biographies of selected individuals, and papers of companies, fraternities, and institutions (including the Saugus Iron Works, the Scots Charitable Society, and the French Church at Boston). This evidence is handled dexterously and the numerous biographical vignettes are effectively written, especially that of John Ballantyne, a second-generation Scot. However, aspects of the analysis might possibly have been supplemented by archaeology (for example, an evaluation of Scottish farm town replication in marginal areas of Essex County).

Hamilton's book is structured around the theme of identity: a difficult concept to analyze at a distance of four centuries. The nature of the sources rules out investigation of certain topics central to understanding of cultural difference (diet, health, educational attainment, wealth levels, and consumption) and only permits basic analysis of others (naming practices, fertility levels, and interethnic and interreligious marriage patterns).

Hamilton's method is to draw inferences about identity formation from the social organizations, community interactions, and kinship networks created by subjects drawn from sections of society that have left few written indications of how they saw themselves. Drawing on her three case studies, she argues that non-Puritan settlement illuminates two aspects of New England society during the later seventeenth century. First, she finds that settlers and first-generation colonial children proved able to reconcile their European and colonial identities. There was thus no necessary contradiction between expressing loyalty to an Irish, Scottish, or even French homeland while simultaneously developing attachments to Massachusetts society. Hamilton attributes this facility to the capacity of individuals to belong to multiple communities (both religious and sec-

ular) and to hold several identities at once. Hamilton's archival investigations seek to demonstrate how subordinate groups formed social, cultural, and economic relationships with their own members and also with English Puritans. Consequently, such individuals did not belong to marginalized groups. Neither were they rapidly assimilated into a settler society: "Non-English settlers did not become 'Englishmen.' At the same time, they did not remain purely Scottish, Irish, or French" (p. 101).

The book acknowledges instances of ethnic conflict among white colonists, while reminding the reader that Massachusetts authorities rarely valued dissent and difference as cultural assets. Nevertheless, Hamilton argues that alternative communities who remained in the colony and avoided confrontation achieved peaceful accommodation, in contrast to dissident and more transient figures such as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. While suspicions and resentments might linger, wariness of cultural and religious difference did not automatically translate into ostracism. Factors contributing to community cohesion included acute labor scarcity and the need to retain migrants, identification with international Protestantism by a majority of settlers, the spectre of a common Native American threat, and the development of transatlantic ties through lightly regulated trade and commerce. Overcoming the limitations of her available sources, Hamilton's conclusions make a valuable contribution to historical understanding of how diaspora communities simultaneously construct identities that are distinct from that of the dominant group, retain cultural and ideological links with their homelands, and succeed in engaging with the host community.

The book's second conclusion is influenced by the work of such scholars as Linda Colley and Kathleen Wilson on the relationship between empire and identity construction. Hamilton argues that by 1700 Massachusetts inhabitants conceived themselves as citizens of Britain, in the sense of sharing an entitlement to fundamental rights and liberties, and that the existence of non-English elements played a significant role in creating a "British space" in colonial provincial society (pp. 19, 21). However, the author qualifies her argument considerably, admitting that non-English settlers were collectively too few to influence the political or economic development of Massachusetts. Population estimates presented in an appendix reveal that such groups probably formed less than ten percent of most townships and villages—with the exception of Lynn/Saugus, where they formed a majority. Likewise, Hamilton concedes that religious declension among Puritans, imperial policy making in England, and commercial development all influenced New England. The presence of non-Puritans is thus relegated to the status of "one other cause" (p. 132).

Written with great precision and immaculately produced by the Pennsylvania State University Press, this

debut monograph is a most welcome addition to early American social, economic, and cultural history.

S. D. SMITH

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SERENA R. ZABIN. *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 205. \$37.50.

In 1741, thirty-four people were condemned to death in New York and dozens banished for conspiring to burn the city down. Most of the accused were black slaves; the main accuser was an indentured servant. The dramatic story of these conspiracy trials has been examined from legal, political, racial, and literary points of view. In her book, Serena R. Zabin revisits the scene of the alleged crime through the context of the bitter, perpetual status competition that permeated this outpost of the British Empire. Across five thematic chapters covering the operation of credit, the economic function of family ties, informal and second-hand trade, the acquisition of gentility, and the shifting territory between slavery and prisoner-of-war status, Zabin argues that the trials can only fully be understood as part of a larger story of social and economic instability.

The British Empire of the eighteenth century was grounded in commercial enterprise and its subjects were caught in the social paradoxes that trade fostered. In cities like New York, commerce both rested on and undermined social hierarchy. A written credit instrument such as a bill of exchange was only as good as the reputation of the person backing it, and yet the widespread circulation of such instruments led many to take individual claims of respectability on faith. The resulting commercial culture, Zabin demonstrates, was suspicious and unstable. Eighteenth-century New York City was home to a wide array of con men, counterfeiters, privateers, and dancing masters—all products of empire and all doing their part both to capitalize on and to undermine the social hierarchy that held them together. Skirting the edge of more familiar economic practices of international trade conducted by powerful merchants, these individuals operated instead the "dangerous economies" of Zabin's title.

City dwellers were sometimes pulled into shady trades in spite of themselves. One of the many fascinating anecdotes that Zabin has carefully pieced together from trial records, personal letters, and newspaper accounts involves Elizabeth Anderson, a poor immigrant widow struggling to support herself and her daughter by selling groceries. Retailing was her best hope for attaining stability, but the small size of her operation also marked her as vulnerable. After she filed a legal complaint against four men for attempting to rape her daughter, they struck back at her enterprise. Repeatedly the men tried to trick Anderson into illegal business, be it accepting stolen goods, selling alcohol without a license, or selling to slaves. Their elaborate gambits involving multiple accomplices eventually paid



off when Anderson agreed to accept a poor woman's petticoat as pawn in exchange for some food and was promptly prosecuted for theft. Gender and status, Zabin argues, consigned Anderson to a marginal business within a "particular and discrete economy" (p. 57) that shaded into illegality. Anderson's activities, however, like those of countless women, intersected with, depended on, and contributed to the legitimate business of the port city. In fact, the evidence from cases like Anderson's suggests that illegal practices and dangerous economies were not particular and discrete, but typical and integrated into the larger British Empire.

*Dangerous Economies* is filled with smart descriptions of how daily social and economic activities influenced each other, but it also addresses the hazier issue of urban culture. When frauds used a fashionable appearance to secure loans that would never be repaid or privateers sold free black prisoners of war into slavery, they were taking advantage of the ambiguities that rested between the face-to-face practicalities of local exchange and the expansive possibilities of transatlantic trade. Widespread deception fueled widespread anxiety. While previous studies have focused on the culture of fear spawned by rumored slave rebellions, Zabin suggests that imperiled hierarchies of all kinds fed New Yorkers' violent paranoia. The much-maligned dancing masters, for example—transient men hoping to tap into local thirst for genteel accomplishments—were frequent targets of hostility and suspicion from those who feared the leveling potential of affordable minuet lessons. When New Yorkers rounded up the usual suspects in the aftermath of a frightening series of fires, they brought in dancing masters alongside slaves and free blacks.

In its sixth and final chapter, the book returns to the 1741 conspiracy trials, which Zabin sees as a kind of double con perpetuated by two whites angling to secure their footing in a duplicitous commercial world. Daniel Horsmanden, the justice presiding over the trials who published a detailed account, was a man on the make, using political appointment and lawyer's fees to stay just ahead of his creditors. Mary Burton, the indentured teenaged servant whose testimony sent so many to the stake and gallows, was a young white woman who parlayed her story into a reward of one hundred pounds and freedom from her contract. Their success, Zabin contends, indicates the plasticity of status markers in the British Empire. That the arrests and convictions overwhelmingly targeted blacks reminds us of the limits of this plasticity. The diverse themes of commerce and hierarchy, explored here in rich detail, do not cohere around a sense of chronology or development that could give them the explanatory power the book's introduction suggests. Nonetheless, Zabin successfully uses the 1741 trials as a new and important window onto the multilayered culture of the transatlantic economy.

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NOELEN MCILVENNA. *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660–1713*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. x, 212. \$32.50.

The historiography of early modern European colonization has infrequently, as Noeleen McIlvenna notes, trained its lens on North Carolina. This neglect has arisen both through the paucity of records and through geography: the Great Dismal Swamp, on its northern boundary, and the Outer Banks, which cut off direct access to the Atlantic Ocean, prevent the colony from fitting readily into attempts to place the European settlement of North America into a wider political and economic context.

McIlvenna prescribes an old-fashioned remedy: we should regard early North Carolina as a "Quaker-Leveller republic" (p. 158), where the "ordinary seventeenth-century people" who "built a society of free and equal people" and "gallantly fought for their right to democratic, representative self-government" (p. 160) constituted a forgotten precursor to the American Revolution, rather than considering it in relation to the wider history of early modern Anglo-American society and politics. The defeat of this "alternative society" (p. 4) in 1713, at the hands of adherents to "an intolerant, hierarchical, slave society" (p. 160), comprises one "twist" in "a road relentlessly progressing toward the fullest freedoms of the fullest numbers" (p. 3).

By the early 1660s, a few hundred "disillusioned" (p. 22) refugees from the tobacco-fueled, intolerant government of Governor William Berkeley had made their way south from Virginia; ex-servants who had completed their indentures, together with escaped slaves and servants as well as Quakers, had purchased land from the Indians and established self-sufficient farms and trades. In 1663, Charles II granted "Carolina" to eight proprietors, including Berkeley, but the "independent-minded" (p. 33) inhabitants of the northern section of the new English province resisted efforts to bring them under this authority—albeit with the assistance of Berkeley's partners, who confirmed the settlers' landholdings, granted religious toleration, and created a representative assembly in "Albemarle." The settlers also balked at paying the quitrents due to the proprietors, failed to lay out towns as instructed, and objected to the headright scheme that had been devised to encourage migration; their petition to London on the latter score yielded a satisfactory modification.

This successful negotiation demonstrates that—even at this early date in the history of such a remote place in the English-speaking world and for all of the alleged radicalism of its denizens—the customary early modern sociopolitical system of deference and condescension between the various ranks in the society of orders worked. However, it also demonstrates the limited utility of neo-Progressive historiography for comprehending the workings of that system.

In the first instance, contrary to McIlvenna's characterization, the Carolina proprietors did not involve



themselves in colonization for "profit" (p. 29): quitrents were to pay for the costs of the local government. Moreover, the proprietors consistently stressed their desire that the colonists have charge of their own affairs, a philosophy underscored by the distance between colony and metropolis: the Albemarle government, chosen by local landowners, should create and ratify such laws as it saw fit then submit them for proprietary approval. Correspondingly, the settlement of Albemarle largely developed in accordance with expectations, except in the important matters of numbers of inhabitants and the degree of political strife fomented by them.

For while the proprietors certainly envisioned the emergence of an aristocracy based upon landed estates and provided for the establishment of African slavery, they also, as McIlvenna observes, enfranchised landowners with at least fifty acres, in effect creating universal white male suffrage since all male settlers, including servants at the completion of their indentures, were entitled to more under the terms of their constitutions (p. 37). Like the Levellers, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the proprietor who led the colonizing effort and who consorted with radicals until his death, identified landownership—on a wide scale—as the basis for political power. Ashley also advocated religious toleration as codified in the constitutions.

This view differed in terms of degree from that held by those who preferred a more readily apparent hierarchy in North Carolina. Since we have little unbiased evidence of the nature of the colony's early character, we cannot test the alleged commitment of its "Levelers" to equality—although several founders of the alleged republic sought immediate exemption from the 1668 law restricting landholdings to 660 acres (p. 38).

Correspondingly, "the struggle for North Carolina," like those in its southerly counterpart and in every other early modern Anglo-American colony, centered on local politics and routinely incorporated finger-pointing, including allegations of treachery—such as Thomas Cary's supposed enlistment of the Tuscaroras in his 1711 "rebellion" that invited the telling involvement of the South Carolinian James Moore in the province—and depravity, and appeals for relief to higher authority in London. These petitions, like as not, received support from above (pp. 131–132).

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MARK HÄBERLEIN. *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820*. (Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 276. \$79.00.

The study of religion in colonial America has long been dominated by the story of English Puritanism in New England, but the history of religion in Pennsylvania may be more important for understanding the unique religious pluralism of the United States. Not only was

Pennsylvania one of the few colonies to offer some guarantee of religious freedom, it was also one of the most populous and prosperous. Pennsylvania's "holy experiment" influenced neighboring states in the early republic, especially as the population migrated west. In many ways, the religious life of a city like Lancaster—which had Lutheran, Reformed, Presbyterian, Anglican, Moravian, Mennonite, and Catholic congregations—reveals patterns of congregational formation that were repeated throughout the Midwest in the nineteenth century. By focusing on one city in Pennsylvania, Mark Häberlein demonstrates that cooperation rather than conflict was the norm for American religion in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

One of the most important features of life in Pennsylvania was the presence of large numbers of settlers who did not speak English. American historians tend to ignore German-language sources, but Häberlein immersed himself in these rich records. He situates the German population of Lancaster in the context of transatlantic German culture and religion, which is especially helpful in interpreting Jewish-Christian relations. It is refreshing to read an account of American religious history that begins with the German Reformed Church rather than the English Puritans or Anglicans, and it is even more refreshing to see groups like the Moravians and Mennonites treated as important players in colonial society rather than dismissed as odd sectarians.

Häberlein examines the records of each religious group in turn and uses activities such as building sanctuaries, erecting steeples, and purchasing organs as indicators of congregational development. No one who has been involved in American religious life will be surprised to learn that most of the religious conflicts in Lancaster were within congregations, as members competed for power and authority in the organization, rather than between congregations. He also uncovers the often tense relations between folks in Lancaster and denominational officials to the east as the local population adapted their religion for their own needs.

Häberlein provides an insightful investigation into the interaction between the various religious groups. Although most people remained loyal to a single church, some congregants moved from one church to another without harming their reputation in secular society. Someone like William Henry could go on a spiritual journey that led him eventually to become a Moravian brother without losing his standing in business or politics. Prominent figures might own pews in more than one church. Particularly intriguing are the large numbers of interfaith marriages, even between Catholics and Protestants, at which clergy gave their official blessing. As congregations grew more stable and established, they often engaged in joint charitable endeavors such as the founding of Franklin College. Häberlein's painstaking research into each family in the different congregations, however, reveals that there were clear patterns of religious segregation by status and wealth,

with the Anglicans representing the social and political elite of Lancaster.

One of the most interesting sections of the book deals with the brief but bitter conflict between the Moravians and Lutherans in Lancaster in the 1740s that swirled around Pastor Lawrence T. Nyberg. This was also a centerpiece of Aaron Spencer Fogleman's provocative book *Jesus is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (2007), but Häberlein raises serious questions about Fogleman's interpretation of that conflict as an expression of gender anxieties. In contrast, Häberlein places the conflict in the context of the continual difficulties of securing stable pastoral leadership for the Germans in Lancaster and the desire of many Lancaster residents to remain faithful to the traditions and doctrine of the state church they had known in Germany. Although there was some minor violence, the conflict was resolved rather amicably, and within a few years the Lutheran and Moravian congregations were cooperating in a number of ways.

A strength of Häberlein's study is his focus on congregations as the primary units of religious life in America. He persuasively argues that the famous failures of clergy should not be taken as evidence for religious indifference or de facto secularization on the frontier. By mining the sources carefully, he demonstrates that the laity energetically established stable and effective congregational structures. Even when a pulpit was vacant for months on end there was regular worship and religious instruction in the various congregations. It will be interesting to see if other historians find that the Lancaster pattern of lay leadership in congregations was the norm in the rest of the country. If so, it would indicate that the "democratization of American Christianity" took place long before the American Revolution.

This book is highly recommended for students of colonial society, especially those interested in religious pluralism; however, the recitation of facts, figures, and people becomes mind-numbing at times. Many individuals are mentioned briefly, and it is not always clear who is important or what is trivial. Some sociological analysis of the data might have helped the interpretation and presentation of the material. Also, it would have been interesting to include a special section on Indians similar to the one on slaves. Indians appear frequently in the narrative, but only in the context of white concerns over them rather than in their own right.

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JOHN FEA. *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 269. \$39.95.

Ask any historian of early America about Philip Vickers Fithian and you are likely to get an instant look of recognition. We all think we know the much-quoted colonial American Presbyterian whose diary excerpts, es-

pecially those written during a sojourn as a private tutor in revolutionary-era plantation Virginia, are often mined for pithy remarks. Yet, for all his popularity as a source for undergraduate document readers and lecture anecdotes, Fithian's life and letters have never before received sustained attention. In the first-ever published biography of Fithian, John Fea delves into a trove of previously ignored manuscript material to produce a searching portrayal of Fithian's personal history that also offers a sustained meditation on the interplay of the transatlantic "republic of letters" and the local concerns of revolutionary-era republicans.

Explaining how he came to the research, Fea notes, "my interest in a book project that uses biography to explain the Enlightenment stems from my experience teaching undergraduates" (p. 4). He deserves congratulations for producing a work that brings to life the Enlightenment in an accessible way that captures the significance of Protestant theology and eighteenth-century moral philosophy in the lives of ordinary British Americans, while making an engaging case for their continuing relevance to today's students. Yet the book's potential as a teaching tool should not be allowed to obscure its scholarly contributions.

Focusing his study on back-country New Jersey, Fea persuasively demonstrates that British Americans of the revolutionary era sought to achieve what he calls a "cosmopolitan rootedness" (p. 7). While the work of scholars like David S. Shields and Richard L. Bushman has accustomed us to imagine colonists in large port cities attempting to engage in an empire-wide community of letters, we are less apt to envision colonists in the hinterlands setting aside their churns and plows long enough to peruse a newspaper. Yet Fea shows that they did just that. Even as they employed correspondence and manuscript *belles lettres* to strengthen local, rural bonds of Christian fellowship, rural dwellers like Fithian and his many associates also attempted to take advantage of the transatlantic dissemination of print to become conversant in the urbane coffee-house culture of London and Glasgow. In documenting the literary pursuits of Fithian—a farmer's son who faced down his father's skepticism to take instruction at a local academy and make his way to the seminary at Princeton, yet who always aimed to return to his childhood home in Cohansey, New Jersey—Fea complicates many long-accepted scholarly dichotomies: between Christian revelation and Enlightenment rationalism, between print culture and manuscript culture, and between Americanization and Anglicization in eighteenth-century British America.

In coining the term "rural enlightenment," Fea brings us a portrait of eighteenth-century British Americans deeply connected to the land they lived and worked on, strongly tied to local communities through bonds of faith, yet yearning after the latest in Enlightenment theory and philosophy. In the New Jersey countryside, Presbyterian Christianity and the teachings of new moral philosophy combined to promote the pursuit of self-improvement and the advancement of individual

spiritual progress through networks of communal sociability. For example, when Fithian and his country friends established a debating and social club they called the "Bridge-Town Admonishing Society," it superficially resembled the salons of Europe but differed in fundamentally American ways. Fithian and the members of his circle sought to combine the urbane banter of the coffeehouse with self-consciously Presbyterian spiritual friendships. In Fea's telling, the distance between London and Cohansey did not so much ensure that colonists would fall short of metropolitan ideals as it did ignite efforts at colonial innovation. He shows that Fithian deliberately sought to ground his literary efforts in his rural homeland, quoting Horace, Ovid, and Virgil in occasional verses on the virtues of pastoral life that circulated in manuscript among his friends. It would have been useful had Fea added some contextual discussion of competition for land with Native Americans, but in general Indian/colonist relations seem to fall outside his purview.

Sticking to his chosen confines, Fea discusses philosophy and spirituality with a light touch that undergraduates will find disarming. Moreover, the biographical approach to intellectual and religious history allows Fea to leaven his discussion with frequent reference to the kind of life-cycle concerns, from courtship to career path, that Fithian shares with today's college students. If this perspective has limitations, they come in an occasional tendency to equate Fithian's views (or those of other specific mid-Atlantic Presbyterians) with British Americans more broadly. Particularly in the latter sections of the book, revolutionary ideas about virtue sometimes seem to boil down to the teachings of College of New Jersey President John Witherspoon. Fea quotes Witherspoon repeatedly and at length, although Witherspoon's censorious views on passions and the self, distinct from Fithian's more conflicted stance and deeply at odds with those of his far more influential contemporary Thomas Paine, probably do not deserve the full weight Fea gives them. Indeed, Witherspoon's discomfort at combining the culture of sensibility with mainline Protestant theology belies the very essence of the "rural Enlightenment" of early America that Fea so usefully and persuasively sketches in the main body of the book.

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DAVID J. NORTON. *Rebellious Younger Brother: Oneida Leadership and Diplomacy, 1750–1800*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 239. \$38.00.

The second half of the eighteenth century was a decisive period in Oneida Indian history. Oneida leadership had to contend with pulls by the British and French for supremacy in eastern North America, pressures from American colonists beginning to enter their territory, Iroquois Confederacy politics that led to a major schism and civil war in the American Revolution, and substantial land loss in treaties with the state of New York.

Unlike *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians in the American Revolution* (2007) by Joseph T. Glatthaar and James Kirby Martin, which focuses on Oneida military history, David J. Norton's book examines Oneida diplomatic leadership. Norton describes the Oneidas' important role as mediators in Iroquois Confederacy councils, in treaty negotiations, and in petitioning white authorities. He insists that the Oneida leaders were not "spiraling with their people into political oblivion" but were more effective than previously believed (p. 13). To the author, Oneida leadership showed resilience and was adaptable to the many challenges facing these Indians from 1750 to 1800. To supplement his all-too-brief work, Norton has provided helpful appendices with biographical information about Oneida male leadership.

The author is most effective in analyzing Oneida leadership before the American Revolution. Importantly, Norton emphasizes that Oneidas were actors in their own history and were not just acted upon. In the first half of his book, the author provides new information about the diplomatic skills of Thomas King, a significant, but mysterious warrior in Oneida history. He also describes the diplomatic skills of Conoquieson, a highly influential Oneida sachem. At times, King was openly critical of the British for not carrying out promises made during the French and Indian War; at other times, King worked for reconciliation between the British and the Iroquois. Among other things, Conoquieson played a major role at the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768, attempting to lessen tensions between the British and the Iroquois, even influencing the final delineation of the Fort Stanwix line.

Past writings on the Oneidas such as Barbara Graymont's *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (1972) have focused on missionary Samuel Kirkland and how he influenced the Oneida decision to join the colonial side in the revolution. To his credit, Norton does not overemphasize the missionary's role. Instead, he carefully traces the growing Oneida alienation from both the British and from other member nations of the Iroquois Confederacy from the 1750s to 1776. Oneida leaders increasingly viewed the British as unresponsive to their requests and complaints. Norton brings out that the Oneidas had an on again, off again relationship with Sir William Johnson. British Superintendent Johnson had suspected the Oneidas of helping the French in their attack on Fort Oswego. Later, Johnson snubbed the Oneidas when he used his trusted Mohawks as mediators, bypassing the role of the Oneidas as "younger brothers" in council. After the French and Indian War, the Oneidas were angry and blamed the British for allowing Connecticut settlers to move into the southern part of Oneida territory in the upper Susquehanna region. Oneida dissatisfaction even led to brawls with British soldiers in 1762. They increasingly saw themselves as unappreciated by the British despite these Indians' attempts to foster the workings of the Covenant Chain, helping to resettle other Native peoples within their territory. Their efforts on behalf of mediation also

cost the Oneidas dearly in their relations with other Iroquois. Oneida influence in Iroquois councils waned and other voices arose to serve as mediators in the decade prior to the American Revolution.

Norton fails to make use of some major primary as well as secondary sources. He missed a separate and important Schuyler collection at the New York Public Library. He never consulted two major collections in Albany: the Indian land records series at the New York State Archives and the William Beauchamp papers at the manuscript division at the New York State Library, both of which contain substantial information about Oneidas and their leadership. Regrettably, he does not cite Alan Taylor's work, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (2006), which focuses on Iroquois leadership, both men and women, and their strategies of survival between 1760 and 1800.

The author's overall conclusion is unconvincing, largely because his examination of the period after the American Revolution is inadequate. By 1795, the Oneidas had been dispossessed of more than five million acres of their six million-acre land base. Norton claims that a new era of Oneida leadership emerged by 1800 that allowed "for the creation of a mosaic of cooperation" (p. 147). Yet five years later, the remaining Oneida reservation was partitioned between conflicting parties. I cannot judge this as effective leadership that met the challenges and succeeded. Even though they were allies of the new nation, Oneidas faced insurmountable pressures which their increasingly divided leadership could not handle.

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JOHN GILBERT MCCURDY. *Citizen Bachelors: Manhood and the Creation of the United States*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 268. \$35.00.

John Gilbert McCurdy argues "that historians may have overstated the importance of the family in early America" (p. 202). The basis for this conclusion is the contention that historians have understated the importance of eighteenth-century bachelors, who forged an independent and autonomous identity for themselves that was consequential not only for the American Revolution but also for the future of the nation.

Propertyless single men were among the first to move from exclusion to inclusion in American citizenship. The revolution promoted the idea that republican citizenship had no gradations. That meant that bachelors, who had been subjected to special laws, taxes, and military duties, now "received the right to vote in exchange for these very obligations" (p. 171). Additionally, bachelors provided a model that other excluded groups (such as women) would follow. Bachelors effectively made the case that Americans who contributed to civil society in substantial ways could make legitimate claims

on citizenship. Eventually, these claims would be recognized and accepted.

For McCurdy, the main story of "citizen bachelors" involves the transition of seventeenth-century single men from dependents similar to women into eighteenth-century independent men similar in status to married men. Young single males were ridiculed and criticized as self-indulgent, promiscuous, and often violent creatures who were so self-absorbed that neither family nor community could restrain them. McCurdy's point is that this negative image changed dramatically by the mid-eighteenth century. Although ridicule and criticism of the bachelor persisted, a new tolerance and even respect for the unmarried, single man became manifest in laws, fictional narratives, and recorded experiences. Increasingly, Americans perceived bachelors as fully autonomous, independent men, regardless of age or social status (p. 115). They were not criticized for having failed to become masters or for allegedly harboring same-sex desires (p. 117). Indeed, bachelorhood now became "a vibrant personal identity" (p. 121). The bachelor was inherently heterosexual. His freedom was often cherished. Even when the bachelor's patriotism was questioned during America's conflict with England, his defenders pointed out that the bachelor was willing to take up arms to defend America as well as to pay disproportionately high taxes to support America's cause (p. 162). And when states wrote their constitutions beginning in 1776, it was the bachelor's maleness that made him eligible for citizenship and voting rights. "Legal distinctions between men based on marital status largely melted away" (p. 199).

McCurdy has done a marvelous job of highlighting the newborn independence of early American bachelors, but he concludes on a curious note: "While the legal assault on the unmarried state had long since passed away, the moral attacks were as vicious as anything seen in the colonial era" (p. 199–200). Apparently, everyone did not accept McCurdy's citizen bachelors as political equals. McCurdy does not tell us why the stigma against unmarried, single men persisted. However, those of us who have investigated efforts to regulate sex and reduce crime in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries know that young, unmarried men, especially in cities, were perceived as problems. Lacking social restraints, young men indulged their desires for alcohol, gambling, violence, and sex. They were targets of breach-of-promise lawsuits and ongoing efforts to force unwed fathers to support their bastard children. Because they were unsettled and highly mobile, they rarely qualified for voting rights or jury service. Many bachelors failed to measure up to the expectations of manhood while forsaking the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. In effect, they were bachelor non-citizens.

However, most of them had forsaken citizen rights and responsibilities temporarily. The majority of McCurdy's bachelors eventually married and settled down into conventional family lives. Bachelorhood was a stopping off place where male camaraderie and various



male vices were indulged in anticipation of the more virtuous, more settled, more responsible, and more predictable life of the married man. Whether bachelorhood was a time for spiritual exploration or sexual experimentation, as McCurdy suggests, it was also a prelude to nuptials. Thus, "citizen bachelors" soon became citizens: white males who married, supported a family, participated in a community, and did their periodic civic duty.

Have historians overstated the importance of family in early America by understating the importance of bachelors? McCurdy does not provide sufficient evidence for an affirmative answer. Even if we suppose that bachelors created an independent identity for themselves by the mid-eighteenth century, families remained a source of their independence and identity and families continued to offer succor and support for their itinerant sons. When bachelors eventually married, they usually reestablished old family relations and strengthened their own family ties, thereby making families an even more significant source of men's emotional, economic, and political identities. Well after the revolution, bachelorhood was considered a suspicious, subordinate masculinity that could be cured through marriage and family life.

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ROSEMARIE ZAGARRI, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 233. \$39.95.

Rosemarie Zagarri's excellent monograph explores the intersection of American politics, women's emergence as political participants, and arguments for women's rights in the early republic. Taking as a given that gender and politics are not mutually exclusive categories of inquiry, she explains how and why women emerged from the American Revolution with a presence in the political culture of the 1790s and early 1800s, and yet were increasingly unwelcome in politics by the 1820s.

Within this narrow window of opportunity, Zagarri argues that women were often a necessary component of partisan politics. Encouraged by a theory of rights that posited equality, women promoted themselves—and were promoted by—the nascent political parties. Zagarri explains how a popular discourse on women's rights in this era bolstered women's political participation and provided justification for expanding their economic and political rights. She recovers seventeenth-century writers such as Mary Astell, who promoted women's intellectual equality with men. Astell's argument was developed and fully articulated by Mary Wollstonecraft and Judith Sargent Murray in the 1790s and widely disseminated in the transatlantic world of print. Idea became reality when American women initiated political ceremonies and celebrations, and in New Jersey "all persons" who met property qualifications were eligible to vote. But as Zagarri's title reminds us, such

opportunities were short-lived. Gains made as a result of a political philosophy of revolution and a generous concept of political identity were derailed; women were unable to capitalize on their activities in the 1780s and 1790s and did not retain a political presence and identity in the nineteenth century.

Zagarri details this complex story that involved competing philosophical traditions concerning the concept of rights, the development of party politics that was increasingly and exclusively centered on voters, and the advent of universal white manhood suffrage. This broadened concept of suffrage ironically narrowed opportunities for women: "Whereas a politics conducted out of doors and in the streets had been able to incorporate women and free blacks, a politics centered on the ballot box did not" (p. 164).

Accompanying these changes in political practice was the argument, derived from empirical science, that linked physical attributes with mental capacity. This essentialist perspective identified a natural, immutable hierarchy in which men were more intelligent than women and all whites more intelligent than blacks. The acceptance of this idea in the early nineteenth century provided an argument for excluding women from politics: rights based on equality did not apply to those who were inferior.

Concurrent with this essentialism was a competing theory of rights. Scottish Enlightenment authors, such as Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid, posited a hierarchy that assumed inequality. According to their theory, "expressing one's rights meant fulfilling the duties of one's existing station, role, or office in society, not claiming new privileges" (p. 174). The conflicting theories of John Locke versus the Scottish tradition held drastically different consequences for society: social upheaval as groups claimed new rights on the one hand, or political stability and affirmation of the existing social order on the other hand. But these seemingly incompatible theories could peacefully coexist if rights derived from equality were applied only to white men and rights derived from duties within a hierarchy applied to everyone else. Zagarri deftly untangles the strands of these competing political theories, nineteenth-century gender ideology, and political exigencies. She reminds us that there was no universal concept of rights; people made philosophical choices that fit their desires, beliefs, and circumstances.

This is an engaging book that successfully marries political practice and political theory with gender ideology. It is also a persuasive book. Zagarri combines her expertise in political theory and the events of the era with her knowledge of, and references to, recent scholarship in the field. What makes her study compelling is the pervasive presence of women; we hear their voices as they communicate privately in letters and as they argue publicly for rights. Visual evidence lets us see them at political gatherings on election days. Such vivid sources reinforce Zagarri's point that women were at the center, not the periphery, of American political cul-



ture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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SUSAN BRANSON. *Dangerous to Know: Women, Crime, and Notoriety in the Early Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 182. \$39.95.

Most of this work is devoted to the complicated life histories of two women who lived rather unusual and colorful lives in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia: Ann (Baker) Carson (1785–1824), who took up a life of crime, and Mary Clarke (dates unknown), a writer who wrote two narratives of Carson's tempestuous past. As Susan Branson says about this book, it is a "paired history of Carson and Clarke," women she sees as attempting "strategies . . . to succeed in a society that constrained women's activities and ambitions" (p. ix).

Ann Carson was born to a sea captain who married her off at the age of fifteen to a college-educated naval officer many years her senior. Her husband's lack of steady work and bouts with alcoholism, the author claims, led Carson to open a china shop to support herself and her two children. Quickly, however, her life history took on the tumult and intrigue of a Jacobean drama. Abandoned by her husband (whom she had claimed as dead), she took up with a suitor named Smith; her husband returned; Carson and Smith fought; Smith killed Carson; Smith (defended by a prestigious team of lawyers) was tried for murder, Ann was tried as an accomplice; Smith was found guilty, Ann acquitted. There is more: Ann, allegedly addicted to opiates, plotted to storm and blow up the jail to free her lover (she even tried to kidnap the governor in an attempt to secure Smith's freedom.) Trials and events continued: Ann Carson was arrested and imprisoned on conspiracy charges; defended at the trial in 1816 by several leading Federalists, she was acquitted. Enter Mary Clarke.

Clarke, a fairly successful writer of songs, plays, and pamphlets, seeking to profit from Carson's notoriety, contacted Carson, proposed to write Carson's history, and also invited Carson and her children to live with her in a home she ran as a boarding house. This arrangement led to collaboration and the publication of *The History of the Celebrated Mrs. Ann Carson, Widow of the Late Unfortunate Lieutenant Richard Smyth* (1822), a work that sold well. Despite its success, however, Carson soon betrayed Clarke's trust, leaving Philadelphia for New York where she joined a criminal demimonde of forgers and counterfeiters. Although she subsequently returned to Philadelphia, stole Clarke's furniture and clothing, and departed again (in disguise) for New York, Carson was ultimately arrested, tried in 1823 with her nefarious associates, found guilty, and sentenced to seven years hard labor. She died shortly thereafter in prison. Clarke continued her life as a writer, publishing a two-volume second history of Carson, *The Memoirs of the Celebrated and Beautiful Mrs. Ann Carson, Daughter of an Officer of the U.S. Navy, and*

*Wife of Another, Whose Life Terminated in the Philadelphia Prison* (1838) in addition to a variety of other works.

If all this sounds breathless, it is. The events themselves dominate this curious book, while their meaning is interwoven throughout, garnering less analysis and interpretation than this reviewer would have liked. Branson, who relies heavily on the two Clarke narratives to provide this very detailed history of events, discusses briefly what these stories reveal about coverture and marriage, and about the plight of "independent" women and women's work. She notes the increase in literary production in the early part of the nineteenth century and suggests how this case history reveals problems in the history of gender and class. However, Branson's central argument is that these "women deliberately challenged gender conventions because they could not afford to abide by them"; both women, she writes, "devised ways to do what they wanted *despite* social norms" (p. xi). I am not so comfortable with her view that these women were proto-feminists, or that their actions were strategies to circumvent social practice. For me what is far more subtle and potentially interesting is what these stories reveal about crime, about the relationship between gender and crime, about the pathology of criminal behavior, about the history of the demimonde, and about the intersection of crime and popular culture. I wondered too about the rather extraordinarily close and tempestuous relationship between Carson and Clarke: what besides a juicy and potentially lucrative publication bound them to each other?

Criminal events reveal much about a time and place, and crime narratives, such as those that form the basis of this study, can reveal much about how sensational events were both felt and understood. To get at such meanings, however, interpretation needs to supersede recapitulation, and it is important that the historical analysis confronts the problem of narrative reliability. Branson might have written more about Clarke's literary production, an output that deserves more consideration as an aspect of early nineteenth-century popular culture. And, at least for this reader, Carson's short and chaotic escapades tell us less about gender constraints than they do about the nineteenth-century construction of the female criminal and the formation of an urban subculture of rogues and outlaws.

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SIMONE M. CARON. *Who Chooses? American Reproductive History since 1830*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2008. Pp. xvi, 361. \$69.95.

In this book Simone M. Caron synthesizes the story of American efforts to control reproductive policy in general and personal fertility in particular. Like Johanna Schoen's *Choice and Coercion: Birth Control, Sterilization and Abortion in Public Health and Welfare* (2005) and Linda Gordon's *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (1976), and

later editions), Caron explores the history of abortion and involuntary sterilization as well as other means of contraception. Her book “seeks to determine who chooses for whom and on what grounds” and “examines the reproductive choices available to individuals since the mid-19th century” (p. 2), although most of the volume focuses on the twentieth century. The author sets up an opposition between the aims of population controllers on the national and state levels and those of local women, who often ignored or were unaware of national directives. Caron avers this duality throughout the book. In addition, she maintains that the woman’s rights argument remained a whisper, a disempowered voice in the public debate on reproduction. According to Caron, eugenics, population control, and economic concerns governed and undergirded policy changes on national, state, and in some areas, even local levels.

Caron presents more than a national study, however. Alongside her chronological analysis of the events and cultural themes at work in evolving laws and policies, she offers critical insight into the efforts of one state—Rhode Island—to work within, and at times around, those laws and policies. In each chapter except the last, she includes a relevant piece of a case study of reproductive policy at work in the nation’s smallest state. Caron compares and contrasts the actions of local women and agencies with national pronouncements, challenging the heterogeneity of national policy.

Caron mines a variety of sources, including Congressional and court records. She goes beyond the mainstream media, citing lesser-known publications such as the *Afro-American*, *Black Panther*, *Muhammad Speaks*, *Militant*, and *Farm and Fireside*. Her diverse archival sources include the Family Planning Oral Histories, National Abortion Action Committee records, and the papers of the South Carolina Medical Society. Rich Rhode Island resources consist of the records of the coroner, state medical society, and Planned Parenthood of Rhode Island, to name only a few. At times Caron leaves the reader wondering about the significance of particular archives, giving locations but no descriptions. An internet search for one of Caron’s “Archival Collections,” noted as “Bush, George. Campaign Speeches,” turned up nothing. Perhaps this was an online source, though no Web address is given, an online source that has since relocated.

Caron proves Rhode Island to be an intriguing foil to national reproductive policy. After the federal Comstock Act of 1873 classed contraceptive devices as obscene, many states passed similar laws. Rhode Island never had such a statute on the books, according to Caron. The state also steered clear of legislating mandatory sterilization, while thirty-six other states had such laws in place by 1936 (pp. 110, 114). As appendices Caron presents five nineteenth-century medical society and legal statements on abortion. The documents demonstrate Rhode Island’s refusal to prosecute the women who had abortions, another example of its particular take on common policy. Caron posits that Rhode Island’s emphasis on individual rights might have played

a role in such decisions. In other ways, the state’s residents did follow national trends, opening birth control clinics in the early 1930s despite legal restrictions and American Medical Association disapproval and acquiring their condoms, diaphragms, and douching apparatus mainly from drugstores, via mail-order, at barber-shops, or elsewhere, as Andrea Tone describes in *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (2001).

Caron’s insistence on opposing population controllers and contraceptive consumers can obscure the complexity of the history that she offers. Those who supported eugenic population improvement in the early to mid-twentieth century never represented a homogeneous group, with some decrying contraception and others advocating it. Individuals at times employed eugenic rhetoric even as they acted out of private motives. Caron incorporates several additional sets of constituents, such as religious groups, in her book, but her emphasis on the contest between public population control and private birth control discounts other convoluted tensions that permeate reproductive history. At the same time, the author argues persuasively for the limited role that feminism played in changing public reproductive policy over time. Contemporary debates over contraception, abortion, and sexuality demonstrate the deep, ongoing divisions that have existed in this country since before the Comstock Law. While feminist activism changed many lives and opened opportunities for women in other arenas, it has yet to achieve a majority in matters of sexuality and reproduction.

Caron forthrightly addresses the uncomfortable and unpleasant aspects of reproductive history. From nineteenth-century attempts to control behavior through criminalizing abortion, to arguing for birth control as an economic measure, to 1970s feminist activism and the ensuing backlash, Caron demonstrates the often misogynistic and oppressive nature of reproductive policies. The book incorporates insights from previously untapped sources to expand the national interpretation of existing histories. Asking questions such as who has responsibility for which decisions and who pays for what and why, Caron brings us closer to an answer to the complex question: Who chooses?

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JAMES Z. SCHWARTZ. *Conflict on the Michigan Frontier: Yankee and Borderland Cultures, 1815–1840*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 184. \$30.00.

This book tells the story of how a fluid borderland became a place hemmed in by political, cultural, and social boundaries. It identifies the New England and New York-born “Yankee” settlers who flooded into Michigan during the early national and antebellum eras as the primary boundary builders and traces how they sought to impose their vision of order over what they saw as an

untamed wilderness inhabited by uncivilized Indians and Indianized white fur traders.

James Z. Schwartz explores the political, economic, and social dimensions of border building in early Michigan. The consistent theme that emerges out of these lines of analysis is the efforts of Michigan's Yankee settlers to construct barriers against what they held as sources of insecurity and disorder, be they in the form of Indian savagery, overbearing territorial officials, wildcat banks, jurisdictional disputes, epidemic disease, or alcohol abuse. Schwartz's examination is sensitive and nuanced. He finds that Yankee immigrants did not always fully succeed in blunting the threats they identified and that their border-building efforts at times had unintended consequences. Moreover, the book demonstrates that Michigan Yankees, split by political affiliation, class, and even a rural-urban divide, were not always of one mind on how to deal with the perceived anarchy of frontier life. However, in the end, Schwartz paints a picture of Yankee newcomers who successfully transformed a permissive borderland into a more boundary-conscious place that entered into the mainstream of America's early nineteenth-century political, economic, and social order.

Schwartz contributes to two significant debates concerning the American frontier. He engages one of the central issues of current borderlands scholarship: how porous, cross-cultural borderland regions created during the colonial era became places marked by rigid political and cultural borders in the nineteenth century. Schwartz also examines a question of a much older vintage, one that goes all the way back to Frederick Jackson Turner's famous "frontier thesis": did the process of frontier settlement create a new social order or simply replicate the social norms settlers brought with them? Schwartz's answer is not all that surprising. Although Michigan's Yankee settlers consistently strove to reproduce their values and way of life in the West, they never wholly succeeded in doing so. Instead, they created a hybrid social order that combined norms of eastern origin with elements that were distinctly products of the frontier.

Schwartz's most laudable accomplishments are connected to his efforts to use the story of early Michigan to bring the field of borderlands history into dialogue with a broader narrative of American history in the first half of the nineteenth century. His book details how events in Michigan intersected with issues such as America's "democratic revolution," the politics of the second party system, and the moral and social reform movements of the antebellum period. Schwartz is at his best when he places the political, economic, and social dimensions of border building into context with partisan confrontations between Democrats and Whigs in the 1830s and 1840s. This analysis not only provides a better understanding of Michigan's evolution from a frontier into a state but also deepens, and in some cases amends, our understanding of the political battles of the antebellum period. The Bank War, Indian removal, and other events take on new life in Schwartz's book as

he demonstrates that the political affiliations of Democrat and Whig existed in specific regional and cultural contexts.

Schwartz attempts to cover a lot of ground in a short book—perhaps too much ground. Overall, his work extends the scope of its analysis at the expense of depth. Although Schwartz characterizes Michigan's Anglo-American settlers as Yankees and sees Yankee culture at the root of much of the border building that took place there, we never really get a good feel for who these settlers were or a full understanding of their motivations. In addition, we do not really learn that much about the people whom Michigan's Yankee settlers acted upon: Indians, old French inhabitants, and those whom reformers identified as socially deviant. Schwartz does not tell us much about their experiences, agendas, or whether the reality of their lives diverged from how Yankee elites portrayed them. These shortcomings are likely related to the sources upon which the author built his analysis. Newspapers, novels, and government documents form the foundation of Schwartz's source base. They allow him to detail the perceptions of the Yankee elites who spearheaded and debated border-building efforts in Michigan, but they do not tell us much about the realities of daily life on the Michigan frontier. Last and perhaps least, the book would have benefited from the inclusion of a couple of maps. In particular, chapter two, which details a border dispute between Ohio and Michigan, seems incomplete without a map depicting the disputed region.

PAUL B. MOYER

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BENJAMIN R. COHEN. *Notes from the Ground: Science, Soil, and Society in the American Countryside*. (Yale Agrarian Studies Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 272. \$55.00.

Claiming that there is a prevailing view that agricultural chemistry only became known in the United States with the publications of the German chemist Justus Liebig in 1840 or possibly even earlier with those of the British chemist Humphry Davy in 1813, Benjamin R. Cohen has examined many published and unpublished writings from 1790 to 1840 and finds plenty of what he calls "georgic science" in the work of John Spurrier of Delaware, Samuel Deane of Maine, and Daniel Adams of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. These works grew out of what Cohen calls the "Georgic Tours" of England in the 1770s and 1780s in reference to the influence of Englishman Arthur Young's agricultural writings on prominent American gentlemen "improvers" such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. Since many American soils were losing their fertility as measured in crop yields per acre, even before 1800, a landowner would be interested in almost any kind of improvement, including soil and fertilizer experiments in particular. Some landowners performed their own experiments over many years and even decades; other experiments were carried out by slaves,

who hauled hundreds of bushels of marl and other heavy substances to fields and spread them around.

At first many of these homespun authors were skeptical of various theorists who did not till their own soil. The latter were accused of futile "book-farming." But over time this prejudice faded, as full-time "chemical [sic] men," including non-farmers such as Davy and Liebig, made worthwhile contributions to agricultural knowledge.

These early writers were followed in the 1810s by the first agricultural journals, *The American Farmer*, *Plough Boy*, and the *New England Farmer*, whose editors had no chemical training themselves but favored the testimony of working farmers on their attempts at improvement, including especially agricultural chemistry.

For the period after 1813 Cohen looks at three American authors influenced by Humphry Davy: John Lorain of Pennsylvania, later editions of Daniel Adams of New Hampshire, and especially Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, whose *Essay on Calcareous Manures* (1832) recounted his thirteen years of experiments, mostly with marl, and presented his theory that various acids caused the soil's improvement. Opinions differed as to what effect improved soils might have—in the North it might slow westward migration and in the South it might eliminate (or conversely increase) the need for slaves. By 1840 nearly everyone needed fertilizers, whose actions were increasingly understood by chemists, and a commercial fertilizer industry was taking root.

The latter part of the book focuses on Virginia, especially the Albemarle (County) Society of Agriculture and the Agricultural Society of Virginia, both of which were founded in the 1810s and in which James Madison was active. Their publications again featured detailed accounts of local estates, including Williams Carter Wickham's Hickory Hill.

This quest for detailed geographical descriptions accompanied by some quantification and chemical analysis leads to Cohen's last chapter on the Virginia state geological and agricultural survey of the 1830s, led by William B. Rogers at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. It featured quantitative analysis of soil, water, and mineral samples. The survey's impact has been underestimated because, although it published several annual reports, there was no final comprehensive publication, as the survey was terminated quite suddenly in 1838.

Cohen contends that long before the names of Liebig or even Davy were known in the United States, there was considerable interest in soil fertility, soil exhaustion, agricultural science, agricultural chemistry, book farming, and fertilizer experiments. Although lacking chemical degrees and even training, agricultural editors and other "improvers" were writing descriptions of their estates and accounts of their interventions.

Cohen contributes to the study of Virginia's agricultural development by documenting the increasingly specific knowledge that the gentlemen farmers of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison's times tried to foster. Using diaries, published writings, and private

correspondence, Cohen recreates a geographical view of their efforts to come to grips with the changing agricultural panorama of the eastern United States. That Virginia was not part of the next stage in agricultural improvement—the push for the land-grant system—should not obscure its early interest in and contributions to agricultural improvement.

MARGARET W. ROSSITER  
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ALAN L. OLMSTEAD and PAUL W. RHODE. *Creating Abundance: Biological Innovation and American Agricultural Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 467. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$23.99.

In this 400-page volume, Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode provide an exhaustive compendium of new varieties of crops and livestock introduced into American agriculture over the country's history, devoting special attention to the two hundred years prior to World War II. These biological innovations allowed the expansion of crop production into regions that otherwise would have been inhospitable, provided defense against diseases and insect predators, and established a foundation for massive increases in productivity. With their sometimes qualitatively vivid and other times quantitatively overwhelming portraits, Olmstead and Rhode highlight the largely unsung history of biological innovation in U.S. agriculture.

But this book is not intended only as an empirical counterweight to the many historical studies of mechanical innovation in American agriculture. Olmstead and Rhode challenge what is apparently the accepted position among economic historians that the revolution in agricultural productivity during the period they explore depended primarily upon new machines. Furthermore, the authors use their data to challenge the induced innovation model. This theory suggests that, in the face of labor scarcity, rational farmers should invest in labor-saving technologies, and these investments should induce mechanical innovation.

The text is organized by crop and livestock type: wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, sheep, swine, cattle, and specialty crops in California. The pattern of argument and the varieties of evidence deployed are roughly equivalent across commodities. Take the case of wheat. Drawing on historical statistics, Olmstead and Rhode show that wheat yield per acre rose significantly from the 1930s until the 1960s, but the situation is more complicated than this data suggests. New varieties developed by farmers and breeders of wheat allowed the crop to expand west from the first third of the nineteenth century up until the early twentieth century. But western soils were less productive than those located farther east, and Olmstead and Rhode argue that in more productive soils the newly developed varieties would have increased by nearly thirty percent between 1839 and 1909. Moreover, the authors contend that without the "biological adjustments" based on the experiments undertaken by farmers and breeders, "disease epidemics



and pest problems would have soon gotten out of hand, inflicting staggering yield losses" (p. 58).

Oftentimes Olmstead and Rhode attribute new varieties of given crops to specific individuals, but we learn little about these farmers or the processes they went through while producing such novelties. The relatively few vivid portraits of farmer-breeders may reflect the absence of available archival evidence. Olmstead and Rhode draw on contemporary accounts that credit specific farmers with developing particular crop varieties, but these sources seem not to have provided information beyond the farmers' names. And, of course, the authors' agenda is most centrally to challenge the conventional wisdom in their field, and quantitative data serves that objective better than would a rich social and cultural history of farmer plant breeding. There are, however, occasions when they provide the kind of portraits that seem to capture nineteenth-century farmer research practices. For example, Olmstead and Rhode tell the story of Robert Reid, who is credited with developing Reid Yellow Dent corn. In the mid-nineteenth century, Reid moved from southern Ohio to central Illinois, and he brought with him a corn variety called Gordon Hopkins developed originally in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. When Gordon Hopkins performed poorly, Reid planted another variety, Little Yellow. The two crossed, and "Reid subsequently carefully selected the best progeny to develop an early, high-yielding strain" (p. 72).

Beyond such portraits, this book provides tantalizing glimpses of the changing social organization of biological innovation in American agriculture during the period it examines. We learn about expeditions sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to find crop seeds with natural resistance to the diseases and pests attacking American farmers' fields. We are told about collaborative breeding initiatives between the USDA and farmers, trade associations that developed field and laboratory standards for improved varieties of crops and livestock, and government policies that aimed to prevent the spread of crop disease.

Careful and comprehensive research went into this book, which will convince readers of the ways in which an extensive set of biological innovations changed the face of American agriculture. Still, making this point might have been adequately served with a less complete cataloging of crop and livestock varieties and the environmental challenges that farmers faced. I am still not fully persuaded that macro-level statistics can capture farmer motivation at an individual level or that the actors in Olmstead and Rhode's story can fairly be seen as *Homo economicus*, acting with complete information and motivated by the desire to minimize cost and maximize profit. I also would have liked to have learned more about the changing division of labor among farmers, their business associations, and state and local gov-

ernments in the acts of sustaining, promoting, and increasing a productive agricultural economy.

DANIEL LEE KLEINMAN  
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SUSAN EVA O'DONOVAN. *Becoming Free in the Cotton South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 364. \$35.00.

Susan Eva O'Donovan's examination of change and continuity in slavery, war, and the early days of emancipation chronicles confusion and disruption, idealism and malevolence. O'Donovan provides rich detail and insightful analysis on eighteen counties in the southwest corner of Georgia from the 1820s, after American Indian residents were forced out, until 1868, "the beginning of the end of regional radical politics" (p. 1). One of the reasons to study communities is to gain new knowledge of behavior—to learn how people lived, how they reacted to and treated others, and what their lives meant to them; this study does that remarkably well. O'Donovan reveals the complexity of slavery and freedom by exploring ambiguities, contradictions, and negotiations across lines of race, gender, and power in southwest Georgia. O'Donovan's study provides a perspective for understanding other communities.

White settlers to southwest Georgia were single-minded, intent upon recouping the cost of the land and accumulating wealth as quickly as possible. As a result, they forced slaves in this region to work beyond the limits negotiated over time in the older settled regions of the eastern seaboard. The forced migration also meant that slaves had less social capital, such as detrimental kin relationships and church affiliation and leadership roles. This uprooting disproportionately affected enslaved women. O'Donovan shows that slavery was worse here, and her thesis about the connection of slavery to freedom, rings especially true in this southwest region of Georgia, "where a gendered slavery erupted abruptly but late, and where cotton truly was an immediate king" (pp. 265–266).

As the Civil War disrupted old patterns of life in southwest Georgia, enslaved workers noticed and took advantage. The author provides examples of slaves deflecting animosity away from themselves by stirring up existing class conflict among whites. Even though slaveowners reacted to the new undercurrents by enforcing stricter rules and punishments, the institution of slavery was by the middle months of the war "rotting away from inside" (p. 92).

O'Donovan's most thorough analysis examines early Reconstruction, from 1865 until 1868. Yet there is nothing new in O'Donovan's finding that, while "out-right ownership might be a thing of the past," former slaveholders fully intended that "the spirit of slavery would outlast the institution from which it had arisen" (p. 132). Neither is it new that freed African Americans "acted to derail their former masters' attempts to resuscitate a now outdated system" (p. 133). What is new



and what strengthens her argument is her time period of Reconstruction—shorter—and her emphasis on locale—a good place to study large questions of land, voting, and gender relations.

O'Donovan's effective and valuable analysis of voting is essential to her examination of the limits of freedom. She demonstrates that freedom depends less upon an official proclamation and more upon power. In the summer and fall of 1867, former slaves registered and voted, at great risk to their jobs and their lives. The violence perpetrated by whites against African American voters and political candidates ensured white victories, but former slaves persisted in their struggle for wages paid promptly and in full and civil justice.

O'Donovan examines gender roles in great detail. She explores the value of both men and women to the African American community, often contradictory to what whites considered valuable. Imaginative and original is O'Donovan's idea about the beginning of sharecropping as a system developed by women. Organization of labor for the African American community, according to the author, was "led at a critical juncture by black women" (p. 1). She formulates this process not as a joint effort but more of a story of "freedmen who did freedwomen's bidding" (p. 193). Black women developed a new free-labor system "by constructing a system distinctly their own" (p. 266). Readers wanting to pursue this intriguing theory will crave more tangible evidence. For the most part, O'Donovan makes excellent use of primary sources, in particular court records and church records. She relates the importance of national affairs to local living conditions. Absent from this fine and comprehensive study is quantitative analysis, such as the number of poor and yeoman whites who lived in the region. Population tables would have been helpful.

O'Donovan shows that history does not always get better for the people living it. In this region, "the particular circumstances of black people's lives openly stalked their heels as they passed through a war never quite realized into a freedom they never quite owned" (pp. 265–266). This book is essential for scholars of this period and beneficial to all who are interested in U.S. history and the state of affairs today.

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON  
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REINHARD O. JOHNSON. *The Liberty Party, 1840–1848: Antislavery Third-Party Politics in the United States*. (Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 500. \$75.00.

Reinhard O. Johnson offers the first modern comprehensive study of the antislavery Liberty Party, which flourished in the antebellum North from 1840 to 1849. His laudable effort to capture both national and state stories of the party reinforces his point that the party differed over space and time depending on local political conditions and the influence of individual lead-

ers. Thus New York appears as an atypical but cornerstone Liberty state while Middle Atlantic peers such as New Jersey emerge as relatively weak. New England Liberty grew out of conflicts with Garrisonian abolitionism while western brands, unencumbered by such tensions, proved more likely to compromise their moral stridency for political expediency. The unique politics of individual states, such as New Hampshire and Rhode Island, could deeply shape the fate of the party, while in places such as western Pennsylvania only pockets of Liberty thrived thanks to the careful stewardship of powerful personalities.

Despite this diversity of experience, the larger narrative is familiar: of the Liberty Party's fragile start in the 1840 election, its critical role in shaping the 1844 presidential race, and its subsequent retrenchment and subsumption by the Free Soil Party in 1848. Throughout, Liberty men grappled with innumerable questions of strategy and tactics, such as the U.S. Constitution's position on slavery, the possibility of championing reforms other than abolitionism, and the advisability of coalescing with major parties. Ideologically founded in the evangelicalism of the Second Great Awakening, the party employed an expanding world of print culture to appeal to a constituency that favored social reform and felt threatened by what contemporaries termed "the slave power."

Johnson obliquely addresses questions that have animated the field. His analysis of New York Liberty voting in 1844, for example, discounts the thesis that the party split the Whig vote, thus handing the state and the presidency to Democrat James K. Polk. Johnson's description of Liberty's shifting bases of support after the 1844 election effectively upholds Jonathan Earle's account of the Democratic bases of Liberty support after 1844.

Still, amid much careful work, one is hard pressed to find clear interpretations on major questions. While Johnson redeems the party from historical neglect and charges of ineptitude, the critics he addresses belong to the past. Recent scholarship has anticipated Johnson's resuscitation, and with important implications. Historians such as Earle, Frederick Blue, Stanley Harrold, and Bruce Laurie are rewriting the story of American antislavery, imbuing political abolitionism with a central role in the destruction of slavery. These authors challenge the claims of earlier generations, conceding the compromises the Liberty Party made to mass politics but stressing its accomplishment in spreading support for abolition and its commitment to a practical antislavery that delivered concrete results for African Americans both enslaved and free. While Johnson's work is in line with this scholarship, it is difficult to say that it advances it. His achievement, which is considerable, lies more in the realm of synthesis.

On the critical issue of whether or not the party was fatally compromised by its participation in politics, Johnson is ambiguous. He lauds the party for its inclusiveness, lamenting that the party's end left no political entity equally welcoming of African Americans and

women (pp. 2, 306). But he takes as axiomatic the party's drift into the more compromised politics of Free Soil, as over time Liberty men became "less moralistic and more secular," ultimately falling into Free Soil when they lacked "viable alternatives" (pp. 241, 109).

Johnson sagely notes that African Americans found welcome in the Liberty Party, but he misses that blacks' championing of political antislavery deeply undermines the notion that political antislavery represented a decline from abolitionist ideals. With friends and family in bondage, northern blacks lacked the luxury of withdrawing into Garrisonian pacifism and political abstention. Johnson supports recent claims that the party sometimes placed African Americans in important roles, supported equal rights measures, participated in fugitive slave rescues, and occupied the most racially progressive portions of the electorate. Yet Liberty men may have owed more to blacks than blacks to them. While party organizations did embrace African Americans for the credibility they lent the movement, they were probably not "the major institutional outlets for politically oriented blacks" (p. 242). This was an honor likely held by the black national and state conventions.

Finally, Johnson's largely political story does not deliver on its promise to explore deeply the party's social and cultural contexts. We learn few new details about the Liberty rank and file and how it received party messages. One wonders if Johnson's national scope might have permitted him to reconcile Earle's dissident Democrats from New York with Laurie's "middling sort" from Massachusetts. Perhaps political antislavery, which was so strongly rooted in fears that the "slaveocracy" encroached on political liberties and economic justice, fed on the margins of the expanding market revolution.

Readers may thus wish that Johnson had offered bolder assessments of his solid research. Lacking this, the book stands out for its impressive scope and encyclopedic detail, but it lacks the strong interpretive agenda of a truly definitive work.

PATRICK RAE  
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MARC EGNAL. *Clash of Extremes: The Economic Origins of the Civil War*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2009. Pp. xii, 416. \$30.00.

In this book Marc Egnal sets forth an economic interpretation of the U.S. Civil War. His study, however, is hardly the type of work scholars will find in the *Journal of Economic History* or other venues for quantitative research. Egnal instead has written a long, sweeping narrative that focuses on the interaction of economic and political change. He weaves stories of particular individuals (especially important politicians) into the story, resulting in a clearly written, fast-moving account of economic development and the coming of the Civil War.

The bulk of the book is devoted to explaining the process of economic change, the rise of the Republican

Party, and the secession crisis. In Egnal's narrative, economic concerns primarily (but by no means exclusively) motivated political actors. The Republican Party, for example, had clear antislavery roots, but Egnal maintains that the party's economic agenda of free western land, national internal improvements, and high protective tariffs "was more important in securing a broad base of support and in setting the future course of the party" (p. 227). Many southerners, fearing that the North's modernizing agenda would mean the end of slavery, supported secession after Abraham Lincoln's 1860 election. In Egnal's account, "Secession was a rational act by a group that clearly perceived its long-term self-interest" (p. 263).

Because it is a synthesis, much of the material in this book will be familiar to Civil War specialists. Still, scholars will learn much from Egnal's analysis, especially his emphasis on the Midwest's shift from a decidedly southern orientation to a strong northern one. Egnal's analytical narrative does not simply assume a "North" and a "South" but rather shows the interactions of politics and economics created between these two regions. Indeed, Egnal rightly undermines the notion of a unitary "market revolution" and instead emphasizes that economic change in the first third of the nineteenth century contributed to the growth of nationalism (especially as midwesterners sent their goods down the Mississippi River system), while economic change in the second third of the nineteenth century created a greater sense of regionalism. Egnal usefully analyzes the "Rise of the Lake Economy" to describe the growing connections between northeastern states and the Midwest. Southern politicians who opposed national subsidies to midwestern internal improvements symbolized the growing regional rifts of the 1840s and 1850s.

While there is much to praise here, there is also much to criticize. Egnal's historiographic arguments often attack straw men. For example, he criticizes James McPherson for putting forth an "idealistic explanation" of the Civil War that in Egnal's view focuses too much on slavery. One of McPherson's key arguments, though, is that slavery hampered modernization in the South and hence created important different regional differences over issues such as tariffs, manufacturing development, and education policy. One gets the feeling that to distinguish his analysis from the "conventional" view, Egnal sometimes exaggerates his argument. Egnal's assertion that Lincoln and Stephen Douglas shared "remarkably similar" views on the extension of slavery needs far more evidence and analysis to be persuasive (p. 237).

More generally, Egnal's dichotomy between "economic issues" and "moral issues" assumes a neat and tidy separation of these two categories. The problem is that antebellum Americans frequently connected economic issues to moral ones. Proslavery ideologues bitterly critiqued the moral underpinnings of northern wage slavery, while northerners often pointed to the South's stunted development when making the moral

case against slavery. When Egnal writes that “the evolution of the Northern and Southern economies explains the Civil War,” I was left scratching my head (p. 8). Was not slavery (especially in the eyes of many northerners) responsible for many of the economic differences between North and South? Egnal’s misleading dichotomies will annoy many academic readers despite the merits of this eminently readable synthesis.

JOHN MAJEWSKI  
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BRIAN SCHOEN. *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 369. \$55.00.

Brian Schoen’s book joins a growing body of scholarship on American slavery that seeks to expand geographically—into the wider Atlantic world—and chronologically—beyond the revolutionary-constitutional era and the antebellum-Civil War period—the boundaries of traditional works on the subject. In his impressive study, Schoen focuses on the white, cotton-growing South and its ever-changing place in the national and international systems during the long arc from the early republic to secession. By approaching his subject through the lens of political economy and utilizing a dual domestic-international approach, Schoen makes a compelling argument that it was the Lower South’s active commitment to cotton, its worldwide sale through global free trade, and the existence and expansion of the slave-labor system on which the crop’s growth and marketability depended that created “a complicated political situation at home and abroad, one that weakened and eventually destroyed the fabric of union” (p. 10). Slavery in the United States grew stronger during the modern age because of cotton’s centrality in the global economy of the nineteenth century, and therefore, to understand the trajectory of American slavery, one must understand the trajectory of the international cotton trade. Importantly, Schoen’s international focus adds another layer of understanding about the place of slavery in the economy of the wider Atlantic world while challenging the well-developed historical narrative in which secession was primarily a rejection of economic realism or a reactive response to domestic events that threatened slavery. Southern planters, politicians, and a broader community of interests bound together by cotton, Schoen deftly argues, embraced secession in a proactive move of economic self-interest and based on a calculation that the interests of King Cotton, and the wider cotton-growing South, would best be served outside the Union.

For Schoen, the roots of secession extend back to the early nineteenth-century political and economic debates over embargo, war with Great Britain, tariffs to bolster nascent domestic manufacturing, and federally

funded internal improvements. Through these debates, the cotton South came to see itself as embattled, especially when protectionist tariff policies threatened to undermine its ability to sell cotton—mainly to England but increasingly on the continent as well—and therefore the economic and political viability of the region. With the take-off of British textile manufacturing and advances in cotton-planting techniques and ginning technology, cotton and access to land and markets fundamentally shaped the Lower South’s perception of self. Cotton-growing southerners came to the conclusion that the Union they perceived in 1800 as being composed of complementary regional economies bound by a shared national interest was, by the 1830s, not. The nullification controversy, Schoen argues, was the tipping point at which the cotton South rejected the idea of nation-centered economy and began weighing the benefits of national policies according to sectional cost. This would be the frame of reference within which the cotton South worked to break its dependence on the North through direct trade with Europe and acted and reacted in response to calls for economic diversification and industrialization from within the region, to the international and domestic abolitionist movements, to debates over the expansion of slavery into western territories, and finally to the results of the presidential election of 1860.

Schoen’s focus throughout the book is largely on whites of the Lower South, specifically the cotton-growing elites and the politicians who represented them at the national level. This narrow focus is both a positive and a negative aspect of what is nonetheless a solid work overall. Schoen mined an impressive array of sources, from Congressional records to private papers to reports and editorials in the national and international press. But in his analysis, which he characterized as a “lower resolution” view of the white South, the voices of yeoman farmers, merchants, and southerners who did not own slaves or participate directly in the cotton economy, especially those living in the Upper South, are largely absent. The reader is left wondering about the nature and impact of their support for, lack thereof, or indifference to the overall direction of intra- and interregional debates and decision-making about cotton, global trade, slavery, and secession.

In the closing pages of his book, Schoen asserts that, “It is perhaps not too much of a stretch to say that, without cotton and the international demand for it, there would not have been secession or a Civil War” (p. 259). It was cotton, then, and its place in the global economy that made slavery profitable in a modern age, deepened the cotton South’s commitment to slavery and its expansion, and underpinned the increasingly maligned system necessary for the region’s economic strength, political power, and social stability. This analysis, surely, adds an intriguing new dimension to ongoing debates about the nature of southern economic development, what motivated southern states to se-

cede, why they seceded when they did, and ultimately what caused the Civil War.

BETH ENGLISH  
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MICHAEL D. PIERSON. *Mutiny at Fort Jackson: The Untold Story of the Fall of New Orleans*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 250. \$30.00.

The inability of the Confederacy to secure New Orleans was one of the early turning points of the Civil War. Key to that military failure was the loss of Fort Jackson, a rebel bastion that stood guard some seventy miles downriver from one of the South's most important cities. While much Civil War literature casts a gaze on New Orleans itself (Chester G. Hearn's *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862* [1995] comes to mind), Michael D. Pierson orients the reader to the fall of Fort Jackson as the seminal event that lost New Orleans for the Confederacy.

The circumstances of Confederate defeat at Fort Jackson rank among the most fascinating of the war. In April 1862, the garrison endured a week-long bombardment by enemy mortar-boats and soon found itself surrounded by Federal troops. In light of rumors that New Orleans had surrendered, many of the Confederates feared orders to fight to the last man. At midnight on April 27, nearly half of the 600 soldiers at Fort Jackson launched a mutiny and abandoned the fort after spiking the guns and threatening the lives of their officers. Pierson maintains that "by forcing the fort's commanders to surrender, the rebellious garrison guaranteed Union control over New Orleans" (p. 20).

Pierson's study is less a military analysis of Fort Jackson's demise than a social history concerning the makeup and motives of those who manned the outpost. The author asserts that "the social and economic status of soldiers is directly linked to what happened" and affirms that the mutineers consisted primarily of immigrants and working-class Confederates (p. 33). Accordingly, Pierson maintains that the mutineers were less committed to the Confederate cause than their upper-class and American-born brethren. He argues that social and class differences among the garrison contributed directly to the failure at Fort Jackson and that the mutiny was actually a revolt against the Confederate government.

While the thesis is intriguing, particularly given the growing scholarship in Confederate social and political history, Pierson confesses, "no written record survives that tells the story from the mutineers perspective and so we can only infer their motives from what we know about their actions" (p. 20). Beyond conjecture, Pierson uses documents from Union and Confederate officers to sustain his argument. Yet most of those men were not present at Fort Jackson. Among those on the scene was Johnson K. Duncan, the garrison commander, and Pierson cites the general's after-action-report to buttress the notion of ethnicity and class as elements of

Confederate defeat. "The mutineers, [Duncan] thought, rebelled because they felt no passion for the survival of the Confederacy. In General Duncan's words, the soldiers 'were mostly foreign enlistments, without any great interests at stake in the ultimate success of the revolution'" (p. 32).

Certainly, the passage bolsters the author's thesis. Yet, after reading Duncan's entire after-action-report, one may question Pierson's inference. The context in which Duncan made the statement suggests that such a sentiment was not the general's intent. In the line preceding the quote selected by Pierson, Duncan wrote that up until the mutiny "the spirit of the troops was cheerful, confident, and courageous," while in the following sentence, the general blamed the mutiny on battle fatigue and rumors that New Orleans had surrendered (see *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [1880–1901], vol. 6, p. 531). In addition, several primary and secondary sources indicate that troops at Fort Jackson were poorly trained and poorly equipped. When combined, these elements may have contributed to the Confederate loss of will more than issues of national origin or economic standing within Confederate society.

Pierson's examination of Fort Jackson does not continue beyond the first few chapters. Instead, the author uses the mutiny as a springboard to examine the issues of immigrants and class in Union-occupied New Orleans. While these are important topics, the book title does not reflect such in-depth analysis of the subject matter. What develops in the remainder of Pierson's work is a snapshot of New Orleans as a southern city stricken with ethnic and class warfare. Indeed, Pierson concludes that ethnicity and class lay at the heart of Union sympathies and Confederate disaffection in war-torn New Orleans.

Pierson also spends a significant amount of space rehabilitating General Benjamin F. Butler, the draconian Federal commander assigned to oversee Union occupation of New Orleans. The attempt is largely unconvincing as Pierson's Butler emerges less as a progressive-minded Union leader than as an uncompromising ideologue who resembles a nineteenth-century Huey Long.

This book is a worthwhile read because good historical writing should raise good historical questions and spark meaningful discussion, both in the classroom and around the conference table. Pierson does all of this and is to be commended for tackling a challenging topic.

JEFFERY S. PRUSHANKIN  
Millersville University

PAUL D. ESCOTT. *"What Shall We Do with the Negro?" Lincoln, White Racism, and Civil War America*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 304. \$29.50.

Dr. J. H. Van Evrie was a fanatical racist who wrote *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination* (1868). Dur-



ing the Civil War he addressed letters to Abraham Lincoln and to George B. McClellan. In 1862 Van Evrie begged President Lincoln not to allow the postmaster general to exclude from the U.S. mail the distribution of the *Weekly Caucasian*, a newspaper he and a partner published in New York City. Two years later, after General McClellan had gained the Democratic nomination for president and had publicly rejected the peace plank in the Democratic platform, Van Evrie pressed on the candidate an early version of his racist book and told him that war was not the answer. Van Evrie was a peace advocate who thought the real war should be waged against abolition and not the Confederacy.

Van Evrie is identified in Paul D. Escott's new book as "a New York doctor closely allied with the Democratic party" (p. 46). We do not get the proper sense of this man as a one-idea fanatic harassed by the Republicans, on the one hand, yet also well out of the mainstream of the loyal Democratic opposition. In Escott's attempt to correct "the celebratory gloss" (p. 245) put by historians on the American historical record on race and emancipation, Van Evrie's ideas become simply another part of a great wall of racist ideas that closely confined the effects of emancipation during the war.

Escott is a thoughtful and careful historian with a gift for close reading of evidence, clear writing, and generally restrained prose, but in this book, instead of exploring the nuances of racial attitudes during the Civil War, he presents a grim monolith of narrow-mindedness and bitter prejudice as dominant in that period. The study of racial attitudes during the Civil War is a mature field, with many works published in the last fifty years. The same is true of the study of Lincoln in every respect, of course, but it is especially true of his views and policies on race. Close political context is needed to make future advances in this field, and the context Escott provides here is not always, as perhaps the example of Van Evrie suggests, close enough.

As the subtitle of the book indicates, Escott uses Lincoln as a central figure around which to organize a revised historical picture of white racism that marked Civil War America. Escott argues that attempts to rescue Lincoln's reputation on race after the disillusionment on the subject expressed by historians in the 1970s have gone too far toward depicting him as a radical. The author expresses dismay with "the virtues attributed to the mythical, iconic figure of a celebratory national culture" (p. 223). Escott is tilting at the windmill of the "Great Emancipator" myth. It is true that efforts to salvage Lincoln's reputation went too far, but they have not taken historians back to an uncritical period of hero-worship. It is clearly impossible to go back there if they would: among other things, the insulting and insensitive speech urging colonization that Lincoln gave to an African American delegation in the White House on August 14, 1862, is simply too well known.

Escott insists that his book "is not primarily about Lincoln. Rather, it attempts to examine the way that all Americans, North and South, black and white, dealt with the challenge of racial change during the Civil

War" (p. 249). Indeed the book is based in part on an impressive range of works about race published during the Civil War. Some of these are obscure books like William Grant Sewell's *Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies* (1861); others are too-little-studied government reports like that of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. There are some special forays into research—on apprenticeship in antebellum Illinois, for example—the results of which are interesting but seem misplaced in this book. The author also seeks—and finds—further sources on the enigmatic and poorly documented Hampton Roads Peace Conference of February 1865, which tend to corroborate Alexander H. Stephens's version of those events. Escott provides a careful description and analysis of the failed political campaigns for black suffrage in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Connecticut immediately after the Civil War.

In general, the author's judgments about popular opinion are solidly grounded in reading in the abundant but often underestimated newspaper sources for the period. The reader will find many useful discussions of the positions taken by the Republican press in the period, and these and other discussions in the book will lead eventually, no doubt, to reaching the goal Escott seeks here, a full understanding of the "challenge of racial change during the Civil War."

MARK E. NEELY, JR.  
Penn State University

ROBERT M. SANDOW. *Deserter Country: Civil War Opposition in the Pennsylvania Appalachians*. (The North's Civil War.) New York: Fordham University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 234. \$55.00.

Over the past thirty years, there has been an explosion of community studies published on the Civil War era. This growing body of scholarship has expanded our knowledge of a seminal period in American history, resulting in some of the most innovative and important social history of recent decades. Understandably, most of these works have focused on communities where social structures endured the most dramatic upheavals, which were mostly located in the Confederacy. Robert M. Sandow's book redresses this regional imbalance by offering a northern community study. In the process, he attempts to deconstruct and rectify several commonly held myths about the northern home front—myths that began as wartime propaganda by the Republican Party and have been endorsed by subsequent generations of Civil War historians.

Sandow focuses his scholarly microscope on the mountainous counties of north-central Pennsylvania. Here he finds the same isolation, parochialism, and poverty that defined much of the rest of Appalachia. The region had long maintained a thoroughly frontier character, with a widely diffused population only tenuously connected to larger economic and political concerns. However, as market forces expanded in the 1840s and 1850s, residents found themselves at odds with a growing army of outside investors and local boosters



seeking to convert the region's vast lumber resources into profitable enterprise. Small-scale, independent logging and rafting operations gave way to large lumber concerns financed by outside interests. This classic core-periphery conflict soon created a political and social dichotomy in the region, as pro-development town dwellers increasingly supported the new Republican Party and small farmers and loggers gravitated to the Democrats and their localist, producerist rhetoric. The divisions frequently burst into violence, which set a pattern of resistance to outside forces that would be a precursor of community strife during the Civil War.

As the war began, the lumber region was cool to the combat fever that swept many other northern communities. Many rural mountaineers withheld military commitment out of concern for their small farms and a preference for home-guard service nearer to their communities. Resistance only hardened in response to heavy-handed government tactics to punish dissenters. The Republican press equated ambivalence about the Lincoln administration's policies to treason. State officials conspired to suppress the votes of Democratic soldiers. Local "Union Leagues" intimidated war critics. When combined with the broader currents of northern dissent over emancipation and the draft, these resentments turned the lumber region into a tinderbox of discontent. Federal military units invaded the region several times in 1864, searching for draft dodgers, arresting deserters, and skirmishing with armed dissenters. As in other frontier areas, north and south, the Civil War in the lumber country of Pennsylvania took on a brutal, local character all its own and ended with no clear result.

Sandow takes great pains to reject the stereotype of northern resistance to the war as simply the work of racist, disloyal "copperheads." Indeed, Sandow argues this traitorous image was deliberately created by Republican authorities, who used it to delegitimize criticism of the war effort and strengthen their party's control of the region. This interpretation was reiterated and strengthened by subsequent generations of Civil War historians, up to and including the most influential of the war's modern chroniclers, James M. McPherson. Sandow urges us to reconsider wartime dissent in the north, and to see it as part of a long American tradition of resistance to central authority. Although he concedes the troubling racialized rhetoric of much Democratic opposition to the war in Pennsylvania, Sandow argues against a simplistic equating of all northern dissent with opposition to black freedom. In the lumber country, and, one assumes, elsewhere in the Union, there were many local, complex, and legitimate reasons to oppose Federal policies.

In his zeal to correct what he believes has been generations of bias against "Copperheads," Sandow sometimes contradicts himself. For example, while he stridently argues that there was widespread opposition to the war in the lumber country, he simultaneously asserts that the Federal government exaggerated the extent of dissent and overreacted to the danger. Addi-

tionally, the book does not take a thorough account of the substantial historiography of Appalachia or seek to relate the lumber country to the broader Appalachian context. Finally, there are several repetitive phrases and even whole paragraphs that recur more than once. However, overall, this book offers a valuable corrective to previous portraits of wartime dissent and proves once again that community studies, far from being myopic and tangential, can offer substantive interpretations with broad implications.

JONATHAN D. SARRIS

North Carolina Wesleyan College

CLAY MOUNTCASTLE. *Punitive War: Confederate Guerrillas and Union Reprisals*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2009. Pp. x, 202. \$29.95.

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND. *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 435. \$35.00.

As Harry Stout reminded us in *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the American Civil War* (2006), any thorough moral assessment of the American Civil War needs to investigate the degree to which each side honored the just war principle of differentiation by maintaining a strict distinction in the treatment of combatants and non-combatants. Virtually all recent studies acknowledge that the boundary between the two groups was sometimes violated, but they disagree about the frequency of such transgressions and their overall impact on the conflict, groping for adjectives to categorize the war such as "total," "destructive," and "hard." In the complementary works reviewed here, Daniel Sutherland and Clay Mountcastle focus on the dimension of the Civil War in which the line between soldier and civilian was blurred from the start. Each argues that the Confederacy, through its considerable reliance on guerilla warfare, was itself primarily responsible for the Union military's increasing assault on civilians. Together, they persuasively demonstrate that we miss much of the war's savagery by concentrating solely on major battles waged by conventional forces, yet they overstate their case in claiming that guerilla warfare decided the outcome of the larger conflict.

Sutherland offers a near encyclopedic survey of Confederate use of guerilla tactics and of Union efforts to combat them. Sutherland contends that southerners embraced guerilla warfare at the war's outset, even before Union armies had penetrated the region. Politicians romanticized guerilla tactics—remembering them as the key to victory in the American Revolutionary War—and issued bombastic speeches calling on civilians to make every house and barn a fortress from which to assault the Yankee invader. For their part, white males responded enthusiastically in the summer of 1861, volunteering to serve in small companies of "partisans" or "independent rangers" who would terrorize Union forces with shotgun and bowie knife.

There was a paradox from the outset, however, for as Sutherland observes, the Confederate "government and its guerillas had very different priorities" (p. 53). To maximize their effectiveness, Confederate authorities needed to coordinate guerilla activities within the framework of a larger strategic plan, whereas the guerillas themselves always preferred working independently and were always more interested in protecting their homes than in furthering the objectives of an abstract Confederate nation. Jefferson Davis and the Confederate War Department soon came to regret the initial acceptance of guerilla units but found it impossible ever to curb them entirely. "The Confederate people had seized control of the war," Sutherland declares, "and their passion for guerilla fighting could not be easily slacked" (p. 54). Richmond's failure to harness the guerilla war was a fatal flaw, Sutherland insists. Although guerilla units harassed Union supply lines and complicated Federal efforts to occupy and subdue the South, they also diverted manpower from the conventional armies and, most importantly, they convinced Union commanders to adopt a far heavier hand with southern civilians. The resulting change in Union strategy, Sutherland avers matter of factly, "produced a more brutal and destructive war that led to Confederate defeat" (p. x) by undermining civilians' morale and their confidence in the ability of the Confederate government to protect them.

Mountcastle agrees as he examines the Union military's evolving response to Confederate guerillas. The Union Army "never found a lasting solution for the guerilla problem" (p. 138), he argues convincingly. A similar pattern unfolded in every major theater of the war. As guerillas began to prey on Union supply lines and isolated units, Union commanders quickly learned the near impossibility of identifying and capturing the actual parties involved. They then typically began to insist on collective responsibility, warning southern civilians that communities that harbored guerillas would be held accountable through fines or levies of property. As time passed and guerilla depredations continued, Federal forces turned more and more to what Mountcastle terms "punitive war," defined as the "use of military force for the sole purpose of punishment or retribution" (p. 2). By the war's second year, Federal units regularly responded to guerilla attacks by laying waste to homes and outbuildings in the vicinity of the attack and, with increasingly frequency, with summary executions of male civilians suspected of even tacit complicity with the enemy. This more severe policy was understandable, but it was also irrational and counterproductive. Born of frustration and anger rather than clear-headed logic, it never appreciably lessened the effectiveness of guerilla operations. Even so, Mountcastle concludes, "punitive war became an integral part of the Union war effort . . . a powerful and decisive force . . . [that] . . . ultimately enabled the Union to achieve victory" (p. 2).

The books reviewed here have much to commend them. They powerfully underscore the ugliness and moral complexity of the uncivil war that divided Amer-

icans between 1861 and 1865. It was "a complicated affair," to quote Mountcastle, "waged with passion and, at times, great frustration" (p. 7). If the study of war offers a window into the values of the peoples involved, the study of guerilla warfare and reprisal in the American Civil War reveals the frightening ease with which Americans, North and South, could commit mindless atrocity in the grip of fury. Both studies drive home how misleading it can be to equate the war's military dimension with the chess-match conflicts on the conventional battlefield. Thanks to their exhaustive research, Sutherland and Mountcastle demonstrate how much of the war's savagery was never acknowledged in the official military records. Soldiers spoke with a candor in their diaries and letters sent home that was rarely reproduced in official reports, as both authors repeatedly demonstrate.

Both studies also suffer from similar flaws. The first involves definition of the phenomenon they are studying. Perhaps because what constituted "guerilla" operations was never clearly defined during the war, the same fuzziness sometimes plagues their own accounts. When Sutherland refers to "a legitimate guerilla action" (p. 82), for example, the reader has no clear sense of why he classifies it as such. Another problem involves the use of evidence. Each author may be charged with occasionally reading too much into the allusions to atrocity that they find in private papers. Sutherland, for example, assents in passing to Union Admiral David Porter's observation that accounts of guerilla activity were "half fabrications" (p. 265), but he rarely expresses doubt about the sources he employs. Similarly, when enlisted men refer to atrocities not mentioned in official reports, Mountcastle always assumes that the former are more accurate. Finally, neither author comes close to proving his claim that guerilla warfare and the response to it determined the outcome of the war. Although Mountcastle makes the assertion in his introduction, he makes no effort to prove it and is clearly more interested in showing that the war was more destructive than historians such as Mark E. Neely Jr. or Mark Grimsley have previously allowed. Although Sutherland makes guerillas' "decisive role" the subtitle of his book, he also offers no systematic argument to make his case, and in the end, he leaves the reader with the weak conclusion that "the Confederates may well have lost anyway" (p. 277).

ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE  
University of Washington

MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS. *A Dangerous Stir: Fear, Paranoia, and the Making of Reconstruction*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. 329. \$39.95.

Mark Wahlgren Summers has made a career of chronicling vice during the Civil War era, including greed, theft, and corruption. His latest work examines a new ill: the role of fear in shaping Reconstruction. In this book Summers "proposes two challenges to post war

history as presently understood" (p. 3). The first argument is that fear, particularly of some conspiracy that would undermine republican government, was not an anomaly. "It ran through the bloodstream of the body politic" and shaped Reconstruction (p. 3). The degree to which fears for the survival of republican government influenced Reconstruction is an important question that historians have been exploring for years. The second argument is that while historians of the last generation have concentrated on the unfinished revolution for African Americans during Reconstruction, Summers thinks that they have forgotten that a post-Civil War revolution of any kind, particularly one that might overturn republican government, was precisely what most white southerners and many northerners wanted to avoid. This argument is not as revolutionary as Summers claims, for one of Eric Foner's central points in *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988) was that the emergence of "a nation state possessing vastly expanded authority . . . threatened traditions of local autonomy" and produced political corruption, thus inspiring powerful opposition in the nation and weakening Reconstruction (p. xxvi).

Summers acknowledges at the beginning that "wary readers will spot the flaw in the book's design" and that "knowing what most people really thought, and how seriously they took these fears, can only have a speculative character" (p. 4). Unfortunately, there is no methodology in the book for determining the extent and intensity of fear for republican government among the nation's citizens other than that "politicians usually have sense to stow away a made-up bogeyman when their audiences begin to snicker" (p. 5). Summers promises to "put in caveats and cautions, reminders of other possible motives," but ends up getting caught up in his own tales of paranoia (p. 4). The writing style filled with rhetorical questions, exclamation points, and sentences starting with conjunctions is only a symptom. Hyperbole is common. According to Summers the Lincoln administration's arresting of civilians during the war "allowed martinets arrayed in despotic authority to harry anyone out of favor in Washington," and in regard to Abraham Lincoln's assassination "it is only a wonder that the second gunman of the grassy knoll did not make an appearance, perhaps from the back of Ford's theater" (pp. 29, 42). Internal contradictions also abound. Summers states that "to the most ardent Democrats, as to Republicans, there was no doubt that now the crisis had come when the republic would really meet its long promised end," yet four pages later "many, perhaps most, Republicans had never expected a coup at all" (pp. 211, 215). In another instance, Summers contends that after 1868 "the new press scapegoats were men on the make, not Caesars clutching power," before correctly noting fifteen pages later that after 1868 many explicitly compared Grant to a Caesar bent on destroying the republic (pp. 221, 236).

Republicanism is central to Summer's arguments, but he sometimes seems to have problems grasping key components of it. He argues that "men on the make"

did not arouse the same level of fear as Caesars because this was "a threat to American morals and public ethics, but one wholly consistent with the survival of republican institutions" (p. 221). In traditional republican thought, however, corruption was often considered just as much a threat as centralized power. Summers's misunderstanding of republicanism may stem from the absence of seminal works on the subject by the likes of Joyce Appleby, J. G. A. Pocock, Daniel Rodgers, and Robert Shalhope from his bibliography. The lack of proper historiographical grounding is endemic and undermines both Summers's claims of originality and his arguments. For example, despite an entire chapter on Copperheads, Jennifer Weber, author of the most important work in a generation on the subject, is never mentioned. Most perplexing for a book on Reconstruction is the complete absence of Heather Cox Richardson, arguably the era's most influential historian for the last decade. Richardson anticipated significant parts of Summers's arguments in *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865–1901* (2001), commenting on how "Democrats' antiauthoritarianism led them to toward fears of conspiracy" and opponents "colluding to cause the destruction of personal liberty and independence of individuals through consolidations of capital or a strong government" (p. 8).

Summers has written some fine history books, but the one reviewed here is not one of them. While popular audiences may enjoy the drama, historians will find many problems with the book and little that is new.

ANDREW L. SLAP

East Tennessee State University

SUSAN M. SCHWEIK. *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public.* (The History of Disability.) New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 431. \$35.00.

In the years between 1867 and 1913, numerous cities across the United States—San Francisco, Portland, Chicago, Columbus, Lincoln, Omaha, Los Angeles, and more—passed "unsightly beggar" ordinances, or, as they also became known through the pioneering disability rights work of Robert Burgdorf, Jr., "ugly laws," which prohibited the diseased, maimed, mutilated, or otherwise deformed from exposing themselves to view on the streets or in other public places. Susan M. Schweik's remarkable book reconstructs the history of these laws and their subjects, and in so doing illuminates the "conditions of disability" in early twentieth-century America. Schweik combines a sophisticated grasp of disability, critical race and social theory, extensive archival and legal research, close textual analysis, and broad reading in a wide range of historical and other literatures. Her account brings the insights of disability history and theory to bear on systems of exclusion, subordination, and othering more generally in American life as the United States entered the twentieth century (p. 2).

The elegant three-part framing of the book begins by

tracing the forces shaping the construction of the unsightly beggar. As Schweik explains, the influx of disabled veterans into cities after the Civil War, industrial capitalism with its rising tide of injury and labor unrest, explosive urban growth, and massive immigration, combined with the conflict and social discomfort of beggars in a “free-labor” society, the concurrent rise of eugenics and state institutions for the housing of defectives, fear of the “vagabond,” a culture of disgust, and a “reforming culture of compassion” to produce the unsightly beggar. This combination fed a sense of urgency in distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving poor, the truly disabled (in need of care) from the faker, the embrace of law as a means of social ordering, and “mapping the city beautiful” (p. 69). “Like other petty behavior laws,” Schweik notes, “the ugly law emerged in response to new disciplines of the body in post-Civil War urbanization” (p. 31).

Schweik brings further nuance to this picture in part two, contextualizing the unsightly beggar within other contemporary regimes of order, hierarchy, and exclusion, including gender, sexuality, immigration, race, religion, and national identity. The unsightly beggar, she persuasively argues, shared “an American genealogy” with women, sexual deviants, Jews and racialized others, and immigrants: “All were marked as inferior bodies to be concealed and to be controlled” (p. 142). These chapters offer a series of stunning finds and insights. Ugly law was situated in municipal codes alongside provisions relating to decency, purity, gender, and sexuality—what Schweik artfully refers to as the “textual surround” of ugly law—legal protections against the commodification of the body in socially unacceptable ways. She deftly traces the gendered readings of “unsightly,” as well as the tension posed by begging disabled war veterans (could a beggar be a man?) and the licensing fee and ugly law exemptions they received, among the earliest example of veterans’ preferences. Schweik reminds us that although the laws rendered all unsightly beggars “dependent,” many begged in part to support other family members. She traces the gendered other—the viewer—imagined by unsightly beggar ordinances; the association of defectives and unsightly begging with immigrants (building on the work of Nayan Shah, Douglas Baynton and others); and the parallels between ugly laws and Jim Crow.

Ugly laws were unnecessary: there were plenty of ordinances on city books that gave police the power to clear the streets of beggars, including unsightly beggars, even before passage of these targeted ordinances. They were also ineffectual: they went unenforced as often or even more often than they were enforced. Yet they had extraordinary boundary-setting power. They defined the indigent disabled as non-persons. They gave police a flexible tool that posed an additional threat to the livelihoods and humanity of those already disadvantaged. In part three, Schweik documents the extraordinary contemporary challenge to ugly laws embedded in little-known literature penned by the disabled, highlighting the parallel of these narratives to slave narra-

tives (see, for example, the work of Arthur Franklin Fuller). She also discusses the embrace of ugly law as a torch in the disability rights movement beginning in the 1970s, the formal removal of ugly laws from city codes, and, finally, the persistence of vestiges of “ugly thinking” in enforcement of the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act and everyday life.

This is a powerful book, essential reading for scholars of disability, race, gender, sexuality, immigration, urban, legal, social movement, and twentieth-century history more generally—indeed, for anyone concerned about law and its power and the limits of that power to define borders of belonging.

BARBARA YOUNG WELKE  
University of Minnesota

JIM NORRIS. *North for the Harvest: Mexican Workers, Growers, and the Sugar Beet Industry*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 223. \$22.95.

This book attempts to provide equal coverage to Mexican sugar beet workers (*betabeleros*), the sugar beet industry, and the farmers who contracted with the industry and employed the workers. This is not the first book that treats any of these subjects. Indeed the historiography on the rise of the sugar beet as a supplement or replacement for the ubiquitous sugar cane product is extensive. Nor is this book the first to treat Mexican agricultural workers in the northern Midwest. Dennis Nodín Valdés in his groundbreaking work *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917–1970* (1990) pioneered this territory of history.

Jim Norris embarks on a unique approach to the topic by carefully weaving the story of a triad that emerged in Minnesota’s Red River Valley as the sugar beet market boomed in the latter nineteenth and continued into the twentieth century in a roller coaster ride of busts and booms. The need to profit from the revolutionary technology that extracted sugar from beets forged a symbiotic relationship among farmers, Mexicans workers, and sugar processors, primarily the American Crystal Sugar Company.

During the century covered by Norris’s study, this triad experienced many changes in what can best be described as a dialectical process. In the late nineteenth century, Red River Valley farmers cultivated mainly wheat, potatoes, and barley. With the modernization and urbanization of the industrial world the demand for sugar-based products increased dramatically. This prompted horticulturists to perfect the method of extracting sugar from beets as an alternative to sugar cane, a product limited geographically as to where it could be grown. Many regions in the cold climes of northern Europe and the United States engaged in producing the increasingly valuable sugar beet. In the Red River Valley astute farmers changed to beets, and by the end of the nineteenth century many others followed.

But the labor requirements for raising and harvesting sugar beets were more demanding than farmers were



used to. After they depleted local sources, farmers turned to migrant labor, mainly German Russians, and then Mexicans. New methods of marketing confronted the beet producers, but sugar conglomerates quickly stepped in; the American Crystal Sugar Company in the Red River Valley began buying and refining the beets in the midst of the farms that produced them.

Eventually, Mexican migrants from South Texas became the main labor source, a development that created a prime opportunity for labor recruiters who became part of a strategic equation in the producing of sugar beets. Texas Mexicans came to work in the summer, but in winter most returned to their South Texas homes. Their circuitous route fashioned a migrant culture, carved out by three generations or more of farm workers. In this book Norris examines closely the relationship that family farmers evolved with powerful sugar producers, such as the Crystal Company. Usually, the company dictated to farmers and kept them in line, although it offered profitable prices for their sugar. Finally, in mid-century the growers bought the sugar refinery and had more control over sugar prices.

In a small section of the book, Norris examines overt exploitation of Mexican workers and the discrimination that they suffered in Minnesota. This discussion focuses on the experiences of migrant laborers in their home state of Texas, offering an optimistic view of the treatment afforded to Mexican *betabeleros* in the North. Instead of providing a litany of abuses, Norris demonstrates how the lot of the migrants improved, mainly because of the prodding of social workers, government dictates, and sometimes the sugar company itself. Often the author hints that *betabeleros* saw their situation in the Red River Valley as advantageous because conditions were so much worse in Texas or in Mexico.

The author accomplishes his objective of viewing labor history through a holistic approach. What is missing is the development of the human tradition. In the beginning of the book we are teased into thinking that such a dimension will be present when Norris introduces us to Lloyd, a sugar beet farmer, and Jesus, a migrant harvester. Unfortunately, these characters soon disappear, displaced by a conventional and somewhat abstract assessment of growth in the sugar beet industry. To be sure, Norris carefully places human beings in the process but without a discussion of their everyday life. To some degree it is a relief that the author does not subject us to such tiresome theories as the role of whiteness or other trendy conjectures. But a more defined discussion of the cultural, class, and racial position of the triad of actors would have made for a more interesting read.

F. ARTURO ROSALES  
Arizona State University

CONNIE Y. CHIANG, *Shaping the Shoreline: Fisheries and Tourism on the Monterey Coast*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 282. \$35.00.

From the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth, Monterey's coastline was shaped and transformed by two conflicting but often overlapping industries: fisheries and tourism. Connie Y. Chiang's excellent book chronicles the rising and falling fortunes of both industries, the first rooted in the "old" western economy of production and extraction and the second emerging from a "new" western economy of middle-class consumption and leisure. Chiang deftly shows how these two competing economies were deeply entangled, how they developed and existed side by side for most of the century, and how they both perpetuated racial and class hierarchies and rested upon an edifice of immigrant labor. In a book that refreshingly blends the history of tourism and industry over the course of a century, Chiang rejects "oversimplified dualities" and "simple dichotomies." Her approach combines humans and nature, "work *and* play, labor *and* leisure" (p. 9).

The basic themes of this book will be familiar to historians of the American West: elite tourism, from the nineteenth century to the present, reflected class divisions; the fisheries, like other extractive industries, were riven by ethnic, class, gender, and craft conflict; the industrial sardine fisheries collapsed due to overfishing (an occurrence that scientists and government bureaucrats were unable to check); nature often disrupted the best laid plans of humans; tourism and fisheries ultimately came into conflict over which would shape the shoreline and, in the postwar period, with the extractive industries in decline and middle-class tourism on the rise, tourism won out as developers and planners designed a waterfront that merged a mythic version of Monterey's industrial past with the physical beauty and environmental (but not social) diversity of its coastline.

Chiang's tale of the dispossession and relocation of Chinese immigrant fishers and the subsequent romanticization of their culture for the purposes of ethno-tourism savors of the treatment of Native Americans in the American West. Chiang tells a poignant vignette about how white residents and powerful land developers forced the removal of a Chinese fishing village because of the odors that emanated from their squid-drying operations. After the inhabitants' removal, white residents began to sentimentalize the culture of these Chinese for purposes of tourism. "Chinese fishermen were objectionable in one context but quaint in another," she writes. "Staged, sanitized, and idealized for a white audience, their labor and cultural traditions became the focus of the Feast of Lanterns" (p. 36).

The story of Monterey is, then, similar to that of many towns throughout the American West where blue-collar, resource-extractive industries have given way to white-collar eco-tourism. The importance of Chiang's telling is that she excavates the interconnections between that old and new economy: how they both existed for much of the century; how they both reflected class, gender, and ethnic tensions; and how they both exacted a toll upon the environment. It is a common tale of how the extractive industries, like the sardine fishery, suffered environmental disaster, but it is much



less common to find, in the same book, a story of how the postindustrial tourist economy also impacted the environment. Chiang shows how modern eco-tourism (embodied in the Monterey Aquarium) emphasized environmental diversity while smoothing over human diversity and, further, how modern environmental consumption (in the form of tourism) catered to the “well-heeled” middle classes but ultimately found itself dependent upon the labors of low-wage, immigrant service workers.

Like much of the new environmental history influenced by William Cronon (who writes the foreword to this book) and Richard White, who was the author's mentor at the University of Washington, Chiang's primary contribution is bringing social history into environmental history. Indeed, to the extent that humans rather than nature take center stage, her history is *primarily* a social history that highlights the powerful relationship between controlling nature and exerting social control, as in the propensity of “those with power and influence” to use “social distinctions as tools to limit access to nature and assert their dominance over the coastline and other groups of people” (p. 7). As such, this valuable book will appeal to historians of race, labor, tourism, the environment, and the American West.

DAVID ARNOLD  
Columbia Basin College

VINCENT J. CANNATO. *American Passage: The History of Ellis Island*. New York: HarperCollins. 2009. Pp. viii, 487. \$27.99.

We live in a new era of mass immigration. The numbers and origins of immigrants to America, the high ratio of undocumented immigrants, and questions about their assimilation and impact divide Americans in their national dialogue about immigration policy. Few seem satisfied with the current laws or how to enforce them. Perhaps the history of Ellis Island can teach us some perspective. Vincent J. Cannato's fine book offers this perspective and more.

Cannato has written a “biography” of Ellis Island, which in 1892 replaced Castle Garden as the main entry because the federal government exerted firmer control over immigration as the origin and perceived nature of the immigrants changed. Much of the book focuses on how and why immigration laws were created, interpreted, and executed at Ellis Island and how this changed during the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the United States. Throughout, Cannato uses vignettes of ordinary immigrants to illustrate the plight, challenges, and success that most achieved. Yet he avoids oversentimentality and rightly emphasizes that the vast majority of immigrants were not subject to the hostile treatment and rejection that are often associated with this period. Exclusion was generally miniscule—usually in the range of a few tenths of one percent. But gradually the determination to restrict certain types of immigrants grew. Concerns over health issues,

especially severe outbreaks of typhus and cholera, were legitimate enough, but sometimes these were used to exclude immigrants from Eastern Europe who were not sick. Likewise, New England's Brahmin class led much of the agitation for restriction and organized the Immigration Restriction League, which was also supported by labor leaders such as Terence Powderly, who served as Commissioner General of Immigration, and the English immigrant Samuel Gompers, a critic of Powderly who nonetheless wanted to restrict immigrant labor. But what is more surprising is the strength of the opposite organization, the National Liberal Immigration League, which was energized by America's industrialists whose thirst for cheap labor was not yet satisfied, and especially the various ethnic groups already in America, who were eager to receive more of their former countrymen. Cannato follows these opposing forces and highlights their attempts to lobby the government, which had to deal with rising immigration within the context of Progressive reforms.

Especially interesting and revealing is Cannato's handling of the complex and evolving leadership of President Theodore Roosevelt, who started out supporting literacy tests and other restrictions but increasingly relaxed his attitudes, largely out of political considerations, and effectively “straddled the immigration question.” President William Howard Taft seemed less engaged on the issue, as did Woodrow Wilson, who was more concerned with trade, the tariff, and other economic reforms. Unlike some immigration historians, Cannato is not afraid to use the term “new immigrants” for those who poured in around the turn of the century, but he does not use it pejoratively or out of context. Nor does he restrict himself to those who arrived from southern and eastern Europe. Although the majority of immigrants to the United States now came from these regions, immigrants from Britain and northwest Europe are also given considerable attention.

The years immediately before and after World War I saw the most drastic changes in U.S. immigration policy. The rise of eugenics and intelligence testing inspired some Ellis Island commissioners, like Prescott Hall, to weed out the “deficient” ones, although such determinations were often loaded with cultural biases. “Moral Turpitude” also became a reason to exclude some immigrants, including prostitutes and pimps as well as divorcees who were guilty of adultery. Cannato is right not to dismiss this entire movement as racial hysteria: there were real problems with sexual slavery and other criminal behaviors, although these were indeed exaggerated by those who wanted to narrow the door to immigration. The war brought new concerns about enemy aliens, of which there were not a few, and the passage of the literacy test, which was not strictly enforced. But the Bolshevik Revolution is what really terrified Americans. It led to more deportations of socialists and anarchists, including Emma Goldman, and the enactment of quota systems that discriminated against non-Anglo-Saxons; the latter were not fully repealed until the 1960s. Cannato reminds us that the

quota laws were also inspired by the fact that unprecedented millions were lining up to flee the post-World War I chaos and could have overwhelmed the system, and the United States had the right to exercise national sovereignty. The economic distress of the Great Depression also kept the doors mostly shut, and not until after World War II, and the Cold War, did large-scale immigration resume. By then Ellis Island was already becoming a relic, and a powerful reminder of America's generous but flawed immigration history.

WILLIAM E. VAN VUGT  
Calvin College

MARLIS SCHWEITZER. *When Broadway Was the Runway: Theater, Fashion, and American Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 310. \$39.95.

Marlis Schweitzer's book provides a rich and highly readable historical analysis of the relationship among Broadway theater, fashion, gender, and consumerism. Drawing on a wide range of primary sources, and interweaving scholarship on theater, department stores, fashion, and consumer culture more generally, Schweitzer demonstrates the motivations of the players who hoped to shape women's aspirations and consumer practices as well as the vast agency practiced by female consumers themselves. It is a story that was waiting to be told, and Schweitzer tells it in a meticulous and insightful way.

The book opens with what surely was a troubling example of women's agency for those who hoped to capitalize on women's spending but keep notions of female respectability intact. On June 13, 1908, a group of thirteen hundred women, responding to a promotional stunt, flooded the New Amsterdam Theater at Broadway and 42nd Street. Some of the theatergoers may have been there on that particular night primarily to take in the popular operetta *The Merry Widow*, but most hoped to trade in a theater entrance coupon for a Merry Widow hat, an even more fashionable commodity, after the show. The theater manager who devised the invitation hoped both to fill the seats and to manage the crowd. He succeeded wildly in his first endeavor and failed miserably in the second. Many women left their seats during the show to jockey for position in the hat-box lineup; others joined what became a near-brawl at the end of the performance. This fascinating account of what might be expected in the bargain basement of a department store and not in a respectable theater, among middle-class women who arguably could have afforded to buy the hats rather than among working women looking for beauty and bargains, provides Schweitzer an opening for her multiple strands of analysis. Broadway theater, in her reading, blurred the lines between class and gender, between department store and theater, and between stage and street.

Among its many strengths, this book provides a close reading of the relationship between the development of Broadway theater and the development of New York City's department stores. As Schweitzer explains, these

two institutions both helped create the Ladies' Mile, a female-centered consumer district, and then later helped expand that consumer space beyond its initial geographic borders. From choosing locations near each other in order to capitalize on women's street traffic, to promoting fashions that linked Broadway stars with everyday shoppers, to featuring shop-girl musicals that highlighted the links between women and commerce, theaters and department stores consciously and unconsciously helped shape American consumer culture. Department store window dressers designed store windows that looked like elaborate stage productions, and theaters began to include product placements and to feature fashions designed not in fashion houses but in department stores. Both sought to contain or downplay the occasionally erupting labor issues that threatened the illusion of female consumption divorced from consumer responsibility.

This work carefully documents changes in American values from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. In their engagements with fashion, theater going, and shopping, women's demands for respectability on the streets and in commercial institutions gradually gave way to their demands for pleasure in those same spaces. Some of the seemingly fierce boundaries of race and class gave way to more fluid notions of women's appropriate performances of femininity and beauty. Consumer opportunities as modeled in theater and acted out in shopping supported the notion that beauty came not from within but was artificially imprinted on the body and thus available to greater numbers of women. Even so, as Schweitzer documents, those women with less of a hold on whiteness (Jewish, African American, and Irish stage performers) had to negotiate a number of real boundaries in their interpretations of fashion and of professionalism in the theater world.

There is a great deal more in this book than I have space to mention. Schweitzer provides a close reading of the conflicts between theater critics and the businessmen who attempted to turn theater from a highbrow enterprise to entertainment for the masses. These same critics, who often peddled antisemitism amid that set of critiques, also turned their attention to women, both working class and middle class, who equally effectively seemed to degrade the art form by their presence, their own theatrical performances as fashion-minded theatergoers, and their exuberance. The book includes dozens of images, of maps, cartoons, advertisements, and photographs, which work effectively to bring the reader back to a Times Square of a hundred years ago.

JENNIFER SCANLON  
Bowdoin College

JAN OLSSON. *Los Angeles before Hollywood: Journalism and American Film Culture, 1905 to 1915*. Stockholm: National Library of Sweden. 2008. Pp. 479. \$35.00.

Jan Olsson's title might be called a necessary but not sufficient indication of the wide-ranging scope of his study, which explores not only journalistic discourses on

early twentieth-century U.S. film culture but also the multifaceted interfaces between the press and motion pictures in the period 1905–1915. Los Angeles is a central though not exclusive focus, representing a contribution to the developing “local history” scholarship in film studies that aims to accumulate data on the emergence of cinema in varied cities and communities, based on intensive archival research. The author functions as both *flâneur* and detective, to adapt a formulation of film historian Tom Gunning, in guiding readers through numerous aspects of the historical reception of American film culture, as well as historiographic debates in the cinema studies field.

The formulation “Los Angeles before Hollywood” points away from familiar accounts of the movie industry’s growth and concentration in southern California, even though the time frame 1905–1915 encompasses the beginnings of that other story. The emphasis instead is on film exhibition and spectatorship, on entrepreneurs opening theaters and patrons attending them, and on the responses of media, government, and civic institutions to the ways in which movies were screened and watched. In this perspective, 1905 marks the commencement of the “nickelodeon era,” the expansion of movie-going in storefront five-cent theaters, and 1915 denotes the end of what film historians call the “transition era,” when short-film programs and humble venues gave way to more sumptuous houses and feature-length films. Olsson considers this decade of transformation within “the general patterns of socio-cultural change wrought by modernity” (p. 24): the latter a frequently invoked but also contested term, as the author concedes, in film historiography.

Olsson’s signal research contribution is his study of film reportage in no fewer than eleven Los Angeles newspapers of the period (pp. 397–398). From this accreted evidence, he charts “five stages of media interaction” (p. 69) with the movies. The first, going back to the inaugural exhibitions of the 1890s, emphasizes technology, a concern with how motion pictures were made, with the apparatus and its potential for recording the world and its impact on visual experience. The second, coinciding with the arrival of nickel theaters, takes on the character of urban anthropology, *flâneur*-journalists strolling through inner city districts observing the crowds of moviegoers and surrounding street life and reporting on this strange new cultural behavior. Third comes a reform and regulatory mode, concerned with issues of health and morals within the viewing space and the larger question of deleterious social effects of movie stories, through, for example, observing sexual behavior or criminal methods. The fourth, after 1910, represents a new regard, a growing familiarity with and normalization of film culture as a part of daily life. And the last stage, perhaps fully expressive of modernity’s impulses, involves newspapers’ direct participation in and exploitation of movie culture, soliciting advertising, staging promotions, offering film reviews and personality profiles as standard arts and feature coverage.

Olsson enlivens this schema with his own personality

profiles drawn from the archival material he has unearthed. There is Harry C. Carr, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter who chronicled the rise of the nickelodeons and their audiences, and Alice Stebbins Wells, described as the first American policewoman, appointed in 1910 in Los Angeles to carry out a reform mandate, steering young women away from the corrupting influences of popular amusements. A key figure is Grace Darling (not her original name), a movie bit player hired by one of the early weekly newsreels, *Hearst-Selig News Pictorial*, and hyped, the author recounts, as a female star reporter. Olsson links her new profession to the fictional movie serial heroines then at the height of popularity. In 1915 Darling embarked from New York through the Panama Canal to California, her progress reported weekly in the newsreel and extensively in the Hearst press, promoting, according to Olsson, both the new medium itself, and tourism to California.

Olsson’s account of early Los Angeles film exhibition and spectatorship is highly detailed, utilizing business directories and other sources besides newspapers. It raises issues of class, race, ethnicity, and gender as reflected in press reports, linked to the growing city’s changing demographics and evolving film culture. Along with this appealing work’s rich diversity of interests, ranging well beyond Los Angeles, one wishes for an even more extensive treatment of the city’s social and economic history, to provide a firmer and more rounded foundation on which to build a picture of the people and places of early movie-going. Olsson includes two contemporary maps of the downtown business district, from 1909 and 1913, but maps drawn specifically to pinpoint movie theater locations and a wider sense of the entertainment zones would have been more helpful.

ROBERT SKLAR  
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PHILLIP G. PAYNE. *Dead Last: The Public Memory of Warren G. Harding’s Scandalous Legacy*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 267. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Warren G. Harding’s presidency has generally been viewed by the public and by academic historians as a failure. While Phillip G. Payne’s book does not seek to reclaim Harding’s legacy from the dustbin of failed presidencies, it attempts to see how commemorative acts, literature, popular culture, and public discourse have shaped the negative public memory of our twentieth president. Drawing upon manuscript collections, newspaper accounts, and significant literature (both fiction and non-fiction), Payne thoughtfully examines how a negative image of him formed over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and concludes that invoking Warren G. Harding’s name has been synonymous with representing “what it means to fail as a president” (p. 17).

The strength of Payne’s analysis reveals itself in the second chapter when the author discusses the role that Marion, Ohio, Harding’s hometown, played in the 1920

Republican campaign. Marion was front and center in the 1920 election because the Republican Party wanted to invoke the log cabin myth by portraying Harding as a man with humble origins; he linked himself to the myth by delivering speeches in a front porch campaign that recalled America's pioneer heritage and sense of community. Payne carefully recounts how local boosters, acting under the direction of the Marion Civic Association, took the lead in working closely with the Republican Party to stage parades, appeal to different constituencies, and provide the general backdrop for all campaign events.

Payne's analysis also shines in the third chapter when he explores the role that the Harding Memorial Association played in commemorating the president after his death. He describes how the Harding Memorial Association struggled to invoke the log cabin myth again to raise support and money for the memorial after the administration's scandals were slowly revealed to the public. By the end of the 1920s, the Republican Party had backed away from the memorial, relegating its promotion to the local boosters who had supported Harding in the front porch campaign of 1920. They nevertheless raised enough money by 1927 and completed the memorial; however, they struggled to get a Republican president to dedicate it. Herbert Hoover finally came to Marion in 1931, but, as Payne notes, his remarks about Harding at the dedication were not exactly complimentary. The author, who has grounded his research in the current literature on public memory, suggests that once the log cabin myth lost its cachet, "the memorial stood less as a mark of Harding's place in national history and increasingly as a local architectural triumph" (p. 65).

In the next three chapters, Payne examines how Harding's public memory has been shaped by works of fiction and non-fiction. While these chapters are interesting and important in explaining how Harding's "dead last" legacy was crafted, one is left to wonder just how influential some of this material is. In chapter four, Payne critiques F. Scott Fitzgerald's play *The Vegetable: Or, From President to Postman* (1923); however, the work, which deals with the administration's scandals, was only performed live for a couple of weeks, so its brief appearance on stage begs the question of just how influential it was in shaping Harding's public memory.

Payne devotes the fifth chapter to William Estabrook Chancellor, a sociologist who traveled to Marion to try to uncover Harding's genealogical roots in the early 1920s and who published a book in 1922 that concluded that Harding had African ancestry. Payne demonstrates that Chancellor's claim, which has never been proven, did have an impact on the ways in which subsequent authors viewed Harding. He also shows how a 1927 book by Nan Britton, *The President's Daughter*, influenced the former president's public memory. Britton claimed that she had had an extramarital affair with Harding, and the result of that relationship was a daughter. While the alleged affair was never conclusively substantiated, Payne persuasively argues that

Britton's book "dealt the final, fatal blow to Harding's reputation" (p. 126).

The seventh chapter takes us back to Marion and discusses the custody of Harding's papers, which were held by the Harding Memorial Association and were later transferred to the Ohio Historical Society. In the final chapter, Payne examines how Harding's "dead last" image continues to play out in modern politics and on the Internet. Strangely, the author does not assess how Marion and the Harding Memorial Association commemorated Harding's legacy from 1965 to the present, leaving the reader wondering how his hometown has viewed his mixed legacy in recent decades. In the final analysis, however, Payne gives the reader much to consider and convincingly makes the case that Harding has remained relevant until today because he has become the benchmark by which other presidential failings are assessed, concluding that "Harding continues to hover at the edge of our national memory, where he is rediscovered when[ever] one of our leaders fails" (p. 223).

JON E. TAYLOR

*University of Central Missouri*

RANDALL J. STEPHENS. *The Fire Spreads: Holiness and Pentecostalism in the American South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 393. \$27.95.

Randall J. Stephens traces the rise of holiness theology and Pentecostalism from the beliefs of fringe groups to a mass religious phenomenon in the American South, beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing through the twentieth. Carefully examining source material such as church publications and records, Stephens tells the story of how these movements originated in the North and West, with socially liberal values, and gradually acquired a widespread association with southern culture and conservative politics.

Since Pentecostalism now claims almost half a billion followers, the book offers important research on the growing influence that this form of Christianity has had on the culture of the American South. Stephens seems to write from an insider's perspective on the movement, although he leaves the extent of his personal experience unclear.

This lack of clarity on Stephens's relationship to his subject matter seems to constitute the book's only major weakness for a reader from outside of this tradition. Stephens distances himself from those he studies, and at times seems to dismiss their understanding of the growing power of their movement. For instance, he asks, "Just who joined the holiness ranks in the South? And perhaps more important, were there particular cultural and social factors that led some to ally themselves with the movement and others to oppose it?" (p. 57). In answering these questions, Stephens allows that "initiates attributed the movement's success to God. They seldom noted social factors, which they would have considered more mundane" (p. 57). But then he focuses exclusively and unapologetically on these factors, making statements such as, "There were numerous



reasons why certain individuals identified with the movement" (p. 58) without ever considering what the individuals themselves had to say about their motives. In matters of belief—especially in the context of a religion that stresses the importance of individual spiritual experience—it seems an oversight to ignore insider perspectives on the growth of the movement. Stephens should have addressed this issue, if only to clarify why it would have been impractical to focus on it. As it stands, the book seems to privilege intellectual reason over religious experience, a more subtle bias than the stereotype that holiness and Pentecostal believers are uneducated country bumpkins—an idea that Stephens takes great pains to dismiss.

The story Stephens details is compelling. He makes a well-documented argument for the origins of southern Pentecostalism in the western and northern holiness tradition, which caused social upheaval when brought to the South. Having accepted the idea of "perfectionism," that a sinless life was possible for anyone through an immediate and life-changing experience of sanctification (second baptism), many holiness adherents reevaluated their lives and made profound changes, such as joining the abolitionist movement. Although—and perhaps because—these believers occupied the fringes of southern culture, they challenged it deeply. "At the same time, women assumed leadership roles often denied to them in other churches" (p. 9).

Stephens also explores the link between the growth of the holiness movement and the rise of cheaply produced mass publications during the nineteenth century. Holiness pamphlets, newspapers, and books helped believers feel part of a community even when living far from others of the same convictions. And with the increase in literacy among both blacks and whites, potential readers and believers multiplied. Stephens notes, "Some holiness converts even thought of their periodicals and books as a kind of substitute for actual religious communities" (p. 126).

As this sense of common culture deepened, mainstream church authorities pushed back against holiness theology, rejecting the second baptism experience of sanctification and the belief that a sinless life was possible. At the same time, some holiness believers embraced a philosophy of "premillennialism," claiming that the turn of the century would bring apocalypse and a second coming of Christ. These pressures caused splits from mainstream churches and among holiness factions. Some believers embraced an evangelistic style and further baptisms of the spirit, which brought spiritual gifts such as faith healing and speaking in tongues. Some of these groups later coalesced into the southern Pentecostal movement.

In the midst of this upheaval, the egalitarian aspect of the movement largely disappeared. As holiness and Pentecostal churches faced charges of "mongrelization" (p. 239) and sometimes violence, black and white congregations segregated, women lost their leadership roles, and social conservatism came to dominate the scene. In the twentieth century, "southern Pentecostals

desired the kind of respect, status, and citizenship that their forerunners tended to shun. As a result, enthusiasts had become more like their culturally conservative middle-class religious peers" (p. 264), and very different from their spiritual forerunners.

SHELLY O'FORAN  
Independent scholar

TISA WENGER. *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2009. Pp. xx, 333. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

In the last two decades Native American tribes have reasserted their indigenous rights to gather herbs and plants, protect unmarked graves, and preserve sacred sites and landscapes on public lands. In legal journals, in federal courts, and in books, articles, and oral testimony American Indians have framed their ancient relationship to the land in the context of religious freedom and traditional access to sacred sites and gathering areas. This has been an effective argument advanced by Native scholars, anthropologists, and public historians, yet in the early twentieth century Native Americans themselves did not use the term "religion" to define their customs and cultures.

In a groundbreaking and important monograph, religious historian Tisa Wenger details the Pueblo Indian dance controversy of the 1920s and the evolution of the concept that Indian customs have protections under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Without going to court, this notion took hold and Indian dance became a form of protected expression. Subsequent references to Native American "religion" can be traced back to the Victorian uproar that pitted Protestant missionaries and Indian boarding schools, Catholic missions, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the All-Pueblo Council, and numerous Santa Fe artists and literati in a complicated dance of their own defending or deploring Pueblo dance traditions.

Christian Indians, the product of rigid boarding school educations, railed against "pagan dances," while other Native Americans insisted that their dances maintained the earth's balance and were a form of prayer in stark contrast to the white man's erotic flapper dances of the 1920s. As Wenger carefully explains, the real conflict was "the struggle for authority in Indian affairs" (p. 171). She successfully argues that "The dance controversy, and the new views of religion it introduced, facilitated a major transition in the history of federal Indian policy" (p. 4). At stake was the forced assimilation of Native Americans who had repeatedly seen their traditions and ceremonies denounced and even made illegal.

After the Bureau of Indian Affairs' "Religious Crimes Code" (1883) prohibited sun dances and traditional giveaways to redistribute wealth to the poor, the Dawes Allotment Act (1887) forced Indians to be-



come private property owners to break up communal lands. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke's "Circular No. 1665: Indian Dancing" (1921) and the supplement two years later recommended forbidding certain ceremonies and prohibited participation by dancers under fifty years old.

The dance controversy emerged as the new science of anthropology became a legitimate academic pursuit. Artists and writers also defended Native traditions. Elsie Clews Parsons, Mary Austin, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Charles F. Lummis, and John Collier all spoke passionately about Indian rights, as did Pablo Abeita, Tony Lujan, and Martin Vigil. But the controversy was never simple, and it swirled around other issues such as Pueblo land disputes, the Bursum Bill (1922), and the Indian Citizenship Act (1924).

Critics viewed the dances as "race demoralization and degeneracy . . . characterized by unbridled license" (p. 144), and the question of who would dance and when came to split tribes and to pit "progressive" tribal councils against traditional, hereditary tribal leadership. At question were the federal administration of Indian affairs, cultural modernism and the movement toward secular authority, and individual rights and freedoms for tribal members within their pueblos. Protestant and Catholic "friends of the Indian" who had manipulated the BIA for years lost power.

In six chapters with exhaustive endnotes, Wenger links the 1920s Pueblo Indian dance controversy with later issues and laws that today define Native American religious freedom. But she lacks actual descriptions of the contested dances and could have used more Indian quotes and comments either from the historical record or from contemporary native dancers. Although the last two chapters—entitled "The Implications of Religious Freedom" and "Religious Freedom and the Category of Religion into the Twenty-First Century"—provide excellent overviews of diverse American tribes and pan-Indian religious movements, there is no follow-up conclusion that specifically describes the status of contemporary Indian dance as either religious expression or as personal, private, tribal tradition.

That said, this is a seminal study of American Indian affairs in the early twentieth century recommended for all libraries and academic programs in which modern Native American and indigenous religious issues are discussed.

ANDREW GULLIFORD  
Fort Lewis College

DONNA T. HAVERTY-STACKE. *America's Forgotten Holiday: May Day and Nationalism, 1867–1960*. (American History and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 303. \$45.00.

If Americans today think about May Day at all, they do not think of it as a quintessentially American holiday. Donna T. Haverty-Stacke wants to remind us that, for over fifty years, May Day celebrations shaped American political culture and compelled new definitions of

American nationalism. At first glance, her narrative seems familiar: late nineteenth-century working-class radicals (by which she specifically means socialists, anarchists, and communists) offered substantive challenges to the industrial capitalist order. These challenges reached their popular and political acme in the heady days of the 1930s, subsided during World War II, and vanished in the chilly climate of the Cold War. However, Haverty-Stacke offers a significantly more nuanced, complicated, and messier take on this trajectory, showing that radicalism has been an ongoing, endogenous part of American political culture and a vital component of twentieth-century politics and expressions of nationalism. She can make this argument so persuasively because of her focus on broad, vernacular politics, created as much in the street as in formal political processes. Public displays of radicalism, including those by women and children, elicited vigorous reactions, and May Day became a central forum for radicals and non-radicals alike to argue over the future of the United States.

May Day inspired debates over the nature of radical politics and American nationalism from the holiday's modern, domestic origins in the late nineteenth century. Even as radical labor agitators pushed Marxist or anarchist agendas and sought to make May Day celebrations platforms for radical critiques of industrial America, fissures appeared among the radicals over just how "American" the parades should be. As Harvey-Stacke's richly detailed analysis of the planning and performance of the 1898 parade shows, some organizers wanted to ban the appearance of the American flag while others embraced it, insisting that socialism was not incompatible with American values. May Day revealed divisions within the broader labor movement as well. When American Federation of Labor (AFL) leaders like Samuel Gompers grew uneasy with May Day's radicalism, they turned instead to Labor Day because it seemed "more respectable and more American" (p. 11).

But no one radicalism could control the meanings of May Day. Parade participants carried American flags whether organizers wanted them to or not. AFL members marched in both May Day and Labor Day parades. Female workers used the parades to bring their own concerns to public attention. Haverty-Stacke's use of photographs, carefully chosen and adroitly positioned in the text, makes it impossible to ignore the heterogeneity of the holiday. Images of smiling seamstresses holding a giant shirtwaist aloft, the elaborate float of a women's auxiliary union, Jewish bakers demanding higher wages, and children agitating against child labor all highlight the multitude of meanings—radical, mainstream, local, national, international—that May Day had at the turn of the century.

The conservative climate of the 1920s literally pushed May Day indoors and tied it more directly to left-wing political movements. However, to be out of sight did not mean that the issues associated with the holiday were out of mind. Children in particular became involved in

radical politics, a fact not lost on anxious reformers and conservatives. In a sharp discussion of the interplay between radical and mainstream views of what it meant to be "American," Haverty-Stacke describes the efforts of Boy Scouts and Rotary Clubs to contain working-class radicalism through alternative celebrations like Loyalty Day and Child Health Day. Despite the successes of these alternatives, in the 1930s May Day triumphantly reappeared as an extremely popular public event under the guidance of the Communist Party. But soon internal divisions within the Left, especially after the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, fractured support for the holiday. Fear of foreign influence made many Americans distrust it. The holiday's association with communism was more than socialists could overcome, and their efforts to redefine it largely failed.

By World War II, American workers increasingly turned to Labor Day and Flag Day as benign alternatives. Well before the Cold War, May Day had vanished into a pluralist vision of working-class Americanism. By the 1950s, most Americans had rejected May Day and went about forgetting its vibrant presence in their political history. For Haverty-Stacke, the loss of May Day as an expression of "truly radical dissent" represents a real tragedy (p. 221). Without socialist and communist-tinged class politics to protest social inequities, Americans ceased to demand social change and argued instead for a greater share in national prosperity. Such a conclusion leaves little room for the twentieth century's robust, consumer-based social movements, Big Labor's own efforts to promulgate social change, or middle-class reform efforts. More importantly, though, it leaves little room for Haverty-Stacke's own argument, so persuasively laid out in this book: namely, that radicalism has shaped American political culture and, in the process, forced radical agendas and alternative nationalisms into the mainstream. Forgetting the history of May Day is not just about forgetting earlier alternatives to the present day, but also about forgetting that radicalisms—of nearly every variety—are as American as apple pie.

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DIANA SELIG. *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 367. \$49.95.

Historians of American immigration and ethnicity tend to treat the 1920s and 1930s as something of a "dead period," portraying these decades as a time when America's response to a recently increased foreign presence involved primarily the refinement and implementation of quota-based restrictions. This, in turn, leads to the characterization of the era as a historical moment when decidedly xenophobic attitudes and behaviors dominated the nation. Diana Selig's new book challenges this limited interpretation by focusing on the cultural gifts movement. Led mainly by educators, this

effort sought to "celebrate the contributions of immigrants and minority groups to American life" (p. 2), thereby promoting greater acceptance of the nation's increasingly diverse population. Advocates pursued their agenda largely through the development and dissemination of enlightened school curricula.

Selig's deft prose and insightful interpretations demonstrate the movement's complexity as well as that of the American milieu in which it sought to deliver its message. She shows that even as practitioners enthusiastically pursued their goals, they often struggled with how best to address and overcome contradictory concerns. In the case of religious instruction, for example, practitioners believed that appreciation of different heritages could alleviate prejudice, but they worried that their message could be perceived as proselytism. This was especially true when dealing with Jews. Diversity proponents working in the South battled not just entrenched racial prejudice but also concerns that African American leaders would view white advocates as overly paternalistic. Also in the South, educational work aimed at easing racial tensions often came at a price: failure to confront either segregation's political foundation or its socioeconomic manifestations.

Their reluctance to address such matters frequently prompts Selig to be decidedly critical of her subjects, with her analysis often faulting the limitations of either their vision or their accomplishments. To be sure, cultural gifts proponents did not behave as civil rights advocates did during the 1960s and beyond, choosing instead to pursue more modest objectives. Selig's descriptions and analysis as well as the rhetorical evidence she employs all indicate (at least to this reviewer) that those involved in the interwar cultural gifts movement appreciated the need for more far-reaching reform, most notably of a socioeconomic nature, but they also realized the difficulties and the potential consequences of challenging well-entrenched power bases. Rachel Davis DuBois, one of the longtime cultural gifts advocates, is quoted as acknowledging that while some of the movement's behavior may have been "conservative" on socioeconomic matters, her peers did "recognize" the existence of such problems (p. 233). Numerous other quotes from the heyday of the gifts campaign show that, indeed, proponents tried to address these problems whenever an opportunity presented itself.

By using a thematic organization for most of her chapters, Selig generally treats the interwar years as a single period rather than as historically distinct decades. This approach tends to minimize the considerable differences between the "Roaring Twenties" and the "Depressed Thirties." The universal extent of socioeconomic collapse after 1929 certainly must have influenced "native" attitudes toward immigrants and their children while simultaneously diminishing the financial resources available to the cultural gifts proponents. The book contains some references to the Great Depression and the New Deal, but more thorough explication of the role—if any—played by New Deal

agencies would be interesting. Selig does adopt a more chronological approach, with good results, in the concluding chapters dealing with second-generation Americans and the coming of World War II.

These criticisms, however, are relatively minor. Selig's book stands as an excellent treatment of ethnic and immigration history between the world wars. It provides balance to works that tend to emphasize the era's more repressive aspects, benefiting both scholars whose research focuses on the 1920s and 1930s and educators seeking innovative ways to teach these decades' history, offering them all much valuable information, analysis, and interpretation.

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MARCEL CHOTKOWSKI LAFOLLETTE. *Science on the Air: Popularizers and Personalities on Radio and Early Television*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. x, 314. \$27.50.

Scientists in the twentieth century have often viewed techniques of popularization with disdain, Marcel Chotkowski LaFollette tells us, and in the United States the broadcast media have rarely believed that unadorned scientific programs could attract significant audiences. In this new book LaFollette charts the effort to find a middle ground between these two positions, exploring a moment when some thought that effort could pay off, a time when it might have been possible to find space for science on the airwaves.

In the end, LaFollette argues, that effort proved largely unsuccessful. Those scientists who considered radio a valuable way to educate the public about science in the 1920s and 1930s found it harder and harder to get their messages out as broadcasting came under increasingly tight commercial control. In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s radio networks, and then television networks as well, increasingly marginalized science, reducing time for science programming and focusing that programming more on entertainment than education.

In making this case, LaFollette mines rich sources to tell the stories of those who sought to popularize science from the 1920s through the 1940s, with a final chapter considering the 1950s. She introduces the (mostly) men who worked to bring science to the populace through the new medium of broadcasting and traces their efforts. Taking this personal approach—particularly early in the study—LaFollette suggests that disseminating scientific information broadly not only fit a vision of civic education, but also stemmed from personal and institutional ambitions. Expanding beyond the personalities involved, she presents particularly strong sections on the Science Service and 1930s radio programs. The case of the Science Service suggests the most organized path that popularizers followed: creating a news syndicate to distribute science news and to allow scientists to explain that science. The two chapters on radio programs of the mid- to late 1930s provide

concrete examples of what it meant to filter science through increasingly commercial networks. World War II and the postwar period added a new concern—whether science should be public at all or kept as a state secret—and the author considers how popularizers navigated that pressure.

LaFollette's approach to this history of science's popularizers suggests a story of decline, as she sees science on the air moving from serious to frivolous. She explains this trajectory by profitably setting the popularization effort within the context of the moment in broadcasting history. Starting in the late 1920s, this was a period of narrowing and increasingly commercial control of broadcasting. The result was—for most groups, not just scientists—narrowing access to the air. This is hardly a new story in radio history, and LaFollette offers a familiar version of what happened to many groups. But while this account teaches us little about broadcast history, applying it to the popularization of science narrative is quite valuable. It explains the squeeze on those who wanted to bring science to the public: why it became harder for scientists to get airtime and what forces increasingly demanded that science be presented through drama and personalities.

Both of these threads are easy to follow in LaFollette's work, which is clear and straightforward. Still more to her credit, LaFollette encourages readers to ask some very fine questions. Some she examines in detail: how does the public learn about science in the age of mass media? who and what shapes the messages? Some are simply suggested: what is the place of scientific information in the modern United States? what is gained and lost in striking a balance between accuracy and audience appeal? does the means of communication change the meaning of science?

What the book does not offer is a clear way to begin answering these latter questions. LaFollette's detailed discussion of popularizers and her argument about their shrinking significance on one level collide, leaving tough questions: if scientists had minimal access to the airwaves, did the efforts of popularizers matter? What was the impact of the story she so fully chronicles? Because audience reaction and the influence of broadcasts largely lie beyond the scope of her project, in the end the reader does not know whether Americans became more or less scientifically literate as science—in a limited and sometimes distorted fashion—took to the air.

It is worth adding that science itself, as a concept, is largely unexamined here. It is presented as a static and uncontested idea. Science has one meaning in this account, and the issue is how closely that meaning was represented in the mass media, not how scientists debated it or how it changed over time.

But these critiques do not discredit the work. LaFollette provides a good account of the story she sets out to tell: how a small array of people worked to use broadcasting to popularize science and the ways the developing structure of broadcasting constrained that effort.

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PATRICIA APPELBAUM. *Kingdom to Commune: Protestant Pacifist Culture between World War I and the Vietnam Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. x, 330. \$39.95.

JOSEPH KIP KOSEK. *Acts of Conscience: Christian Nonviolence and Modern American Democracy*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 352. \$50.00.

For generations, peace historians have done well to try to write the history of pacifism into the broader history of American democracy. But pick up any textbook on American history and you will find only sporadic mention of purveyors of nonviolence influencing the wider democratic culture. By the end of the twentieth century, however, pacifists could claim to have spurred some of the most important strategic and tactical developments in American democratic culture, particularly at the grass-roots level.

Two primary rhetorical and practical obstacles seem to keep pacifists at the margins of textbook authors' minds: the so-called discourse of "realism," in which pacifists are portrayed as unrealistic dreamers; and the language of "peace" itself, now so distorted that leaders speak with no hint of irony of achieving peace through war, and the Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to a sitting president presiding over two wars and supporting policies of rendition and indefinite detention.

In such an age, the two books under review have a lot to offer. Unfortunately, although Patricia Appelbaum and Joseph Kip Kosek have written complementary studies, they also work a bit at cross purposes. Appelbaum and Kosek diverge particularly on the questions of degree of impact (or marginalization) the peace movement experienced over time and, perhaps less important, the movement's relationship to modernism (a more narrow point, but nevertheless germane because of the way that critics often cast proponents of nonviolence as delusional about the modern world's dangers).

Kosek offers the more traditional approach to Christian nonviolence, an intellectual and political history that focuses especially on the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), but he also makes more ambitious claims. By "putting the problem of violence at the center of its theory and practice," he argues, the Christian nonviolent tradition best exemplified by FOR "offers an alternative model of political action and an alternative history of the twentieth century" (p. 1). That may be too sweeping, but Kosek certainly reorients our approach to the twentieth century. As his rigorous archival research demonstrates, FOR's leaders unquestionably "influenced the major political traditions and social movements of modern American democracy" (p. 3). Most important for readers today, Kosek strives throughout to demonstrate that Christian pacifists were important because they forced their contemporaries (and us) to understand that the central problem of the

twentieth century was not "Fascism, Communism, economic inequality, or the color line" but rather "the fact of human beings killing one another with extraordinary ferocity and effectiveness." Eliminating violence thus became "the most urgent modern project" (p. 5). Given the way the twenty-first century has started, one appreciates the reminder.

Kosek charts the evolution of Christian nonviolence from World War I through the 1920s and 1930s, when FOR built the "infrastructure" for spectacle—dramatic nonviolent protests that would take advantage of new mass communication technologies and, thus, reach a wider public. In addition to confronting lynching and U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua, FOR helped fund A. J. Muste's Brookwood Labor College and, most importantly, introduced the work of Mohandas Gandhi to an American audience. Here Kosek emphasizes, among other key figures in establishing America's Gandhian moment, Richard Bartlett Gregg as the first to translate Gandhian nonviolence into an American theory. In *The Power of Non-Violence* (1934) Gregg explained in the clearest terms to date how the spectacle of nonviolent practice attracts sympathizers, especially if carried out with "high excellence, discipline, unity, coherence, cleanness and courage so as to compel respect, admiration and wonder" (p. 101).

Even so, in the rough class war years of the 1930s, and especially during World War II, FOR and allied pacifists struggled to be heard. These were the years in the wilderness, although Kosek shows that FOR did well to refine its arguments against violence while also standing up against Japanese American incarceration (Gordon Hirabayashi, plaintiff in one of the key Supreme Court cases, was a FOR member) and criticizing allies in the civil rights movement for accepting the legitimacy of the war (as the both the Double V campaign and A. Philip Randolph's threatened march on Washington did).

Through all of these years, allies—including former FOR members such as Reinhold Niebuhr—split from FOR over its absolute rigidity on the question of violence and war. Niebuhr criticized the pacifists' "inability to understand the tragic necessities of history" when they protested American-led area bombings that took the lives of countless civilians (p. 159). Although FOR leaders succeeded in exposing the hypocrisy of liberals who condemned enemy war crimes but could not countenance American war crimes, they struggled to win over those who, even if they conceded the immorality of firebombing missions, could not oppose a total war against fascism.

Ultimately, the horrors of the war led, Kosek argues, to a new "age of conscience" in the United States. Americans experienced a collective sense of regret, despite the Allied victory, over the scale of violence used during the war that made them more receptive as an audience to nonviolent appeals on questions of war and social justice in the ensuing decades. Here again, Gregg's theories on the politics of spectacle were critical. FOR's influence arguably reached its peak in the



years during and after the Montgomery bus boycott, when Glenn E. Smiley introduced Martin Luther King, Jr. to Gregg's work. King knew more about Gandhi and nonviolence than his peers, but the influence of Gregg led King to make the boycott and subsequent civil rights campaigns into more clearly Gandhian projects. When King described the movement's tactics as holding racist violence "imprisoned in a luminous glare" he owed the idea of media-savvy nonviolence to FOR, Gandhi, and Gregg. In this way, Christian nonviolence both embraced modernism and extended its reach throughout the rest of the century and into this one, as countless activists across so many diverse issues continue to draw from the FOR performative spectacle playbook.

Where Kosek's rendering of Christian nonviolence reveals it as shaping, over time, "the major political traditions and social movements of modern American democracy" (p. 3), Appelbaum's study of pacifist culture portrays it as developing more as a folk sect that grew increasingly marginalized and antimodern over time.

Appelbaum begins by asserting, wisely, that religious pacifism was/is "a culture, not only an ethical or moral commitment" (p. 2). She outlines a "matrix of culture and lifeways" that will have most readers who are activists in the movement nodding along in recognition. The key ingredients were/are "social networks, theology, performance, iconography, individual spiritual practice, rituals of identity, narratives, and material culture" (p. 2). Taken together, this adds up to a "shared vernacular system of reference," the glue that held the community together over many decades (p. 6).

This matrix of culture originated with "mainline" Protestantism, influenced by elements of both evangelical and Social Gospel traditions. In the early years after World War I, the pacifist vernacular grew out of shared Biblical texts in which the primacy of Jesus as a model for Christian nonviolence was key. Later, during the World War II years, a "paradigm shift" occurred in which the mainline denominations supported American war efforts and pacifists developed an "umbrella theology" that echoed Protestant liberalism but remained loose enough to accommodate people of various faiths; that is, this distinct culture developed a "central emphasis on pacifism itself rather than on Christianity as the source of pacifism" (p. 3).

According to Appelbaum, the postwar cultural shift moved pacifists to the margins of American life and toward developing the shared codes of pacifist culture more deliberately. Her focus on pacifist worship services, plays, pageantry, iconography, and heroic biographies recovers a rich folk history of dual messaging in which the participants understood that these things held them together as a community and also aimed to persuade an outside audience. Little data exists to show that they won many adherents this way, but the performative culture "created a sense of solidarity through intensive work on a common project" and helped to sustain the community over time.

Like Kosek, Appelbaum cites the influence of Gregg but recovers his lesser-known book, *Training for Peace:*

*A Program for Peace Workers* (1937), as prescribing a prefigurative program: "a unified, holistic way of living in which process was integrated with result, spirit with body, and individual with community, with the ultimate goal of building peace" (p. 134). In short, Gregg called for cooperative farming and labor, and in the postwar years, no small number of pacifists moved to communal living arrangements. For Appelbaum, this represents the ultimate turn against modernism and modernity, a kind of back-to-the-land program that rejected modern life.

Despite the rewards of this cultural history—and there are many—it is too bad that Appelbaum treats this pacifist subculture mostly in isolation. Her epilogue notwithstanding, she seems to resist making the bigger claims that Kosek makes about pacifists' contributions to the wider American democratic culture that was indisputably shaped in vital ways by their work. Even so, taken together, these two books go a long way toward claiming a more central role for Christian nonviolence in American democratic history. Textbook authors, teachers of U.S. survey courses, and the Nobel Peace Prize committee should take note.

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STEVEN J. TAYLOR. *Acts of Conscience: World War II, Mental Institutions, and Religious Objectors*. (Critical Perspectives on Disability.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 484. \$45.00.

Americans usually remember World War II as the good war, a conflict with strictly delineated lines of right and wrong where all citizens participated in the effort to defeat the forces of totalitarianism. And yet, approximately 12,000 Americans refused to join in this conflict on account of their religious or personal pacifist beliefs, instead becoming conscientious objectors (COs) and joining the Civilian Public Service (CPS), a cooperative venture of the federal government's Selective Service System and a consortium of historic peace churches. Of those individuals, 3,000 spent the war years working in institutions, hospitals, and training schools that housed individuals identified as mentally ill or feeble-minded. Although initially established as asylums to provide care and comfort, by 1940 most of these facilities had devolved into custodial warehouses that barely met the basic needs of the thousands of patients who lived there. The work of conscientious objectors at these facilities provided "attempts to do something about the conditions at those institutions" (p. 387). Steven J. Taylor's book traces the experiences of those COs who worked in such institutions, their attempts at systemic reform, and the failure of those reform efforts to make a lasting difference in the institutional system. He concludes, however, that this failure "is not the point of their story. The point is that they tried to make a difference" (p. 395).

Government officials originally sent religious objectors to work camps located in rural areas, where they

participated in tasks similar to those performed by members of the Civilian Conservation Corps. However, according to Taylor, "there was a pervasive feeling among CPS men that their work in the camps fell far short of being 'work of national importance' and represented little more than make-work" (p. 57). By early 1942, many CPS members had requested new assignments in public service work, including positions as attendants in mental hospitals. Facing severe labor shortages, these institutions needed help desperately. CPS workers eventually served in forty-four mental hospitals and fifteen training schools (which housed those individuals labeled as "feeble-minded") throughout the war. Taylor traces the experiences of CPS men in those positions, highlighting their difficulties with both violent and severely impaired patients and abusive and uncaring staff members. Often shocked by the horrific conditions in the wards and the lack of compassionate care by paid staff, CPS workers soon began to raise awareness by talking to newspapers and pushing for governmental investigations of the facilities. These strategies were met with a variety of responses from institutional leaders and staff members. Some cooperated with CPS members, seeing their concerns as an opportunity to improve conditions and help patients. Most, however, viewed these exposés as detrimental to their institutional missions and destructive of staff morale; as a result, they worked either to minimize the impact of the cries for reform or to remove CPS workers entirely from their facilities.

Such tensions continued throughout the tenure of the program. By war's end, several CPS workers felt that a more systemic approach to mental health reform was needed. Accordingly, they established the National Mental Health Foundation (NMHF), which published *Out of Sight, Out of Mind* in 1947. Designed to raise awareness of the problems associated with institutionalization, the book featured "eyewitness reports of conditions and treatment at forty-six mental hospitals" (p. 139). By drawing public attention to these problems, the NMHF was instrumental in getting states like Pennsylvania and Oklahoma to put more money into their mental health programs and remove incompetent or corrupt institutional officials. That said, the movement did little to significantly alter the American mental health system and improve the lives of those caught up in it.

In the book's most insightful chapters, Taylor chronicles the 1950 absorption of the NMHF into a new umbrella organization entitled the National Association for Mental Health. With that bureaucratic move, the NMHF ceased its advocacy policies and became part of the medical establishment. Concerns about the treatment of mental patients became less important as the 1950s saw institutional admissions skyrocket. It would not be until the late 1960s, when a new generation of activists came to the fore, that institutional reform would receive national attention again.

This is an important book. Taylor has brought these COs out of the shadows and made their efforts part of

the accomplishments of the "Greatest Generation" associated with World War II. He has also tied their activities to the reform efforts of reporters like Albert Deutsch and Mike Gorman, who were instrumental in pushing for reform in the 1940s. That said, the book could use some judicious editing; Taylor spends far too much time describing bureaucratic infighting and governmental policymaking. More importantly, he fails to connect this story to a broader examination of mental health policy in general. Left unanswered is the question of why, in spite of the efforts of those described by Taylor, American mental hospitals saw such a large spike in admissions in the post-World War II era. These criticisms aside, Taylor's book shows the difference that individuals acting on moral principles can make in public policy.

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MEGHAN K. WINCHELL. *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses during World War II*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. 255. \$30.00.

A staple of America's memory of the "good war" is the image of an attractive young woman jitterbugging with a handsome guy in a World War II uniform at the local USO. Like most pieces of that memory, the reality is much more complicated, ambiguous, and interesting, as Meghan K. Winchell so expertly documents in this book.

The United Service Organizations responded to the needs of two different kinds of wartime Americans. All those millions of young men in uniform were often bored, homesick, and susceptible to alcohol and sex in ways that caused anxiety among the folks back home. Young women could be bored, too, and lots of them wished to assist the war effort. But volunteering for military service was an unattractive option for many middle-class women, as was industrial work (despite American society's popular images of Rosie the Riveter). Thus, working on behalf of the USO seemed far more comfortable and appealing. Its clubs were a place where women could perform patriotic service by responding to the morale needs of servicemen. And they could have a good time. For many women, however, their actual work proved to be much more complex than matters of simple pleasure and patriotism.

Winchell does an excellent job of showing the nature of the USO's goals and methods, including its selection process and its supervision of volunteers. These volunteers were of two types. Senior hostesses were usually married and over the age of thirty-five. Sometimes addressed by soldiers and sailors as "Ma," they performed the role of maternal caregiver and served as informal counselors for men (usually referred to as "boys"). Unlike the often asexual senior hostesses, the junior hostesses performed a more sexual role. Their training focused on dress codes and charm lessons that advised them on the best ways to use lipstick and perfume.

Through engaging in conversation, serving cookies, playing ping-pong, mending, and dancing, junior hostesses were supposed to be hometown girls who would raise morale, provide companionship, and keep men away from bars, brothels, and victory girls (and the rampant venereal diseases of wartime America). It was demanding work and full of tensions, but many former hostesses remembered their wartime experiences with great affection.

One of the most interesting aspects of Winchell's analysis is the way in which some junior hostesses subverted the "good girl" label. The USO's *Hints for Hostesses in Service Clubs* booklet warned them, "You must learn to give service without giving too much of 'you'" (p. 163). Winchell carefully examines the ways in which "this morale work was a tame form of sex work." It was often the case that young women did not behave only like sisters toward servicemen; they also found pleasure in the body contact of slow dancing, in the sexually charged jitterbug, in a quick kiss, and in slipping away from the club for a date. For many good girls, Winchell shows, the USO was a "safe place to experiment with sexual behavior" (p. 133). Of necessity, many USOs gradually modified their no-dating policies even as hostesses maintained their reputations as respectable women.

Most of the 1.5 million Americans who volunteered as USO hostesses were middle and upper-class white women. Winchell pays great attention to other kinds of Americans as well. Young African American women wishing to volunteer faced the kinds of segregation common in the 1940s as well as challenges in meeting white definitions of what it meant to be "good girls." The NAACP pushed for integrated clubs, and the USO encouraged integration. The decision remained with local communities, however, where segregation was often the preference. All-black USO clubs emerged, staffed by black volunteers. While black soldiers were turned away from many white clubs, in some instances local USOs pushed against race conventions and welcomed African American soldiers. Other Americans not fully welcome or comfortable in USO clubs were women in military uniform. Just like the boys, WAVES or WACs might have been lonely and homesick, too, but their military status challenged traditional gender roles, especially when compared to those of USO hostesses. And, of course, the USO functioned on assumptions of the heterosexuality of men and women.

Winchell has provided a first-rate case study of gender, race, and class at a significant point in American history. She has focused scholarly attention upon an important home-front wartime organization, thus revealing how the USO is far more interesting than the ways in which it is portrayed in standard tales of the "good war." Winchell's extensive research in primary sources and her accessible writing make this a book of broad interest.

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ALICE YANG MURRAY. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. (Asian America.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 590. \$65.00.

Given the familiarity of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II as a topic of historical study, some may wonder if there is need for yet another book about it. But Alice Yang Murray has done far more than rehearse a familiar narrative. She shows how, over the course of sixty years, that narrative has shifted and changed, depending on its authors and their audiences. Although she started her research with the goal of writing exclusively about the redress movement of the 1980s, she soon realized that this was not, in fact, a unified political phenomenon (p. 2). Instead, she found that the battle for redress was won through the work of three separate, at times even conflicting, campaigns that based their actions in differing accounts of internment. Yang Murray therefore wisely broadened the scope of her project to tell what had happened before the redress movement (p. 3). In so doing, she hoped to document the wide-ranging interpretations of internment history held by groups claiming to represent either the government or people of Japanese ancestry. The result is an innovative and significant contribution to Asian American history in particular and American history in general.

Yang Murray divides her book into several "memory arenas" with the goal of analyzing "the role of the larger historical context, the particular dynamics of each arena, the backgrounds of the arena participants, and the impact of these presentations of history" (p. 12). The subtlety of this operation is most noticeable in the book's earlier chapters, not least those that treat internment itself. For example, the first two chapters discuss the government's use of "military necessity" as the rationale for internment as well as the role that the War Relocation Authority (WRA) played in administering the internment camps. Both topics have received scholarly attention from the 1950s onward. Similarly, the discussion in chapter four of studies run by social scientists treats a subject familiar from work by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, among others. And yet, on closer inspection, Yang Murray's ambitious interpretive approach re-frames such moments, challenging the reader to view these topics in a different light.

Such challenges build on the use of the historical reverberations of internment to show both how representations of this singular event have metamorphosed and how Japanese Americans have themselves changed in response. For example, Yang Murray's later chapters show how the very act of campaigning for redress ultimately brought forward remarkably complex and diverse Japanese American responses to imprisonment. At the same time, these chapters provide the reader with new material that helps explain why factions within the Japanese American community regarded internment in disparate ways. Take, for example, Yang Murray's discussion of the three Japanese American groups

that led the campaign for redress: the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) and the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR). The NCRR, a group of *Sansei* (the children of Japanese American internees), rejected the JACL's repeated references to *Nisei* patriotism and the bravery of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team as justification for redress, arguing that such references were essentially the last gasps of what they considered a failed wartime strategy of assimilation and accommodation (p. 314). The NCJAR, led by *Nisei* such as William Hohri, also rejected the JACL's accommodationist stance. According to Yang Murray, the NCJAR believed that the redress movement should "revive a tradition of Japanese American resistance, which had been denied or minimized in JACL accounts of the camp" (p. 304).

The strength of Yang Murray's interpretive framework can be seen again in her final chapter, where she opens with another account of conflicts over the JACL's role in internment narratives. This time, however, she shows how signing the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 served as an impetus for the Japanese American community to resolve its internecine disputes, culminating in a 1990 report sponsored by the JACL that described wartime draft resisters as "honorable and loyal Americans" who made different, but no less important, sacrifices to defend their civil rights (p. 383).

By weaving the story of the JACL and other groups and individuals through nine chapters and six decades, Yang Murray illuminates the ever-changing historical reverberations of this singular event. Consequently, attentive readers will be able to understand more fully complexities such as the political turmoil in the Japanese American community surrounding the JACL. Thus, Yang Murray is to be commended for her willingness to reframe familiar and seemingly stable historical material. Had she retained her original emphasis exclusively on the 1980s redress movement, readers would have an incomplete picture of the conflicts over internment not only within American political culture but also within the Japanese American community itself. It is precisely this full accounting of the diverse and ever changing memories of internment that makes Yang Murray's book such an important resource.

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HASIA R. DINER. *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962*. New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 529. \$29.95.

In this work, Hasia R. Diner dismantles the claim promoted by Peter Novick and Norman G. Finkelstein, among others, that American Jews "made little of the Holocaust, pushing it to the hidden corners and indeed, under the rug of their communal lives" until the 1961 Adolf Eichmann trial, which brought the horrors of the

Nazi period into prominent focus (p. 4). By contrast, through extensive archival research Diner more than convincingly reveals the opposite, that as early as 1946 American Jews began to address the crimes of the Nazis by creating a memorial culture from the ground up, which reflected the "time and place in which they found themselves" (p. 16). According to Diner, a "sense of obligation to recall the victims, aid the survivors, confront the guilty, and affect a new set of realities in the United States and around the world" brought this remembrance into being (p. 17).

In the initial postwar period, remembrance of Holocaust victims generally did not take the form of physical memorials on public land, although in Manhattan as early as 1947 there was a cornerstone-laying ceremony for a future American Memorial to the Six Million Jews of Europe, which Mayor William O'Dwyer attended. Although this memorial was never built, Diner shows that other memorializations did occur. For example, many synagogues created memorial spaces to remember the six million and, at the same time, *lands-manschaften*—hometown societies that reflected the regional Eastern European roots of many American Jews—created numerous individually crafted Holocaust memorials, often located in cemeteries. Memorials also took other forms such as the *yizker bikher* memorial books that recalled former Eastern European Jewish communities and Passover texts that included the 1952 text commissioned by the American Jewish Congress to hallow "the memory of the six million Jewish victims of the Nazi catastrophe." Numerous American Jewish newspapers and magazines reprinted the latter on an annual basis (p. 18).

The academic engagement with Holocaust history also began long before the 1960s. In this area, Diner points specifically to the pioneering work of the Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (YIVO) and its 1947 exhibit on "Jews in Europe, 1939–1946" with its accompanying conference that included presentations addressing the "multiple ramifications of the Holocaust" (p. 94). Concurrently, the Conference on Jewish Relations' journal *Jewish Social Studies* began in the late 1940s to publish articles relating to the Holocaust. Similarly, professors such as Philip Friedman of Columbia University and Jewish Teachers' Seminary and Koppel S. Pinson of Queens College began addressing Holocaust history in the context of their courses on Jewish history and modern German history. Diner even acknowledges Friedman as "America's first professional Holocaust scholar" (p. 121).

Diner also shows that American Jews not only memorialized the Holocaust in numerous ways, but—countering any myth about the "negativity" of American Jews toward survivors—she illustrates how they reached out materially to meet the needs of survivors both in the United States and in Europe. By 1949, for example, American Jews had donated 26 million pounds of relief supplies to aid survivors in Europe. To collect money for these efforts through fundraising films, the United Jewish Appeal and other Jewish char-



itable organizations specifically included footage from concentration camps and displaced persons (DP) camps juxtaposed with images of survivors rebuilding their lives. There was no shying away from the Holocaust. Likewise, Diner agrees, survivors such as Solomon Wider shared their experiences of life in concentration camps in newspaper articles and autobiographical books.

By the later 1940s and 1950s, some survivors had not only written and published autobiographical accounts of their torturous experiences under National Socialism but collectively had begun to change the manner in which American Jews dealt with antisemitism. According to Diner, the regular Jewish *modus operandi* for dealing with antisemites entailed quarantining and ignoring them in order to prohibit them from commanding press attention. Emboldened by their experience of survival, survivors were willing to challenge Jewish agencies to take more proactive stances against antisemitism. In some instances, survivors even took action themselves, such as deluging New York City officials with protests to prevent George Lincoln Rockwell from holding a rally on public property. As Diner states, "As it focused on the survivors, American Jewry itself became transformed" (p. 214).

Jews in America were not the only group to change. As Diner contends, in the 1960s America also went through a transformation that created a culture where Jews "felt more comfortable asserting their Jewishness in public, to a degree that would have been breath-taking a decade or two earlier" (p. 377). Similarly, the Jewish community of the late 1960s had more "resources, political and financial, at its command with which to endow all kinds of projects and to press for public recognition of Jewish concerns than did that of the late 1940s" (p. 377). Thus the efforts to memorialize the Holocaust in the 1960s and after often overshadowed those previous efforts.

Diner's book successfully proves that American Jews did remember the Holocaust with reverence and love prior to the early 1960s. Rich in documentation, her work challenges preconceived notions extant in many areas. For example, Diner reveals that the debate surrounding Pope Pius XII's actions during the Holocaust began in Jewish magazine and press articles as early as 1947, long before the controversy aroused by Rolf Hochhuth's 1963 play, *The Deputy*. Still, even with all the extensive documentation in this work, Diner might have provided more context to help readers understand more fully the challenges American Jews faced in recalling the Holocaust in the late 1940s and 1950s. Similarly, Diner might have discussed in greater depth the arguments of Novick and Finkelstein, which she so critically challenges. These, however, are minor observations when one surveys the overall importance of this well documented account of how postwar American Jews publicly dealt with and remembered the Holocaust.

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CHRISTOPHER D. O'SULLIVAN. *Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937–1943*. (Gutenberg-e Online History Series.) Print edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 256. \$49.50.

Sumner Welles was arguably the most influential assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs that the United States has had. He began his State Department career during World War I and completed it near the end of the next global conflict. The supposed reason for his forced resignation in the summer of 1943 was his homosexual behavior. After leaving the foreign service, Welles wrote several books suggesting the direction the United States should take in the postwar era, but during the last decade of his life, he faded from the public spotlight. As he moved away from public service, his homosexuality, coupled with acute alcoholism, became so pronounced that his behavior bordered on the bizarre.

The tragedy of Welles's downfall has been told in minute detail, as has his importance in shaping inter-American diplomacy. Christopher D. O'Sullivan's book synthesizes these events well. He also explains Welles's elevation to undersecretary of state in 1937, his mission to Europe three years later, his role in writing the Atlantic Charter in the summer of 1941, and the difficulties he confronted at the Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro early the following year.

Along with these events, O'Sullivan describes the key figures who served in the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The text does not give FDR enough credit for his geopolitical acumen. The president gave Welles general outlines, which Welles then turned into concrete proposals. Nor is Secretary of State Cordell Hull given sufficient recognition for his contributions. The president undoubtedly found his secretary to be cautious, but he also realized that, in many ways, Hull reflected the conservative nature of the American public and the prevailing isolationist tendencies of its congressional representatives. As for Welles, he did not always agree with the president or disagree with the secretary of state. For example, Hull pressed vigorously to lower trade barriers and Welles concurred, but the president provided only lukewarm backing.

Other pivotal characters in the State Department are included in the book, including Ambassador William Bullitt, who spearheaded the drive to remove Welles; Adolph Berle, an assistant secretary of state who backed the undersecretary; Breckinridge Long, another assistant secretary of state, who was sympathetic to Hull and kept a diary dealing with the internal workings of the bureaucracy; and R. Walton Moore, an assistant secretary of state and later counselor to the secretary who mistakenly thought that Hull would back him for the post of undersecretary.

Understanding these events and characters that Welles routinely confronted is essential to comprehending his role in postwar planning. Such background information helps the reader to understand the essence of this volume. While preparing the book, O'Sullivan

reviewed the relevant documents at the National Archives, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, and other repositories. He then ventured where no other researcher has gone by carefully examining the Welles manuscripts at Hyde Park, New York, and the British Foreign Office documents in England. By incorporating these sources, O'Sullivan has given us the definitive treatment of Welles's significance as he tried to envision a postwar world under the hegemony of the United States. Welles placed the maintenance of the Russian-American wartime alliance above disagreements over the Soviet absorption of the Baltic states and the communist domination of Eastern Europe. He also emerged as an obstacle to the way in which Great Britain viewed its future global prestige and power. As for the Free French government in exile, Welles mirrored the antipathy that FDR and Hull expressed. He even hoped to promote China as a great power in Asia, much to the chagrin of Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

As O'Sullivan shows, the views that Welles held became even more complex when he addressed the issue of anti-colonialism. In some measure, he dreamed of internationalizing the Monroe Doctrine by preventing colonial powers from keeping their territorial possessions. Instead, he favored an international trusteeship system that would eventually turn colonies into independent states. The British and French vehemently disapproved, of course, for they would be the losers under this system.

To Welles, postwar planning for Europe rested upon idealistic assumptions: Eastern Europe would become part of a federation, independence would be restored to the Baltic nations, and Russia would respect the boundaries of Poland. However, these prospects proved to be hopeless, as Joseph Stalin distrusted the West and had no intention of surrendering his wartime conquests. The British quickly accepted that reality, and Welles eventually capitulated as the Soviet armies marched toward Germany.

By relying on Welles as the main focus of this book, O'Sullivan illustrates the difficulties that politicians and diplomats face when attempting to predict the future. Decolonization was not an easy objective or an instant success; it took many years with mixed results. The USSR maintained its satellites for several decades until the communist system ultimately imploded. Welles could not peer into the future. He was trying to anticipate the United States as a superpower in the postwar world. Such efforts were essential to the future conduct of American diplomacy. O'Sullivan has done an admirable job of describing the evolution of postwar planning as seen from Welles's perspective, and in describing this period, he has provided scholars with a major contribution to the field.

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ANDREW JOHNSTONE. *Dilemmas of Internationalism: The American Association for the United Nations and US Foreign Policy, 1941–1948*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. 201. \$99.95.

Clark Eichelberger was not quite a household name in post-1933 America, but among citizens knowledgeable about foreign affairs, he was close. Eichelberger was a peripatetic internationalist, a sort of foreign policy busybody when issues related to the old League of Nations or the newer United Nations were discussed. He directed the League of Nations Association (LNA) and its successor, the American Association for the United Nations (AAUN). He also directed or served on the board of other related internationalist organizations, some housed in the same building as the AAUN. Andrew Johnstone's new book tells an important segment of Eichelberger's story. Indeed, this book would have been more appropriately subtitled *Clark Eichelberger and US Foreign Policy, 1941–1948* than *The American Association for the United Nations and US Foreign Policy, 1941–1948*. The author uses the association—it started out in 1922 as the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association (it later dropped the "Non-Partisan" from its name and evolved into the present-day United Nations Association of the United States of America)—to reflect on Eichelberger's legacy. However, his larger purpose is to define an important corner of American internationalism, and he does this quite well.

Johnstone argues that American internationalism meant considerably more than simple support for the League of Nations and its United Nations successor. It involved a tension between two currents of internationalist thinking, which Johnstone calls "multilateral internationalism" and its rival (but not a polar opposite), "unilateral internationalism." Johnstone sees the former as the real thing, the legacy of Woodrow Wilson. The latter he views as a kind of bastard internationalism, conforming not to universal ideals of peace and justice, but rather serving the narrower requirements of American strategic and economic interests.

The dilemma Johnstone identifies in his title was faced by men like Eichelberger and his colleagues. They had committed their lives to promote those universal ideals, yet they became servants of the state as they sought respectability and influence among the ruling elite. "The closer internationalists got to the Government, the less critical they became of the Government approach" (p. 63), the author argues again and again. Johnstone explicitly acquits Eichelberger and his AAUN colleagues of becoming "stooges" of the government during both the Roosevelt and the Truman years, but he protests too much. "It was the Government that ultimately dictated the terms" of the relationship that kept Eichelberger in harness to the State Department, claims Johnstone. "Believing that the US national interest represented the closest approximation of UN values to be found" (p. 5), Eichelberger critically compromised his own commitment to internationalism.

Johnstone's indictment of these internationalists is less novel than he suggests, but he does provide an angle to this story that is quite insightful. He uses Antonio

Johnstone's indictment of these internationalists is less novel than he suggests, but he does provide an angle to this story that is quite insightful. He uses Antonio

Gramsci to connect private individuals like Eichelberger and private organizations like the AAUN to the power of the state, a state that ultimately tames its critics by making them believe that they and the state “are one: that they [the private entities] are ‘the embodiment and makers of the state’” (p. 8). Johnstone only addresses Gramsci in the introduction to this book, but his insights about the convergence of state and private interests are useful even if they are not terribly original. The author is right, I think, to argue that Eichelberger pulled his internationalist punches in order not to lose what, today, we call “access.” Moreover, he argues that even the death of FDR, with whom Eichelberger had established a fairly close relationship, did not diminish Eichelberger’s efforts to curry favor with the new Truman administration. Unfortunately for Eichelberger, Truman rarely paid him serious attention. Johnstone ends his account by describing a disappointed Eichelberger publicly supporting the Marshall Plan while privately regretting that it completely sidestepped the UN and therefore intensified the Cold War. Once again, Eichelberger and his AAUN colleagues wound up betraying their own principles.

Johnstone’s book leaves some holes remaining in the AAUN story; indeed, nearly ninety percent of the text deals with the years before 1946. Furthermore, the manuscript would have benefitted from better editing. It contains a number of typographical errors and a somewhat tedious narrative in which the author often repeats himself. Some sections, such as the discussion of the LNA’s name change to the AAUN, require a more logical organization. And then there are some missing pieces in his bibliography (examples: Zara Steiner, ed. *The League of Nations in Retrospect* [1983]; recent histories of the League of Nations imprinted by Avery Publishing; the works of Joseph Baratta; and the papers of Leo Pasvolksy and Arthur Sweetser at the Library of Congress). Nevertheless, Johnstone’s interpretative framework is sound and his story is worth telling.

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MARC GALLICCHIO. *The Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War*. (Total War: New Perspectives on World War II.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2008. Pp. xiv, 209. \$34.95.

In this clearly written and concise study, Marc Gallicchio explains why the United States failed to achieve its goal “to translate victory over Japan into a lasting peace in Asia” (p. ix). He concludes that “military operations undertaken by the United States in the early days of peace affected developments in Asia in unexpected ways” and ultimately “set the stage for future conflict” (p. xi). U.S. policy mistakes derived from the strong desire of American leaders to disengage from the Asian mainland and “genuine uncertainty about the peacetime purposes of American military power” (p. 188). In his preface, Gallicchio makes plain his belief that malevolence did not guide U.S. actions. “In Korea, In-

dochina and, most important of all, China,” he contends, “the arrival of American forces owed more to reflex and spasm than long-term planning” (p. 99). Thereafter, U.S. leaders made ad hoc decisions in response to chaos in liberated Asia. While local conditions worked against coherent policies, Gallicchio blames the Truman administration for perpetuating a mood of “drift and uncertainty” in conducting a “military enterprise . . . lacking definition” (p. 141). Another factor was the ethnocentric American belief that Asians cared only about saving face.

In the first three of his six chapters, Gallicchio covers the dramatic shift in President Harry S. Truman’s initial intention to seek cooperation with the Soviet Union to secure Japan’s surrender and the impact of such sentiments. Already under pressure from conservatives to modify the terms of unconditional surrender and satisfy the public craving for peace, U.S. policy “was overthrown with surprising swiftness” (p. 21) after the successful testing of the atomic bomb. “As the Potsdam conference ended[,]” Gallicchio writes, “postwar political arrangements in Asia were suddenly up for grabs” (p. 25). Having abandoned wartime unity, Washington acted to block Soviet expansion, rushing forces to the Asian mainland—most notably, 40,000 U.S. Marines to Beijing—and instructing “an undefeated Japanese army to facilitate the reassertion of Nationalist control over much of China below the Great Wall” (p. 47). Gallicchio then describes how the clash between the U.S. Army and State Department that began during the war invited the Huk uprising in the Philippines and “provided the Right with the muscle it needed to keep its hold on power” in Korea (p. 84). By early September 1945, the administration had committed military aid and an advisory group to the Guomindang in China. In Indochina, French troops returned in late October, wearing U.S. uniforms, riding U.S. jeeps, and carrying U.S. weapons.

Gallicchio’s last three chapters describe the myriad of problems that the United States created for itself in Asia during the two years after the end of World War II. “As demobilization became disintegration” (p. 103), domestic politics and the unification debate skewed policy deliberations. Gallicchio attributes the failure of George Marshall’s diplomatic mission to China to the U.S. Army’s insistence on unqualified support for Chiang Kai-shek, which “made the withholding of U.S. aid a hollow threat” (p. 114). By contrast, U.S. mediation in Vietnam inadvertently boosted the independence movement, while in Korea the American commitment grew “in almost inverse proportion to the dwindling number of occupation troops” (p. 168). Eventually, financial retrenchment would force Truman to begin withdrawal from Asia, but another factor was the misbehavior of U.S. soldiers in occupied Japan, Korea, and the Philippines who committed rape, assault, theft, and burglary. Still, the U.S. left behind advisors and surplus military equipment, forging “close connections” with “corrupt and reactionary forces” (p. 146) that nullified wartime goals. So too did the shame-

ful selective punishment of Japanese war criminals and the racial discrimination that African American soldiers endured. As for Asians seeking radical change, the author laments in his conclusion that U.S. postwar policy left them little alternative other than resistance.

Editor Michael B. Barrett deserves praise for including this study in his "New Perspectives on World War II" series. Consistent with its synthetic intent, each endnote rarely includes more than a couple of references. Gallicchio's book derives its arguments from a diverse assortment of primary and secondary sources. This extensive research is summarized in an individual bibliographic essay for every chapter. Fourteen photographs interspersed in the text present Asian leaders, U.S. military officers, and key moments in the Pacific War. Aside from a couple of misspellings, the only error misdates the start of the Joint Commission talks on Korea. A helpful map of East Asia identifies Japanese held areas in August 1945 and there is a good index. Gallicchio also makes excellent use of quotations and insightful anecdotes. He relies on firsthand recollections of American soldiers to show how, for example, demands for rapid postwar demobilization complicated Washington's efforts to project and maintain American power in East Asia. Gallicchio asserts that "the United States joined the scramble for Asia" (p. 189) at the end of World War II, but his evidence demonstrates that the Truman administration in fact created the destructive chaos that "helped to shape the next several decades of international relations in Asia" (p. ix).

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DAVID TAL. *The American Nuclear Disarmament Dilemma, 1945–1963*. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 328. \$34.95.

David Tal's examination of U.S. nuclear disarmament policy from 1945 to 1963 constitutes a substantial addition to studies of how policy makers sought to cope with the dangers posed by the advent of nuclear weapons. Tal argues that, despite the considerable effort U.S. officials put into nuclear disarmament proposals and negotiations with the Soviet Union, "no administration actually wanted them to succeed" (p. xv). The reason for this reluctance—and, therefore, for the failure to secure a significant nuclear disarmament agreement—he maintains, is that U.S. presidents regarded nuclear weapons as useful in their Cold War confrontation with the Soviet Union. He concludes, "When it came to policy making, it was U.S. national security interests . . . that decided the nature of nuclear disarmament negotiations" (p. 243).

But why, asks Tal, "did the United States spend years engaged in talks it did not want to succeed" (p. 242)? One answer, he says, is that "whenever its allies or adversaries introduced a disarmament plan, the United States had no choice but to respond." In addition,

"American presidents and politicians were trapped by their own beliefs and values" (p. 242). They liked the idea of disarmament, at least in the abstract, but not enough to dispense with the most powerful weapons in the U.S. arsenal.

In a number of ways, Tal's book is impressive. Based heavily on U.S. and British government records as well as memoirs and other published sources, it is grounded in solid research. In addition, despite occasional stylistic infelicities, the writing is clear and provides easily understandable summaries of complex arms control and disarmament proposals. The text's greatest virtue is its detailed description of a myriad of nuclear disarmament proposals and conferences. Tal's account of Harold Stassen's difficult but ultimately successful efforts to alter U.S. nuclear disarmament policy is particularly valuable.

Yet the book also has some limitations. At times, Tal seems quite snide. For example, in the context of Central Intelligence Agency director John McCone's critique of a comprehensive test ban agreement, he writes: "Not knowing the facts was never a reason not to make a judgment and reach conclusions" (p. 224). Although Tal has not examined Soviet archives, he draws sweeping conclusions about Soviet motives. He rather consistently maintains that Soviet leaders welcomed the prospect of nuclear disarmament, insisting, for instance, that "Stalin was ready to give up nuclear weapons if the United States followed suit" (p. 42). By contrast, U.S. leaders receive a harsher appraisal. Tal argues that U.S. proposals for international control of atomic energy provided "a means to ensure that only the United States would manufacture nuclear bombs" (p. 11) and that the much-touted Baruch Plan was "crafted on the premise that the Soviets would reject it" (p. 48).

The most disturbing aspect of this book is the author's refusal to acknowledge the importance of public pressure against nuclear weapons. The existence of overseas opposition creeps into his account now and then, especially as U.S. officials referred to it frequently, but Tal ultimately dismisses it as irrelevant. His treatment of domestic pressure is even more myopic. During the administration of Harry Truman, he insists, "there was no public pressure in the United States for disarmament" (p. 22). Tal admits that Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles "often mentioned public opinion as a key factor in disarmament decisions," but he argues that they did so only "as an excuse to do something they thought should be done." Like Truman, Eisenhower supposedly faced "no public pressure to pursue nuclear disarmament" (p. 54). Indeed, "there was no solid public opinion in the United States against the bomb" (p. 110).

Tal omits anything that might contradict this extraordinary conclusion. There is no mention of any of the flourishing U.S. disarmament organizations (e.g., the Federation of American Scientists, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy [SANE], and Women Strike for Peace), of Adlai Stevenson's condemnation



of nuclear testing during his 1956 presidential campaign, of the many anti-nuclear newspaper ads and demonstrations, and of the remarkable role of Norman Cousins (the co-founder and co-chair of SANE) in fostering Kennedy's American University address and the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963). Polls showing majority U.S. public opposition to nuclear testing and—even during the Truman era—majority support for nuclear disarmament are ignored, as are the many similar polls of foreign opinion. From Tal's account, one would never guess that key Kennedy administration officials—McGeorge Bundy (national security advisor), Glenn Seaborg (chair of the Atomic Energy Commission), and Jerome Wiesner (White House science advisor)—contended that the Partial Test Ban Treaty resulted primarily from public pressure.

Overall, then, this is a useful account of nuclear disarmament policy, albeit one that would have benefited from a broader approach.

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JOHN EARL HAYNES, HARVEY KLEHR, and ALEXANDER VASSILIEV. *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*. Translations by PHILIP REDKO and STEVEN SHABAD. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. liii, 650. \$35.00.

We have known for well over a decade that hundreds of Americans assisted Soviet intelligence during the 1930s and 1940s, thanks to the declassification of Soviet cables decrypted by the Venona Project and the brief opening of KGB archives in the 1990s. This new book by John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, and Alexander Vassiliev is the latest installment in the remarkable story of how the Soviets took advantage of an undeveloped U.S. counterintelligence apparatus and a committed pool of communists and fellow travelers to burrow deep into American industry and government. The plot continues to thicken here as the authors disclose rich, new archival material further illuminating espionage in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Justice, the Manhattan Project, and the National Security Agency (NSA).

Haynes and Klehr, co-authors of numerous works on American communism and Soviet espionage, collaborated with Vassiliev, a journalist and former KGB agent who had limited access to KGB archives between 1994 and 1996, to publish a book based on Vassiliev's notebooks. These are handwritten transcriptions of Soviet foreign intelligence files, portions of which are summarized in a 1999 book Vassiliev co-authored with Allen Weinstein, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*. The result is a massive volume that fills in gaps in this tangled history, resolves lingering mysteries, reveals scores of Soviet agents (many previously unsuspected), and revises the inventory to count more than 500 Americans who served So-

viet intelligence before Elizabeth Bentley's 1945 defection to the FBI brought down the entire Soviet espionage operation almost overnight.

This book is a mammoth achievement given the labor-intensive detective work and expertise required to draw conclusions from KGB sources: synthesizing raw new information with data disentangled from Venona decrypts and FBI/NSA files, tracking and matching people to ever-shifting cryptonyms, and mapping Byzantine networks of spies, couriers, handlers, and station chiefs. For the uninitiated, the book is not light reading; it is filled with the factual minutiae needed to support identifications of dozens of Soviet agents.

While this work covers some of the same ground as *The Haunted Wood* (for example, Laurence Duggan's anguished odyssey as a State Department official turned spy is retold here), there is much that is new. Ernest Hemingway dallied with the KGB but never became an agent. The atomic spy known only by the cryptonyms FOGEL and PERSIAN turns out to be Russell McNutt, an engineer who helped construct the uranium processing plant at the Oak Ridge facility and later became chief engineer at Gulf Oil, spending his twilight years in a luxury golf course community he developed. McNutt's fate bears no resemblance to that of his friend Julius Rosenberg, head of a technical ("XY") spy ring who, we know now, handed the Soviets their first Manhattan Project source when he recruited the prized McNutt. There is also David Salmon, chief of the State Department's Division of Communications and Records, who, unlike the majority of agents, spied for money instead of ideals; and Stanley Graze, the OSS and State Department official who spied for ideals instead of money and surfaced later as funds manager for Robert Vesco, the 1970s investment scam artist. We learn more about the damage done by William Weisband, the linguist working on the Venona Project who alerted the Soviets to the NSA's decryption of wartime Soviet cables before *he* was exposed as a KGB agent by—yes—decrypted Soviet cables. The authors reaffirm that J. Robert Oppenheimer was not a spy despite repeated attempts to recruit him, and they add several new documents to the mountain of extant evidence demonstrating Alger Hiss's status as a GRU (Soviet military intelligence) agent. The authors rightly dispose of the Hiss case with an economical "Case Closed" (p. 1).

Many individuals identified in the book were more obscure "XY" agents purloining data from the electronics, chemical, aviation, and other industries related to military technology. Legions more were couriers, recruiters, and talent spotters who did much daily hustling for the Soviets. Readers looking for deep reflection on the historical context of the espionage or sensitivity to degrees of relationships and interactions with the KGB will be disappointed. The authors rarely depart from their primary purpose: documenting the espionage networks. They show little interest in revisiting arguments (for example, about the spies' antifascist aims or the reliability of controllers' reports to Moscow) fought

since the Venona revelations began trickling out. The police-blotter style infuriates their critics, particularly defenders of I. F. Stone, the radical journalist who has superseded Hiss as the primary source of controversy.

It is clear that from 1936 to 1938 Stone (cryptonym PANCAKE) traded gossip and information with KGB officers and relayed messages for the purposes of recruiting and assisting an agent. How to characterize these acts is debatable. Much rests on one 1936 KGB report stating that "Relations with 'Pancake' [Stone] have entered the 'channel of normal operational work,'" a phrase used to seal the indictment of Stone as a "fully active agent" and a "Soviet spy" (pp. 150–152). The criteria for such classifications is minimal indeed; Stone's actions, as revealed here, do not amount to much. His witting assistance to the KGB, however limited, may have made him a *de facto* Soviet agent (albeit a rather lethargic one) in this two-year period before the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. But absent additional evidence, the authors, who have little patience for distinguishing gradations of relationships, overreach in calling the journalist—who had no official secrets to pass—a spy.

While this book is the most comprehensive account to date of pre-1945 Soviet espionage in the U.S., the picture is still incomplete. Vassiliev saw only a selected portion of KGB files, and GRU archives remain untapped. How many more spies will surface is uncertain. At the rate the catalog is growing, Haynes's and Klehr's next project might well be a multivolume spy encyclopedia. Finally, apart from atomic espionage, which accelerated the Soviets' development of a plutonium bomb by four or five years, the value and impact of the data passed to the Russians will take years to sort out. This text briefly touches upon such issues.

The genesis of Vassiliev's notebooks is a controversial story itself, one recounted in an intriguing essay by the journalist, who considers the spies "heroes" (p. xlv). Here Vassiliev describes how his requests for files were alternately rejected or granted by Russian authorities who were unfamiliar with the revealing contents of operational files they handed over. Holding little back, Vassiliev also details his many troubles after Crown Publishers purchased exclusive access to KGB archives in 1993 and enlisted him on the project: his dealings with the Russian Declassification Commission as the *glasnost* spirit began to dissipate, the abrupt cancellation of the Crown deal, a falling-out with coauthor Weinstein, a lawsuit involving a Hiss defender, the anxious decision to leave Russia and smuggle the notebooks out.

Objections will be raised that Vassiliev's transcriptions are unverifiable. There is no sign that the Russians will reopen their archives anytime soon. It would be a mistake, however, to ignore or dismiss this important book. Despite the questionable means by which archival access was secured long before this collaboration was born, the notebooks, available online at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, are authentic. They consistently corroborate evidence from

old and newer sources. As such they offer an extraordinary window into the communist underground and those who labored, under the illusion that they were promoting global peace, to feed Joseph Stalin's obsessive hunger for information. The weight of this evidence—a staggering 500 Soviet agents—compels us to rethink some of our long-held assumptions about phantom spies, a chore historians of the Red Scare have hardly rushed to undertake.

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DANIEL FRICK. *Reinventing Richard Nixon: A Cultural History of an American Obsession*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xi, 331. \$34.95.

Richard Nixon was famous for reinventing himself, rising time and again from the ashes of political defeat. To the delight or consternation of Americans, in each instance Nixon would emerge with a new image, as a new Nixon. His brazenness and his success at reinvention have combined with his polarizing influence to produce a small army of journalists, cartoonists, filmmakers, professors, and pundits who continuously debate the meaning of this president. While all politicians, to one degree or another, trade in image, the obsession with Nixon's particular image has created a rich vein for scholars to tap. Daniel Frick has written a provocative and interesting study of Nixon's persona that provides a valuable contribution to our understanding of the intersection of politics and culture. According to Frick, the debate over Nixon was "not just about the man, but about the nature of the United States" (p. 6). By focusing on this man, he gives readers a tour of the cultural and political landscape of the past few decades, offering convincing evidence that Americans are obsessed, for better or worse, with Nixon as a representative of our national identity.

Nixon's success during his lifetime and his continued relevancy up to the present come from the use of national myths to tell compelling stories. Frick uses Senator Robert Dole's eulogy of Nixon to summarize the myths that supporters attributed to the former president. These include the pioneer spirit, the American work ethic, and the virtues of motherhood, tenacity, and ceaseless striving (p. 3). Nixon's repeated use of the log cabin myth and the Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story provided the basis for his appeal to the "silent majority"; they also allowed him to blame defeat not on his own shortcomings, but rather on those who subverted his vision for the United States. Nixon's critics were not just his enemies, but also foes of the American dream who deprived him of victory and the American people of the leadership they so deserved. Remarkably, Frick explains, Nixon's critics on the Left never challenged his claim to these myths. They also failed to create a politically viable alternative political narrative. Instead, the president's detractors often used the man as

a means of critiquing American culture, simultaneously demonizing him in the process. Thus, Nixon's image became a centerpiece in the culture wars during the second half of the twentieth century.

Moving beyond the relationship of Nixon's character to the myth of the self-made man, Frick also examines the famous politician's relationship to "the myth of national mission, that is, the expectation that God intends the United States to play a messianic role in world history" (p. 32). One of Frick's more interesting contributions is his examination of Nixon's speeches as a form of jeremiad. Nixon borrowed rhetorically from the Puritan sermons that "detailed the colony's misfortunes, explaining them as God's punishment for the settlers' sinful failure to fulfill the divine mission." Such sermons were meant to "rededicate them to their mission" (p. 49). Echoing these rhetorical forms, Nixon explained the woes that beset the nation even as he prepared his followers to join him in a crusade against communism or other threats to the national mission.

Frick's focus on image and narrative is particularly useful in light of the fact that we live in a society where technology has only intensified the fixation on, and the manipulation of, image and narrative. The author provides a wide-ranging treatment of Nixon's role in American culture. Although much of his analysis is derived from the customary forms of political expression (memoirs, cartoons, advertisements, slogans, and such) he is most creative in incorporating popular cultural outlets ranging from the *Beverly Hillbillies* to Lynyrd Skynyrd (p. 58). He also points to ways in which the debate over Nixon's legacy is still relevant—indeed, that is his concluding statement—but also to ways in which the debate has not served the nation. His treatment of the Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, an institution whose fate has been bound up with that of the Nixon papers and recordings, is an excellent examination of legacy building fueled, in part, by the necessity of selling Nixon kitsch to remain solvent. The discussion of the Nixon library being rented out for weddings is, in and of itself, worth reading.

Frick has written a valuable book for those of us who are interested not only in Nixon but also in understanding the political world in which we live. While one may not agree with all of his conclusions, his study goes beyond Nixon to look at the world that Nixon helped create. Although some may scoff at the idea of the second half of the twentieth century being the age of Nixon, few can doubt the importance of this political figure. Frick has written a book that helps explain why the postwar decades might be the age of Nixon, albeit not in the way that Nixon's supporters would argue. The monograph also transcends the topic of Nixon to help us understand what it means when we, so many decades after his presidency, still find ourselves debating his legacy.

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ZUOYUE WANG. *In Sputnik's Shadow: The President's Science Advisory Committee and Cold War America*.

New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 454. \$49.95.

Zuoyue Wang's history of the President's Science Advisory Committee (PSAC) places in focus and in context vast changes in the relationship between scientific, technical, and professional experts and American presidents. Beginning with a concise review that spans the creation of the National Academy of Sciences during the Civil War, World War I, the New Deal, and World War II, the author highlights how already fluid relations between science and the state rapidly expanded in the context of what he calls the Cold War liberal consensus and then degraded as bilateral U.S.-Soviet relations stabilized and this consensus gave way to Vietnam War-era distrust and divisiveness.

This period of liberal consensus, defined by its "anticommunism abroad and incremental reform at home" (p. 183), extended from the late 1940s through the mid-1960s, encompassing the prehistory of PSAC in the form of the Korean War-era Office of Defense Mobilization's Science Advisory Committee (ODM-SAC), the Kennedy administration, and at least part of Lyndon Johnson's time in office. The main narrative ends with the committee's demise shortly after Richard Nixon's re-election in 1972, followed by an epilogue that discusses science advising for subsequent presidents through the administration of George W. Bush. Specialists in presidential history as well as American science policy will find this treatment thoughtful and reliable, as will many general readers.

Following his brief historical overview, Wang provides a number of case histories of PSAC policy input during key Cold War developments: the H-bomb debate of the late 1940s; its relation to the J. Robert Oppenheimer clearance revocation episode of 1954; the creation of a civilian space agency to manage the American response to the October 1957 launch of Sputnik; the debate over a nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviets; the federal support of Big Science (specifically the Stanford Linear Accelerator project); the decision to send American astronauts to the moon as a demonstration of the superiority of American liberal capitalism; the role of academics in planning and fighting the Vietnam War and, later, the impact on campus of revelations of their academic complicity; the response to human-caused environmental degradation highlighted by the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962); debates over the development of nuclear-powered aircraft and then supersonic transports; and, finally, the debate over anti-ballistic missile technology.

Organized chronologically, the case studies mostly support one of the book's major assertions, namely, that the status of science and the academic elite tapped for PSAC membership was constantly changing. In the last months of World War II, Vannevar Bush's widely read *Science, the Endless Frontier* (1945), which was in part a reaction to Depression-era doubts about the social utility of science as well as anticipation of postwar requirements, advanced the so-called linear model. It

argued that scientific advancement was a prerequisite for, and the proximate cause of, innovation, which in turn was the engine of progress (for example, in the areas of public health and economic prosperity in addition to military strength). At least from the explosion of the Soviet Union's first atomic weapon in 1949 and the start of the Korean War, the military strength argument predominated. However, the United States' appearance "in Sputnik's shadow" a few years later made national prestige the most important argument for expanding the public investment in scientific research and training as well as raising the profile of science in government.

Wang's main argument is that, regardless of the changing public notion of what science was good for, from the Eisenhower administration onward it was presidential desire to manage public and congressional overestimation of what technology could do—in the sense of having expert evaluation serve as a substitute for market discipline for the expanding one-customer growth industries of aerospace and weapons development—that served as the prime source of PSAC's influence. In this view, PSAC's demise coincided with a growing perception that the "dual allegiance" (p. 15) of PSAC members, who were looked to for their disinterested perspective on the presidential policymaking process ("science in policy") while at the same time they were advocating for science ("policy for science"), undermined claims that PSAC's technological skepticism was any more valid than the enthusiasm exhibited by other interest groups. This dual allegiance, Wang shows, was hardly new. What was new was the dissipation of the idea that scientists, because of their training and demeanor, could be counted on differently than the myriad other interests vying for presidential favor and federal largesse.

Throughout its existence, Wang claims, PSAC served as a variably persuasive counter to rampant technological enthusiasm and institutional overreach within an increasingly assertive military and national security infrastructure. The special status and characteristics of science (that placed it above engineering and technology) were key presumptions widely shared, at least at first, both within and outside of the science advising apparatus. As that presumption became less and less assured over time, so did the influence of PSAC.

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ERIK M. CONWAY. *Atmospheric Science at NASA: A History*. (New Series in NASA History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 386. \$55.00.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is commonly thought of as "the space agency." Erik M. Conway seeks to remedy this limited understanding of the organization's work by highlighting NASA's significant earth science research as well. From the U.S. Weather Bureau's desire for satellite-based

sensors in the late 1950s to the climate-debate-driven model requirements of the late twentieth century, NASA has been heavily involved in providing relevant research data—and funding basic atmospheric science—while remaining aloof from operational satellite commitments. Conway argues that the earliest atmospheric science programs ultimately led NASA to enter politically controversial territory when it became embroiled in the climate change debate. Considering that NASA's focus on Earth coincided with the much earlier termination of the manned Apollo Program (and the agency's need to find a new mission), that argument falls short. Had Apollo continued to operate, it is doubtful that NASA would have done much more than provide satellite platforms for the earth science data-gathering needed by other government agencies.

In several respects, Conway's book brings a new dimension to the historiography of space science, which has primarily focused on the development of space vehicles and sensors, planetary exploration, and manned missions. Most people connect weather satellites with orbital photographs of clouds, but satellite-based sensors of basic atmospheric conditions (e.g., temperature, humidity, wind velocity) are critical for the sophisticated weather prediction models that aid both weather forecasting and the development of explanatory theories for atmospheric phenomena. Technological improvements have allowed atmospheric scientists to collect additional data for climate models that have contributed to the scientific and political debate over ozone depletion, the existence of climate change, and their possible causes. But while arguing that NASA tried to create an entirely new discipline of earth system science based on its global view of Earth, Conway does not connect NASA's work to the larger community of these scientists. He writes that many earth scientists were concerned that NASA's Earth Observing System (EOS) would absorb most of the available funding for their discipline "within their working lives" (p. 275), claiming they were unable to break free of their disciplines and resisted NASA efforts. But we do not hear those dissenting voices, and unfortunately their reasons for pushing back against a governmental agency trying to dictate their disciplinary future remain unexamined.

NASA was a symbol of America's scientific prowess during the Cold War, so it is also unfortunate that this groundbreaking book was not written for a wider, non-technical audience. Writing histories of science and technology can be a challenge because of the specialized terms that are often understandable only to practitioners, a problem that may be overcome through simple explanations or leaving out technical bits that do not advance the storyline. Conway did neither, thus making the narrative difficult to follow. Similarly, few characters are fleshed out, and even key actors are never more than stick figures. The use of government jargon (for example, "descoped," "rebaselined," and "run-out cap") and the extensive use of acronyms also make the text less readable. Much of the book is so technical that only those intimately familiar with NASA's programs,



satellite-borne sensors, and the people behind them will likely make full use of it.

The effectiveness of Conway's text is also undermined by more easily fixed problems. Citations are spotty, a problem exacerbated by the lack of a bibliography and a detailed list of relevant archival collections. Names in the text do not always appear in the index, making it difficult to determine whether a character plays a one-time role or will appear again. Errors creep into every book, of course, but a surfeit of factual and conceptual errors creates doubt about the overall work. For example, on the first page Conway discusses the transfer of heat from the equator to the poles by "deep ocean currents," which actually are cold and flow from the poles to the equator. A few pages later, John von Neumann becomes the developer of the EDVAC, a computer designed by J. Presper Eckert and John Mauchly (p. 14). Factual errors such as these, when combined with conceptual errors such as statements that environmental science was only considered a sub-discipline of biology (p. 138; it actually included geophysics disciplines) and that climate change only became a scientific question in the 1970s (p. 152; it was already regarded as such decades earlier) call into question Conway's grasp of earth science historiography. Furthermore, the text suffers from an abundance of spelling and grammatical errors that should not have survived the publication process. Authors are responsible for proofing their manuscripts, but academic presses have an obligation to ensure that their books have had sufficient editorial intervention before they are printed.

As one of the latest books in the New Series in NASA History, Conway's project introduces a new aspect of space science that will be of interest to scholars of this field. The overall message—that NASA has been a major contributor to earth sciences research—is valid. The details, however, should be used with caution.

KRISTINE C. HARPER  
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LAURA JANE GIFFORD. *The Center Cannot Hold: The 1960 Presidential Election and the Rise of Modern Conservatism*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 242. \$32.95.

TIMOTHY J. SULLIVAN. *New York State and the Rise of Modern Conservatism: Redrawing Party Lines*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2009. Pp. x, 247. \$70.00.

The spirit of the late William F. Buckley, Jr., who died in 2008, looms large in both of these important and timely books under review. In *The Center Cannot Hold* by Laura Jane Gifford, Buckley and his fellow writers at *National Review* provide the intellectual foundations for the conservative movement. In *New York State and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* by Timothy J. Sullivan, it is Buckley the partisan, tactician, and candidate—for

mayor of New York City in 1965—who takes center stage. In these varied roles, he is always entertaining, inspiring, or infuriating, depending on your political perspective. But he is never dull, as both studies make abundantly clear. And although neither author ventures, appropriately, to speculate, it is interesting to ponder precisely what Buckley would make of the current struggles of the Republican Party and, by extension, the conservative leaders who are now in charge and must decide what direction the GOP should take in the wake of the Democratic Party's recent success.

The debate among Republicans today mirrors to a degree the clashes that took place in the early 1960s, when the resurgence of the Right—the larger focus of both Gifford and Sullivan—gained momentum. By now it is generally accepted that the most powerful and lasting political force to emerge from that decade was the conservative movement. But precisely when, how, and why the Right became dominant in national electoral politics remains a matter of contention. It has also become a virtual cottage industry, with scores of studies on the subject appearing in recent years. Some scholars stress the inherent fragility of the New Deal Democratic coalition, which Franklin D. Roosevelt cobbled together in the 1930s. Others emphasize political contingency and point to liberal support in the 1960s for the Great Society, the Vietnam War and, above all, civil rights, which had a number of intended and unintended consequences. In particular, proponents of the "white backlash" thesis cite the widespread urban unrest and social change, which made many Americans uneasy. This anxiety fed a growing demand for law and order, which conservative politicians like Barry Goldwater in 1964, Ronald Reagan in 1966, and Richard Nixon in 1968 encouraged and exploited. Demographic developments, such as the growth of the Sunbelt and suburbs, also energized and mobilized grass-roots Republicans from DeKalb County in Georgia to Orange County in California. Finally, the complicated and controversial role of race cast a large and troubling shadow, especially in the South where white Democrats deserted the party in droves in response to the freedom struggle waged by black Americans.

Despite the wealth of words on the conservative revival that have appeared since the "Age of Reagan" began in 1981, both authors, to their credit, have found new and important things to say. The books are complementary in that they both shed valuable light on an understudied aspect of the rise of modern conservatism: namely, the corresponding fall of liberal or "modern" Republicanism, which the Eisenhower administration embraced and promoted in the 1950s. For Gifford, the critical moment was the 1960 presidential campaign, when Nixon's narrow defeat marked the end of GOP moderation and the eastern domination of the Republican Party. For Sullivan, a critical factor was the New York Conservative Party, which took advantage of the state's unusual electoral laws and eventually forced the Empire State Republican Party, home to such moderate or liberal luminaries as Governor Nelson Rock-

efeller, Mayor John Lindsay, and Senator Jacob Javits, to tack to the right. Both authors also employ a similar and traditional methodology, ably mining the archival record to give primacy to election results and political figures—party leaders, campaign aides, and elected officials—rather than larger social developments.

*The Center Cannot Hold* is, in a sense, a prequel to *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (2001), Rick Perlstein's seminal account of the 1964 campaign. Inevitably, Gifford presents familiar material on Buckley, *National Review*, Young Americans for Freedom, Goldwater, and the conservative operatives who saw him as their great hope. But she breaks new ground by examining the 1960 election from a ground-level, constituency-based perspective. In particular, she contrasts the success of the Right at organization building among conservative youths, intellectuals, and southerners with the failure of liberals in the GOP to broaden their appeal to African Americans and white ethnics, for whom Nixon's anti-communist credentials mattered less than John F. Kennedy's Catholic faith. Part of the problem lay with Rockefeller himself, whose refusal to run, as Gifford rightly puts it, "deprived his liberal constituents of a legitimate voice in the political process" (p. 17). But a larger problem for liberals was their continued reliance on policy studies and top-down, elite leadership rather than grass-roots efforts to attract popular support. As a consequence, she concludes, conservatives had effectively captured control of the Republican Party by the end of 1960.

By contrast, *New York State and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* begins at that very moment, when two Republican Wall Street lawyers, Kieran O'Doherty and his brother-in-law, J. Daniel Mahoney, decided to organize conservatives into a third party so they could punish liberals like Rockefeller for their supposed lack of loyalty to Nixon in the recent campaign and take advantage of New York's unique laws, which set a low ballot threshold and permitted minor parties to cross-endorse—or not—the candidates of major parties. At times, the Conservative Party and the state GOP cooperated when it was to their mutual advantage. At others, they competed, as in 1965 when Buckley ran unsuccessfully for mayor against Lindsay. In 1970, however, James Buckley, William's brother, ran successfully against liberal Republican incumbent Charles Goodell, whose antiwar stance had angered the Nixon White House. "We got that son of a bitch," Vice President Spiro Agnew reportedly stated (p. 111). Within a year, Lindsay had switched parties and Rockefeller had become an advocate of law and order. By 1980, the Conservative Party had achieved its aims of institutional cooperation and ideological compatibility with the Republican Party, symbolized by the joint election of Alfonse D'Amato to the U.S. Senate, replacing Javits, the last great liberal Republican in the Empire State.

Both of these books have minor flaws. Gifford implies, with an air of finality, that after 1960 the triumph of the conservatives over the moderates in the GOP was

complete and irreversible. Yet in the wake of the Goldwater defeat and the Watergate scandal the moderates made strong, if ultimately failed, bids to reassert their preeminence within the party. Sullivan suggests that William Buckley's call for law and order during his failed bid for city hall in 1965 highlighted the potency of the issue to a national audience without taking into full consideration the greater impact of Reagan's capture of the statehouse in California in 1966. At times both works also become preoccupied with campaign tactics and political minutiae from an insider's perspective, which is not surprising given the sources used. Finally, more attention to the changing electoral dynamics and demographics at the state and national level would have provided more contextualization for the arguments the authors make.

Nevertheless, these engaging and insightful studies offer a healthy corrective to structural arguments that minimize human agency and historical contingency. They remind us that ideas and individuals matter, that the rise of the Right was not preordained, regardless of what some conservatives or liberals may believe. Whether the demise of the moderate wing of the GOP was permanent is another matter. As Bill Clinton observed during a budget debate in the White House in 1992, "We're all Eisenhower Republicans here." But of course he was speaking of his fellow Democrats, and in 2010 the Obama administration has struggled to win a single GOP vote in the U.S. Senate for domestic initiatives such as health care. In any event, the strange death of liberal Republicanism, here astutely analyzed and autopsied by the authors, has without question had a profound impact on the political world in which we live today.

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KATHRYN S. OLMSTED. *Real Enemies: Conspiracy Theories and American Democracy, World War I to 9/11*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 320. \$29.95.

In 1963, historian Richard Hofstadter donned the clinician's white coat to describe conspiracy theorists and a "paranoid style of American politics" given to exaggeration, distortion, and fantastical thinking. If still the favorite of journalists, Hofstadter's ideas have been significantly revised in the last decade by scholars from diverse disciplines. Their studies have placed conspiracy theorists in a broader frame by considering the institutional, cultural, and technological means that have made conspiracy thinking a mainstream phenomenon. These scholars have suggested that elites in government and the media join countersubversives to teach citizens to fear conspiracy.

In her new book, Kathryn S. Olmsted focuses on the behavior of the federal government, the "taproot" of modern American conspiracism (p. 42). She argues that conspiracy thinking underwent a fundamental transformation during World War I. Before that time, Amer-

icans were concerned about groups subverting the government and turning it to their own devices. This shifted in the crisis of war as the federal government assumed new powers and plotted real conspiracies against its citizens and peoples around the world. Lies, cover-ups, illegal surveillance, and even assassination became the official means to control events. Government officials also developed conspiracy theories to cover their misdeeds and mobilize Americans. Meanwhile, government harassment and spying on dissenters promoted paranoia and discredited alternative views. From these beginnings and over the decades arose the "proto-secretive national security state," one given to imperialism, militarism, and the suppression of progressive politics (p. 14). In encyclopedic fashion, Olmsted offers a rogue's gallery of federal shame. She details the misinformation campaigns of Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt before and during World Wars I and II, J. Edgar Hoover's anticommunism and the FBI COINTELPRO's work to silence dissidents, Kennedy administration attempts to kill Fidel Castro, the Watergate crisis, the CIA's MK-ULTRA plot to use LSD on unsuspecting subjects, and George W. Bush's conspiracy to lever the 9/11 tragedy into war with Iraq, among many other plots.

Defending democratic practices and traditions, conspiracy theorists responded to federal provocations with "counter narratives" (p. 6). These men and women were "authentic patriots" who sought only to awaken their country to the enemy within (p. 12). Among conspiracism's counteragents and watchdogs are America-Firsters Charles Lindbergh and John T. Flynn; scientist Linus Pauling; John F. Kennedy assassination researcher Sylvia Meagher; and the so-called "Jersey Girls," who were widows of 9/11 victims. If less honorably mentioned, also included are right-wing extremist Randy Weaver, Branch Davidian David Koresh, and the Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski.

Olmsted's conspiracy theorists may be combating the real enemies and constraining centralized power, but she sounds a note of caution in her conclusion. Their challenge injects "toxins" into the public discourse and spreads a "dreaded disease" of magical thinking and tortured logic that short circuits historical discovery (pp. 236, 239). Her solution to these problems is to restrain the federal government with new rules of transparency, accountability, and oversight.

Olmsted appropriately concentrates on the role of federal authorities in promoting conspiracy thinking. Their acts have doused public faith and become tinder for conspiracism. By operating a cult of official secrecy, authorities have also abused the public's trust. These are the raw materials of paranoia. Though such federal behavior is already well known, Olmsted's book does a fine job of exposing its long history and enabling readers to discern the pattern of abuse. The author is also to be commended for revealing the role of women in conspiracy thinking, particularly in regard to unraveling the stories behind Kennedy's assassination and 9/11.

That said, such revisionism goes too far. Painting in

broad brushstrokes and crying conspiracy blurs the nuances of geopolitics, bureaucratic competition, political crosscurrents, and personalities, among other variables in government action. Condemning Wilson and Roosevelt for systematically lying also deprives the Germans and Japanese of agency and makes them unknowing patsies of their American handlers. Olmsted appreciates too much her subjects' political correctness in opposing the imperial presidency. Only belatedly does she offer muffled warnings about those who lace their theories with shrill accusations that claim betrayal and demonize opponents. It is their tactics that help deny the compromise and civility essential to a democratic society.

Moreover, countersubversives do not simply mimic federal authorities. Their training in the art goes back before the founding of the United States. This is apparent in a pattern that Olmsted finds but largely ignores. The conspiracy theorists she profiles supposedly discovered a secret Jewish hand in many events: the coming of World War II, the anticommunist scare, the Tuskegee experiment, the New World Order, and 9/11. Like Richard Nixon, they decried Jewish influence, going as far as to rail against ZOG—the Zionist Occupation Government in Washington D.C. In the case of the Pearl Harbor conspiracists, Olmsted finds that their relationship to antisemitism was "complicated" (p. 70). Some readers cannot be as sensitive to the ambiguities. Such conspiracy thinking is rooted in deeper matters than federal malfeasance and long predates the coming of World War I. For these conspiracists, perhaps anti-government theories were more a means to a broader end—a solution to the so-called Jewish problem.

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JAMES WOLFINGER. *Philadelphia Divided: Race and Politics in the City of Brotherly Love*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 318. \$49.95.

James Wolfinger's book is a significant addition to the burgeoning literature on race, politics, and metropolitanization in the United States following World War II. It also joins a growing chorus that locates the origins of a postwar conservative backlash not in the wake of the riotous 1960s but rather in the race-conscious liberalism evident in the New Deal and World War II eras.

With such an approach, Wolfinger richly contextualizes the Philadelphia story and moves beyond the concerns over housing and residential segregation that have served as focal points for much of the earlier work in the field. He traces the now familiar story of public housing, slum clearance, and urban renewal from the New Deal to the 1960s, showing how the rise of the civil rights movement and, especially, the reconstruction of American cities in the postwar period coincided with the demographic shift that rendered them increasingly non-white and segregated. But he also does much more.

Focusing on jobs and the racial segmentation of the labor market, Wolfinger provides a richly informative and finely detailed account of Philadelphia's World

War II transit strike. A 1944 "hate strike" reminiscent of those that had shaken Mobile, Beaumont, and Detroit the previous year, the event illustrates not only the emboldened black challenge to the persistence of Jim Crow, he argues, but also the early appearance of white resistance to the government-assisted breaching of traditional racial barriers. The racial fault lines revealed here subsequently ran through the very foundation of the emergent Democratic coalition that identified with the New Deal. This revision of the more traditional narrative's chronology thus locates the origins of the postwar conservative reaction not in the liberal "excesses" of the 1960s, but in the debates over public policy in the 1930s and 1940s.

Wolfinger also perceptively notes the significance of white ethnicity in the political and racial relations of that time and place. That said, some readers may wish for an even more nuanced account that explains "intra-white" differences. Irish, Italian, and Jewish Americans deservedly garner the bulk of attention in Philadelphia, but the last displayed a particular multiplicity and complexity in their positions on race that beg for a more in-depth analysis. The labels may have changed over time, moving from the immigrants and "ethnics" of the interwar period to the "hard hats" of the Vietnam era and even the recent caricature of "Joe the Plumber," but the author makes clear that these euphemistically tagged members of the "white working class" had longstanding issues that placed them at odds with the similarly stereotyped and popularly labeled "slum dwellers" and "underclasses" who lived in the "blighted" "inner city" and partook of a "culture of poverty."

That such differences of perception and interest produced a volatile social and political mix certainly comes as no surprise. Nor should it. Wolfinger is at his best when providing a political context for the decades-long clash that has divided suburban and urban America. Indeed, most striking is the role the author assigns to the democratic process itself. Struggling to tackle both the economic and racial issues raised by the Great Depression and the New Deal, the Democratic Party alienated white workers when it sought an active role for the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) or supported the party's growing black constituency on any of a host of other issues. With each battle, according to Wolfinger, the Republicans picked up white voters, using increasingly blatant racial rhetoric. With each passing election, the success of such tactics proved irresistible to self-identified "conservatives." By the time Philadelphia entered the postwar period, the result was a Democratic Party with, at best, an ambivalent relationship to white working-class voters: in other words, a relationship increasingly vulnerable to Republican blandishments on the basis of race.

One might argue that, at times, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party seemed united behind little other than the president himself. It was a coalition that had deep fissures from its founding—particularly where race was concerned—and these fault lines proved susceptible to Republican pressures in the heated cam-

paigns of the postwar era. While great strides were indeed made in overcoming racial barriers, the price was a deep-seated reaction among certain groups of whites that greatly altered the political landscape.

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MICHAEL K. HONEY. *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. 2007. Pp. xviii, 619. \$17.95.

TROY JACKSON. *Becoming King: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Making of a National Leader*. Introduction by CLAYBORNE CARSON. (Civil Rights and the Struggle for Black Equality in the Twentieth Century.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. xx, 248. \$35.00.

The struggle to desegregate Montgomery, Alabama's buses in 1955 and 1956 vaulted Martin Luther King Jr. to national civil rights leadership and international fame. In 1968, King brought his inspiring voice and his organization's resources to Memphis, Tennessee, to support sanitation workers striking against the city. Both of these deeply researched and well-written books illuminate how ordinary people's commitments to human rights and nonviolence inspired King as much, if not more, than he inspired them. In each case, local people, acting with King's help, built powerful coalitions within the black community and across racial and class lines. White repression took its toll, but it also energized black protest and unity. Each movement engendered complex, ramifying agendas for social change that went far beyond the "civil rights" goals ordinarily associated with the southern movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Locally, civil rights were part of larger movements for human rights, labor rights, political empowerment, and economic justice.

Both authors write histories reflecting their experiences and professional commitments. Troy Jackson—a historian, Christian minister, and editor of King's early sermons—abundantly demonstrates how King's religious faith drew strength from mass struggle. Michael K. Honey—a labor historian and formerly Memphis-based civil liberties activist—documents how King spoke "to workers as a labor leader as well as a Christian moral leader" (p. 302). Each author's tight local focus relegates aspects of King's national leadership to the background. Yet with vivid details that no other scholars provide, each details the vital interplay between charismatic leadership and local protest. In Montgomery, Jackson concludes, "King's sermons and speeches become most poignant when accompanied by direct action, something he was willing to participate in, but not something he ever initiated" (p. 5).

*Becoming King* is an engaging synthesis of published and unpublished sources, which now include the many sermons Jackson co-edited for a volume of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Senior editor Clayborne Car-



son provides an introduction, suggesting that King's public commitment to economic justice waned after Montgomery, waxing again after the summer of 1965. Montgomery's longtime National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist and labor leader E. D. Nixon articulates the book's guiding thesis: "It isn't what Reverend King did for Montgomery; it's what the people of Montgomery did for Reverend King" (p. 185). Nixon's dedication to the political and economic empowerment of Montgomery's black working class makes him the book's touchstone of local wisdom and its neglected tragic hero. Jackson sketches especially well the broad agenda of Montgomery's leadership class before the bus boycott. Humiliating segregation rules and abusive treatment of blacks on buses were only two of many issues around which blacks organized. They also agitated for employment of black bus drivers, representation on municipal boards, voting rights, and desegregated schools.

Tracing King's path to Montgomery, Jackson stresses African American cultural and religious inspirations for King's public ministry more than the intellectual and secular political influences that King outlined in his own autobiographical writings (these influences are not exclusive or irreconcilable, I have argued). I wonder whether King's exposure to Gandhian thought as a student was as inconsequential as Jackson suggests. Jackson is on firmer ground documenting how King's religious faith deepened in the Montgomery struggle. He provides fresh examples of King's recurrent optimism in the face of racism and violent repression. He reinforces the vital point that King's growing religious assurance intersected in many ways with his exposure to ordinary people's courage and dedication. Most of Jackson's evidence on this point comes from other leaders or from King's sermons to his well-heeled parishioners at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, however. Closer attention to King's speeches to mass meetings (and national audiences) might have better captured the nuances of nonviolent inspiration passing between leader and followers, as well as the dynamics of local and national power that won a real, if limited, victory.

"King's desire to build ties with the working class played a significant role in uniting the people" of Montgomery for mass action, Jackson argues persuasively (p. 79). He properly points us toward an assessment of King's class-bridging skills and to the dialectics of leadership and social action. Did King lead the people of Montgomery into nonviolence, or was it the other way around? Explaining the crucial aftermath of the bombing of King's house in February 1956, Jackson stresses the importance of ordinary people's nonviolent self-restraint more than King's rhetorical exhortations. Though Jackson's novel account of this famous episode somewhat diminishes King, his overall narrative of their joint struggles is inspiring and illuminating.

Jackson is equally provocative in arguing that the Montgomery Improvement Association (of which King was president) failed to extend its moral and legal victory over segregated buses in directions that might have

materially benefited the day-to-day lives of working-class people. Jackson shows how the boycott strengthened black businesses and encouraged demands for the hiring of bus drivers. But we are left to wonder: what strategies of economic empowerment latent in this predominantly working-class movement did Montgomery's middle-class leaders fail to promote? It is clear that King turned his energies away from the Montgomery Improvement Association when it needed astute leadership. Nixon's marginalization contributed to the fracturing of Montgomery's leadership class. But the historiography still needs a fuller account of the victory itself, in which dialectics of local and national power proved highly significant. National publicity, coalitions, and external financial and legal resources all intersected in complex ways with local leadership and mobilization. King and Nixon traveled extensively to these ends, even as King eclipsed Nixon as the movement's symbol, spokesman, and fundraiser. Still, *Becoming King* remains a fine introduction to the Montgomery boycott and to King's religiously inspired mass leadership.

In *Going Down Jericho Road*, Honey's great achievement is his dramatic rendering of local struggle and coalition building. A fight for union rights in Memphis became a community-wide struggle for racial and economic justice as well as a proving ground for national civil rights and trade union leadership. In February 1968, 1,300 sanitation workers walked off the job in response to unsafe working conditions, degrading and unequal treatment, and a long history of union suppression. A grueling struggle with an intransigent mayor and a brutally repressive police force ensued. White repression helped galvanize middle-class black supporters into an uneasy alliance with white trade unionists. On February 23, police violence "turned a strike into a community movement," setting off "a contagion of insubordination" as laundry workers and welfare mothers challenged white authority and class privilege (p. 213). Ministers and NAACP leaders broadened the struggle to include an economic boycott of downtown merchants. In one of the book's most richly textured portraits, Reverend Ralph Jackson, one of the peaceful protesters brutalized by police, helped forge a broad "campaign to end police brutality and improve housing, jobs, wages, and education across the city" (p. 244). Honey further explores the antiunion and anti-black ideologies and constituencies supporting Republican mayor Henry Loeb, whose stubborn opposition to unionism and right-wing defense of "law and order" constitute the book's depressing refrain. In deft strokes, Honey illustrates how news reporters and editors vilified the strikers, at one point defaming King as "the headline-hunting high priest of nonviolent violence" (p. 368).

Honey properly keeps his main focus on the sanitation workers, who demanded higher wages and the direct deduction of union dues from paychecks. But he also shows how their search for dignity, equal treatment, and union recognition mattered to them as much

as tangible economic gains. And crucially, long before King's influence was felt, the "power of hundreds of workers picketing, marching, and meeting provided a discipline and momentum to the Movement that undercut calls for retaliatory violence" (p. 210). Workers maintained an astonishing degree of nonviolent discipline throughout the strike, and strike leaders clearly prevented mass violence in Memphis after King's assassination.

National support became integral to the local struggle, and federal intervention ultimately helped settle the strike in the workers' favor. Honey provides a vivid sense of the connection between King's charismatic oratory and local movements. On March 18, before a crowd of 25,000 in Mason Temple, King's called on the workers to "escalate the struggle" through a general strike. Honey lets us hear and feel King's power through the vivid remembrances of the workers who were present. Trade unionist Jerry Wurf sums up the relationship between King and the protesters: King "gave life to the strike and the strike gave him warmth and excitement and involvement" (p. 304). With "one foot planted on the Bible and the other on the Constitution," Honey writes, King's oratory "matched the timing and rhythm and the feelings and the needs of the southern black working class" (p. 301).

Honey takes King seriously as a radical, a socialist, and an antipoverty warrior. In Memphis, King joined a union struggle in a way he had never before. More than anyone in his organization, King believed that poor people's empowerment on America's Jericho Road paralleled Memphis's picket lines. "If I do not stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to them?" King asked, riffing on one of his favorite sermons on the obligations of Good Samaritans to suffering individuals (p. 421). Memphis dramatically shifted King's agenda from organizing the poor and unemployed to focusing on union rights for the working poor, Honey argues. But arguably, King's real "last campaign" remained the Poor People's March on Washington itself. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was cobbling together a national economic agenda shaped by organized welfare mothers (which Honey concedes), by War on Poverty and anti-hunger activists (whom he overlooks), and by Appalachian, Native American, and Latino activists (whose work several new scholars are exploring). In other words, labor rights and local mobilization were essential, though not sufficient, preconditions for restructuring America's worst Jericho Roads.

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KRISTIN L. AHLBERG. *Transplanting the Great Society: Lyndon Johnson and Food for Peace*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 260. \$42.50.

More than just a humanitarian response to world poverty or a politically motivated subsidy to farmers, the

U.S. Food for Peace program (Public Law 480/PL-480) operated as an instrument for achieving President Lyndon B. Johnson's larger foreign policy objectives. Created in 1954, the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations had both used Food for Peace to fight the Cold War, but Johnson's efforts to reorganize and strengthen the program transformed it from a loosely organized and narrow effort into a potent symbolic and practical tool.

In this fine study, Kristin L. Ahlberg argues persuasively that the changes in the Food for Peace program also reflected something of Johnson's governing philosophy. She contends that the program served as an international extension of the Great Society, Johnson's effort to transform and enrich domestic life through dynamic government action. The great value of the book is Ahlberg's ability to bridge two historiographical gaps. She effectively links the scholarship on other forms of aid and soft power to PL-480 to argue that Food for Peace needs to be part of a larger conversation about the exercise of non-military international power. She also makes an important contribution to debates about Johnson's worldview by showing how he believed he could use controls on food aid to transform foreign states.

Ahlberg is at her best in chapters explaining how Johnson attempted to use food aid in three countries: India, Israel, and Vietnam. In India, which had long suffered from poor food production and structural inefficiencies in its food distribution systems, and which faced widespread famine in 1964, the Johnson administration offered significant assistance, but linked that aid to Indian progress on agricultural reform. Arguing, perhaps one or two times more than necessary, that Johnson wanted to keep India on a "short tether," Ahlberg also demonstrates that concerns about India's limited support of U.S. international policies led Johnson to withhold food shipments.

In Vietnam and Israel the story starts out quite differently, but ends with a similar conclusion. Israel really did not need food aid; its major concern was purchasing Western military equipment. Johnson was hesitant to fully commit to arming Israel, but decided that offering Food for Peace support would allow it to raise enough money to keep its military strength on par with its neighbors. In Vietnam, Johnson administration officials believed that Food for Peace could eliminate poverty and hunger and therefore undercut the appeal of local communists. More than in India and Israel, Johnson administration officials really did imagine that food aid could create a viable and perhaps vigorous state in Vietnam. But here too, food aid and development goals were subsumed by larger geopolitical ambitions.

Given the trajectory of these case studies, it becomes even more intriguing to ask in what ways food aid was an extension of the Great Society. Ahlberg argues that Food for Peace reflected the liberal, well-intentioned side of the Great Society. This is true especially on the rhetorical level. But the case studies suggest that the descent to realpolitik might offer up a set of different

conclusions about the problems inherent in any grandiose and nobly conceived government program. If Food for Peace was an international extension of the Great Society, in what ways do its limitations and failures help clarify the arc of the domestic program?

Certainly, the Food for Peace program does offer a good window into how Johnson understood government power, how he hoped to use that power, and how he dealt with contradictions between rhetoric and practicality. As Ahlberg demonstrates, Johnson saw the potential for Food for Peace in a way that his predecessors had not—as a way of expressing a humanitarian vision through an energetic program that would do more than just help American farmers. The goal was to make good global change happen, and although that would mean feeding people, that was not enough. Some kind of larger structural-political change would also be necessary. Of course, Food for Peace was only one U.S. aid program, and Ahlberg's conclusions about the totality of Johnson's aid philosophy must be tempered by that reality.

In such a good study it may be impertinent to suggest omissions in the text, but because Ahlberg casts her net relatively modestly, there are many issues left unexplored. As much as anything else, the questions Ahlberg does not fully explore in areas such as the role of farm groups in national politics, the long-term economic impacts of food aid on recipient nations, or the evolution of food aid after Johnson demonstrates how much remains to be done in this area. However, this does not undercut the usefulness of the text. It merely suggests that much more scholarship on Food for Peace is necessary, and that Ahlberg's book will be an important resource for future scholars in this area.

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DANIEL M. COBB. *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. xi, 306. \$34.95.

Something has been missing in the field of American Indian history. Books on the Indian New Deal, Indians in World War II, and the postwar era of termination are easy to find. Scholars have also been keen to consider the rise of Red Power activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the American Indian Movement (AIM) became a major force, and the policy revolution of the early 1970s, when the administration of Richard M. Nixon implemented a program of self-determination for tribes. But the emergence of Native activism under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson has received less attention. Daniel M. Cobb's book admirably fills this gap.

During the 1960s, Cobb argues, American Indian activism reawakened and intersected with the wider society at three crucial junctures. The first involved Point IV, a foreign assistance program devised under Harry S. Truman for underdeveloped nations; Indians wanted a Point IV program for their reservations, provided that

they could administer it themselves. The second flash-point was Johnson's "War on Poverty," which allowed tribes to claim federal dollars and to exploit talk about empowering poorer communities—and Indian reservations were undeniably poor—to plead for tribal self-determination. The shortcomings of the Johnson administration's policies for the poor in general and for Indians in particular inspired younger Indians to link arms with other disadvantaged Americans in the Poor People's Campaign of 1968. With that, the era of Indian protest was born. The 1960s, according to Cobb, was a time when "a vast array of individuals—from veteran tribal leaders and non-Indian advocates to rebellious Indian youths and dissident social scientists—entered the fray" (p. 6).

Cobb's thesis is compelling. He shows how the American Indian Chicago Conference of 1961, along with a succession of subsequent workshops, allowed Indian youths, and their allies in academe, to adopt "a transnational perspective" of identifying with victims of colonialism worldwide (p. 59) and to press "the philosophy of Point IV" (p. 52). Meanwhile, Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), director of the National Congress of American Indians, "harnessed" the War on Poverty to promote tribal self-determination (p. 124). Deloria praised the Community Action Program (CAP), which offered tribes cash, encouragement, and a degree of empowerment while criticizing the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the traditional and often hated symbol of federal power over Indians. But Deloria's "play-off" strategy yielded little from an administration dominated by non-Indians and determined to achieve economic development for tribes on its terms (p. 125). The Poor People's Campaign represented one manifestation of growing unease with Johnson's policies; Indians took advantage of the changed mood by, among other things, organizing a "dramatic march" to protest a Supreme Court decision that went against tribal fishing rights (p. 183). Such tactics presaged what was to come. Attacks on the BIA (verbal and otherwise), the use of direct action, and a willingness to work outside the system and to challenge established tribal leaders became hallmarks of AIM in the early 1970s.

Cobb's study underscores the promise and pitfalls of trying to work inside "the system" (p. 154). Leaders such as Deloria, who selectively cultivated the Johnson administration, produced a few breakthroughs that achieved greater self-determination for tribes. But the Great Society liberals, whom Cobb rightly criticizes, never wholeheartedly embraced this aim. In fact, Cobb might have been harsher on these officials. Johnson's Indian Message of 1968 only promised to end the debate on termination, not termination itself; Nixon essentially did that, in *his* Indian Message two years later. And Democratic Senators Fred Harris and George McGovern were, in the 1960s, quite ethnocentric in their rhetoric about moving Indians into the wider American mainstream.

Cobb's study is not without flaws. Although the author insists that one of his "central themes" is how In-

dians “translated the politics of ‘cold war civil rights’ into the language of tribal sovereignty,” the international motif recedes as the book progresses (p. 4). Overall, though, Cobb has produced a valuable study, one that combines riveting narration, shrewd analysis, and a sharp understanding of the existing literature with fresh research, both archival and oral. How groundbreaking is Cobb’s work? The book’s title would suggest some mention of Dennis Banks or Russell Means, two of the best-known Red Power radicals of the 1970s. But neither man is listed in the index. Instead, the author gives a voice to lesser-known actors from an earlier decade: from Sol Tax, the University of Chicago anthropologist who helped organize the 1961 Chicago Conference, to Clyde Warrior (Ponca), a veteran of the Chicago Conference and the National Indian Youth Council, to Tillie Walker (Mandan-Hidatsa), who organized Indian involvement in the Poor People’s Campaign. In allowing them to have their say, Cobb has performed a valuable service for scholars and general readers alike.

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CHRISTOPHER MAYNARD. *Out of the Shadow: George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War*. (Foreign Relations and the Presidency, number 9.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 176. \$34.95.

The Cold War ended. Nuclear Armageddon between the Soviet Union and the United States never occurred. One side simply collapsed—with greater speed than keen international observers from earlier decades might have imagined.

It need not have ended so quietly or nearly so well. Christopher Maynard’s useful account of the George H. W. Bush administration’s response to the end of the Cold War offers an American view of this unexpected global transformation. It relies on the growing, though still relatively sparse, wealth of declassified administration documents from the period and, more impressively, draws from a formidable list of interviews conducted by the author. In addition to Bush himself, James Baker, Brent Scowcroft, Marlin Fitzwater, Jack Matlock, and Colin Powell granted Maynard access. Their firsthand accounts, less formal oral histories than answers to his queries, offer subsequent historians a valuable resource in this reasoned account of American decision making before, during, and after the collapse of Soviet power in Europe.

This book does not pretend to be an exhaustive chronicle of the elder Bush’s foreign policy. Scholars searching for accounts of the 1989 invasion of Panama, for example, negotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement, or the Somali intervention at the end of Bush’s presidency should look elsewhere. Maynard instead focuses upon the Cold War’s end, exploring the administration’s thinking toward the Soviet Union’s collapse, the Persian Gulf War as a test case for the post-Cold War era, and the reunification of Ger-

many as perhaps the Cold War’s trickiest legacy. Relations with China during the era of the Tiananmen Square Massacre are covered only briefly.

The text is thus at its best when addressing the times in which the Cold War dominated the White House’s daily agenda, particularly during the Bush administration’s first months in office and the Soviet Union’s climactic demise during the last half of 1991. For the former, Maynard offers a particularly in-depth analysis of the incoming administration’s strategic “pause” in Soviet-American relations, designed by Scowcroft and others as a way to rethink the dramatic improvement in Soviet-American relations that marked Ronald Reagan’s final years in office. Reagan went too far too quickly, Scowcroft and other realists argued. He had allowed his personal faith in Mikhail Gorbachev to outstrip what the Soviet reformer might reasonably accomplish, and therefore had failed to prepare the strategic landscape for the real possibility that Soviet hard-liners might one day rise up in defense of their beloved system. Such fears proved prescient by the summer of 1991, of course. Yet as Maynard demonstrates with sophistication, Bush’s strategic pause was designed not only to ferret out Gorbachev’s true intentions and staying power, but also to help the new administration secure a middle path between setting a wholly new and perhaps dangerously hard-line course of its own, as then Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney hawkishly argued, and simply hewing to the same reformist trend as Reagan advised.

Maynard deftly illustrates how Bush wanted to strike his own path, believing that uncertain times demanded particular prudence. Employing evidence from the president’s closest advisers, he argues that Bush was no strategic innovator, but rather a cautious pragmatist. Indeed, “[h]e was not a great strategist,” Scowcroft conceded. “But what he did is manage it in a way that these really cataclysmic changes in the world structure took place without a shot being fired” (p. 128).

Instability replaced the Red Army as the West’s great enemy during these years, and Maynard’s study demonstrates the nuanced diplomacy that was required to ensure stability during particularly tumultuous times. The Cold War need not have ended peacefully, he argues, repeatedly quoting Bush’s fear that all of Europe might follow the violent path of Yugoslavia. Through personal diplomacy, a willingness to listen to allies—in particular, a willingness to follow German leader Helmut Kohl’s lead on reunification—and a heartfelt desire not to embarrass defeated communist leaders in the hope that their successors would avoid developing an anti-Western grudge, the Bush administration followed a methodical course as it navigated rough international seas.

Some questions are, of course, left unanswered in the process that Maynard describes. Exactly why did Bush so eagerly follow Kohl’s lead, for example? Similarly, why did American officials pay so little heed to potential Soviet animosity over NATO expansion eastward? This text is not yet the comprehensive study of Bush



foreign policy that full access to declassified records might provide. At the same time, it is far superior to the wealth of memoirs and first-person accounts that so often pass as the first slice of history, with all the attendant problems of memory and motivation. Taking a cue from the middle-path approach of the Bush administration, Maynard's book finds a place between these first slices of history and the definitive works that time will eventually produce. Subsequent scholars will owe a great deal to this study of American thinking about how, if not why, the Cold War ended.

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MICHAEL J. YOCHIM. *Yellowstone and the Snowmobile: Locking Horns over National Park Use*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2009. Pp. x, 317. \$34.95.

Readers of this journal are unlikely to recreate with snowmobiles or, perhaps, evince much sympathy for those who do, especially those who would do so in our most iconic national park—all the more reason for those interested in nature, parks, recreation, and public lands policies to pay attention to this account of “one of the greatest controversies involving U.S. national parks” (p. 1).

Michael J. Yochim, who has a doctorate in geography and has served many years with the National Park Service at Yellowstone as an outdoor recreation planner, not only knew how and where to find the evidence for his narrative, but also had direct involvement with policy making on winter access. This is an insider's perspective on a contentious park issue, albeit one accomplished with detachment and balance. As such, it fills a gap in the scholarship on national parks by examining motorized recreation and the development of a winter destination in one of the coldest and snowiest places in the United States. While the roots of this conflict are eight decades old, it flowered during the years of debate surrounding the 1988 wildfires and the reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone. As with these controversies, the arguments over snowmobile access boiled down to conflicting values, “particularly freedom [vs.] reverence for nature” (p. 7). Thus, Yochim's text deserves a place alongside the many books written about the values inherent in national parks and how these have been interpreted over the decades.

The modern snowmobile did not develop until the 1960s, but Yochim's story begins in the 1930s with pressures on the National Park Service (NPS) from area residents and boosters to plow Yellowstone's roads for year-round access. The NPS's preferred alternative was oversnow access via multiple-passenger snow coaches. This sufficed, but it also set the precedent by which the park welcomed the new snowmobiles: they allowed access and diluted the arguments for plowing. But as this new activity took hold and area businesses saw a way to create winter revenues, the NPS was caught flat-footed by the burgeoning numbers of snowmobilers. Their numbers peaked in the 1992–1993 season at over

100,000, turning the park into a “snowmobile race-track” (p. 122) with attendant noise, pollution, and presumptive—the research was ambiguous—impacts on wildlife. As with most of national park history, the NPS had to figure out its direction as events happened. Regulating winter access at times depended on the particular park superintendent or the particular Secretary of the Interior. As the pro- and anti-snowmobile coalitions solidified in public campaigns and court cases, the differing fundamental values emerged. One side argued for the individual freedom of access to the park, as people enjoyed in the summertime; a difference in winter, though, was the fun factor of snowmobiling and the view of Yellowstone as a place for recreational motorized fun. The other side had a different conception of Yellowstone, based on “the American Nature Religion and its embodiment in nature protection and quiet, muscle-powered recreation” (p. 135), a Yellowstone of limited access using snow coaches by people of enlightened sensitivities. Although the book's opening vignette reveals the author's sympathies, he avoids the reductionism of villains and heroes, asserting that these values need not be mutually exclusive (p. 136) and that all of the groups succumbed to “tunnel vision” (p. 200) in the political fray.

Yochim casts this story as a case study in reactive park management and the politics of policy. All three branches of the federal government got involved, as did the states, business interests, clubs, conservation groups, and scientists. The author commendably avoids normative statements about how the National Park Service should be able to run itself, instead using this conflict to demonstrate how the NPS is subject to political vagaries. Resolution is found in compromises, but the history of this one and others reveals that “politicians have learned that if pushed, the NPS will roll over and accommodate their wishes” (p. 175).

The book is reader friendly: concise, cleanly written, and attractively illustrated. The give-and-take details of policy histories can be wearying to the reader, but Yochim mitigates this problem with two useful strategies: effective summaries at the beginning and end of each chapter, and several tables encapsulating elements of the decision processes.

The situation remains in flux, and more chapters of this story will emerge. Without belaboring the irony, in the end Yochim suggests that essential park values would best be served by winter plowing and visitor access by bus, a quieter and more fuel-efficient alternative to the snow coaches.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

EMILIO OCAMPO. *The Emperor's Last Campaign: A Napoleonic Empire in America*. (Atlantic Crossings.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 503. \$39.95.

Emilio Ocampo has considerable interest in details and patience in their pursuit. The story he relates in this book, apparently an abbreviated version of a work Ocampo published in Spanish in 2007, is full of the details surrounding rumors, dreams, schemes, plots, and secrets linked to Napoleon Bonaparte's exile to St. Helena. Ocampo's exhaustive research is the most obvious and striking aspect of this book. Napoleon's larger-than-life reputation was used as fuel to fire the bubbling revolutions, turmoil, conniving, and widespread discontent throughout Latin America, the unrest in France with the Bourbon restoration, and the unsettled European royal and aristocratic families across Europe. Given the dangers arising from persistent popular bourgeois movements related in some form to the Napoleonic era, most aristocratic fears of popular movements had substance. Ocampo's story connects every country or region in Europe and the New World to someone's plan or dream to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena and install him in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, or back in France. The book's thirteen-page index lists hundreds of people or organizations who were alleged, rumored, or imagined to belong to one or more of these royalist or anti-royalist schemes. Ocampo's book is a compendium of real and imagined supporters of Napoleon.

The book contains story lines that branch in all directions—to liberate Napoleon and to put him on a throne. There was speculation that Napoleon would go to the United States after his liberation and "retire." A secondary story follows Joseph Bonaparte's activities from his new home in the United States. Among these activities was his desire to liberate Napoleon and to invest him with some suitable title. He maintained connections with several revolutionary schemes in Latin America, apparently because he hoped to link some Latin American revolutionaries to plans to liberate his brother.

There are multiple figures from France, Great Britain, the United States, Spain, the Italian states, Poland, Russia, Austria, Belgium, and numerous parts of Latin America who appear in the main stories or their branch lines. There are also several vignettes involving British figures—captains or merchants—from the East India Company and the Mediterranean, including North Africa. In this sense, the book has a worldwide dimension.

While Ocampo follows many paths, there is little of a consistent story line. The various schemes, plots, ideas, and rumors are sketched, then fade, and may only be picked up in a later chapter. Thus, the people and objectives are often suspended in time. When Ocampo leaves particular characters and developments, the reader must remember the story until they come back into the limelight. The lack of a flowing narrative rests on the organizational structure: the book moves chronologically from Napoleon's second removal from power in 1815 to his death, from 1814–1815 to early 1821. Many of the schemes lingered for the entire six-year period.

Complexity and the constant search for conspiracy produce questionable judgments and strained argu-

ments. One example, a notable overreach, illustrates the pitfalls Ocampo faced. General Charles Lallemand was a loyal, dedicated supporter of Napoleon. In 1817, we are told, he arrived in England. His brief stay was a mystery wrapped in secrecy; "the British government never detected his presence" (p. 125). Ocampo found little mention of that presence and cites no source for any conversations, yet he writes in the topic sentence of the next paragraph: "While in England Lallemand, Wilson, and Cochrane prepared for their South American adventure." This seems a thin hypothetical judgment, but Ocampo strives to increase the conspiratorial tone in spite of a lack of evidence.

This book focuses on the power elite: aristocrats, rulers, military, the wealthy, important politicians. The common soldiers or followers who joined such groups are only mentioned in passing if at all, in the background and rarely in large groups, and often their fate fades from the story. Almost no attention is given to suggesting how Napoleon's fate might have had an effect upon common people in Latin America or France.

The book's strongest feature is the incredibly large and painstakingly gathered pool of information it provides about Napoleon's last years and all the people who attached themselves to his fate and fortune. Some of the schemes illuminate New World revolutionary leaders and their maneuverings, and the leaders engaged in the struggle to shape and control Buenos Aires and the later nations of Argentina, Chile, and Peru—the area of José de San Martín's activity—are followed quite closely. Several schemes to liberate Mexico receive treatment, but Simón Bolívar is only rarely mentioned, and then mostly with regard to San Martín. Naturally, Ocampo only follows the New World dissidents who were linked, willingly or unwillingly, with Napoleon.

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EDUARDO SÁENZ ROYNER. *The Cuban Connection: Drug Trafficking, Smuggling, and Gambling in Cuba from the 1920s to the Revolution*. Translated by RUSS DAVIDSON. (Latin America in Translation/en Traducción/em Tradução.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 247. \$35.00.

This book examines Cuba's involvement in what used to be called "vice" in the 1920s. Eduardo Sáenz Royner covers the period from the "roaring" twenties to the early puritanical phase of the Cuban Revolution. His research takes him to archival material in Havana, Washington, and elsewhere, and he has a lot on his plate: drug trafficking, smuggling of goods, gambling, corruption, and political instability. His goal, he tells us, is to restore a Cuban focus to a field whose scholarship mostly traces lines of causality back to the United States. Some Cubans had their own reasons for cooperating with U.S. anti-crime efforts or for joining in the fight against "criminal elements." Given the deeper Yankee concern with ideological and strategic ques-

tions, Washington never chose to undermine the political element of criminal activity since many of these “partners” held powerful posts in the island’s government.

Havana’s history as a point of illegal commerce goes back to the Spanish colonial period. In its self-defined era of imperialism, U.S. interests in Cuba focused on annexation, strategic position, and commercial crops such as sugar. Annexation weakened as slaves were freed and, in the same period, many Americans politicized their anti-imperialist or isolationist opposition to the world “overseas.” Still, in 1898, as a result of issues concerning strategy and “honor,” Washington overcame such opinion and turned toward expansion and responsibility. Cuba’s nationalist revolt, cresting just as the Yankee soldiers disembarked, was ignored by the Americans. Ignoring years of desperate guerrilla warfare by the Cubans between 1895 and 1898, Washington was amazed by the events of 1959.

Cuban trade and politics responded to U.S. hegemony with both nationalist resistance and an acquiescence to the advantages gained by being close to the U.S. Embassy. As a result, Cuban nationalism was muffled from the 1920s to the 1940s. Although the U.S. attempted to undermine the “criminal element” in Havana, too much of the island’s history with its underground economy barred the door. The illegal trade in liquor and drugs was shared between immigrant and native elements of the Cuban population. Sáenz Rovner corrects the misconception that the Mafia was a major factor in illicit trade. Instead, the Mafia was interested primarily in “vice” that took place in the hotels and casinos that they owned. The important role of the Mafia in Cuba arose only after World War II, when the mob decided to move into Cuba and let their other plum, Las Vegas, wait a few years. Of course Washington gave its greatest attention to legitimate commerce and landholding, the core of its power over Cuba.

The principal customers for illicit activity in Cuba were the growing number of U.S. tourists who considered a weekend in Havana as akin to a college break, pushing dollars in their effort to relax and set aside their Yankee stiffness for a few days of debauchery. Washington wrung its hands over the number of Cubans who permitted and profited from these activities. Cuba’s criminal element was protected by its ties to much of the political establishment. In this way Cuban politicians managed to undermine enforcement of the Yankees’ efforts to clean up Cuba. So handicapped, the Treasury Department and later the FBI and CIA filled their files with the names of suspected Cuban operators. By the 1950s and 1960s these files would serve the very different purpose of tracking Cuban radicals. For their part, the Mafia also changed sides, serving as attempted assassins of Fidel Castro.

This book fills some Cuban niches untouched by North American scholars. Among these are the impact of U.S. prohibition laws and the shifting patterns of the international drug trade. During World War II, the Cu-

ban leadership signed up for the war effort “for the duration.” They underwent a similar transformation during the Cold War. Such political elasticity allowed the island’s political leadership to pose as brothers in the fight against the liquor trade, fascism, and finally communism. The book brings to light new documentation regarding Cubans, non-Cuban traffickers, and people who used Cuba as a logistical base from the era of prohibition to the Cuban Revolution. While Sáenz Rovner follows all the criminal ties in and around Cuba, he goes far afield in doing so. The reader is taken on a historical tour of the international drug trade and the key persons involved.

There is no doubt that Sáenz Rovner gives Cuba the coverage it deserves. Still, the Cubans in the cast seem in many ways to fit the theses of the anti-imperialist school. No Cuban appears as a protagonist or even an important figure, and no in-depth knowledge of Cuban culture is needed to follow this kind of a study.

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TANALÍS PADILLA. *Rural Resistance in the Land of Zapata: The Jaramillista Movement and the Myth of the Pax Priísta, 1940–1962*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 285. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Zapata lives! This is a very old theme in Mexico, already the subject of much scholarship. But a gut passion for the enduring thread of resistance, defeat, and resurgence encapsulated in the phrase “Zapata lives” motivates Tanalís Padilla to dig deeper, to find new sources and to question old assumptions in her timely account. Padilla’s book bears witness to an enduring tradition of rebellion pulsing through even the most “peaceful” decades of Mexico’s institutional revolution. “Acknowledging the continuities between past and present social movements,” Padilla argues, “enables us to see the fall of Mexico’s one-party system as a product of popular resistance” (p. 223).

Padilla tells her story through the lens not of Emiliano Zapata, but of one of the most prominent inheritors of the Zapatista legacy, the *Jaramillista* movement, a long-lived set of struggles centered around the charismatic former Zapatista fighter Rubén Jaramillo in the state of Morelos. This book is much more than a straightforward social movement history, but it does shine in that role: it deploys rich new sources drawn from oral history and Mexican intelligence agency records to paint a vivid picture of two decades of struggle; it includes a valuable chapter on the role of women in the movement; and, perhaps most important, it offers a nuanced vision of how the movement transformed itself over time. While the figure of Jaramillo united the movement and gave it a sense of continuity, Padilla aptly shows that the *Jaramillista* movement had many incarnations, tacking between electoral competition and armed rebellion and weaving together elements of peasant communitarianism, *Zapatismo*, *Cardenismo*,

modernization theory, and Marxism as it changed along with Mexico.

Padilla makes clear that the *Jaramillista* movement was not just a peasant movement fighting for land and autonomy, as is often assumed. At various points it kept itself vital by struggling to incorporate industrial workers, asserting its place in the broader nation through electoral politics, and taking on elements of modernization theory in the age of import substitution industrialization. "They carried Zapata's flag and embraced modern proposals for popular development" (p. 188). This is one of the beauties of Padilla's work: it is able to trace an unbroken chain of persistent resistance while simultaneously highlighting the transformations and innovations of a movement constantly needing to remake itself in conditions not of its choosing.

Strikingly, Padilla illuminates the fact that this history of popular resistance flourished even during the supposed *Pax Priísta* (1940–1968), thirty years of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and—conventional wisdom has long held—political stability maintained by the careful ministrations of what Mario Vargas Llosa called Latin America's "perfect dictatorship." If there is any lingering idea that the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) effectively imposed top-down, monolithic hegemony on Mexico, this book will sweep it away. This is a story of contradictory and contested hegemony, very much in keeping with what Padilla calls the "postrevisionist" line of Mexican historiography. This line has dominated Mexican historiography since at least 1994, when Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent's *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* electrified the field with its alchemy of critical theory and innovative methodology. It is tempting to ask whether anything "new" can possibly be added to the "new" cultural history of Mexico, but Padilla delivers.

First, although one might quibble about texts Padilla omits when asserting that "scholars . . . have neglected the numerous and constant forms of struggle that took place during the supposed *Pax Priísta*" (p. 222), her instincts are dead on: nearly all of the powerful histories that have transformed our understanding of Mexico in recent years either conclude around 1940 or begin after 1968. This leaves a substantial gap, and Padilla's book goes a long way toward filling it. But that is not the main reason to read her book. Indeed, despite the lack of studies about 1940–1968, it is safe to say that, fifteen years into the postrevisionist period, few scholars would be surprised to learn that the *Pax Priísta* was less than peaceful. Similarly, I wonder whether her focus on the *Jaramillistas*—an incredibly prominent and singular movement—is really the best choice for demonstrating the existence of widespread, quotidian resistance to PRI rule.

Rather, a big part of the book's value lies in the sharp reminder it delivers to all of us who have engaged in the cultural history of political rule in Mexico. With our focus on subaltern agency, creative resistance, cultural struggles over meaning, and the fragility of PRI hege-

mony, it has been easy to lose sight of how brutal that rule was. Padilla does not let us forget this. Although she is quick to point out that repression under the PRI never escalated to the level of systemic terror seen in Central America, she wants us to remember that it was still violent, nasty, and ever-present. Like many postrevisionist histories of Mexico, this book highlights subtle forms of cultural struggle, but Padilla also reminds us that struggles over hegemony involved assassinations, disappearances, and torture. In this sense, her book takes an important step toward putting the coercion back into Antonio Gramsci's "coercion and consent," giving raw flesh to abstractions such as "hegemony formation" and "negotiation of rule." As nostalgia for the mythical peace of PRI rule gains force in Mexico this year, Padilla's reminder could not have come at a better time.

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GEOFFREY BAKER. *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 308. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Geoffrey Baker's book is partly about the musical conquest of America and the ways in which Spanish colonization sought to evangelize, hispanize, and impose social harmony on the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. Music was an important tool of evangelization that succeeded above all because of indigenous people's enthusiastic reception of it. Spanish chroniclers routinely reported new subject people's notable aptitude for music, which brings us to the other part of the story: the ways that indigenous Andeans appropriated Spanish music for their own purposes, inevitably altering it. This dialectical process, more aptly termed "negotiating harmony," a formula applied in the concluding chapter, constitutes the book's main theme.

Cuzco, the geographical focus of the book, had been the capital of the Inca empire, and after the conquest it remained ninety percent Andean in population and became a salient example of Spanish cooptation of an indigenous nobility into the social architecture of colonial rule. Baker shows how a new "urban soundscape" preceded many other elements of colonial transformation, such as the construction of a Spanish-style built environment, which took decades to erect. Music was a key element of the new religious practices imposed by conquest—cultivated in churches, monasteries, and processions organized by the many lay confraternities—and it was, in addition, one of the standard trappings of power, performed in tribute to officials of all kinds who sometimes went around the streets accompanied by musicians.

The first chapter surveys this urban soundscape, suggesting that Spanish efforts largely succeeded. The musical activities of Cuzco's parish churches appear, in Baker's careful and expert judgment, to have been more extensive than those of their analogs in Spain. Corpus Christi looms large as the city's most important



festival, a self-representation of the social order with wide social participation applying the familiar theme of the triumph of the Catholic faith with particular pertinence in indigenous Cuzco. Processions like that of Corpus Christi offer the chief evidence of Andean participation in public musical activities: pictorial depictions of dances and "inventions" such as still fill religious processions in the Andes. Baker is properly concerned to explore Andean participation in the urban soundscape as much as possible, but a stubborn paucity of sources makes that exploration difficult, a matter of careful inference from tiny fragments of evidence. The chief form of evidence is records of disbursement of funds to pay musicians and buy or repair instruments, and even these tidbits are scarce. For the most part, the activities of Andean musicians must be inferred from the few occasions in which they can be confirmed by evidence and from the general absence of payment records because, unlike Spanish musicians, Andean musicians often received payment in kind or performed without pay as members of indigenous communities.

The most substantial and easily explained of Baker's findings is that the *maestro de capilla*, or chief musician of each parish, was very often a member of the minor Andean nobility that remained from Inca times, whereas the priest himself was generally Spanish. The *maestro de capilla* was essentially the second-in-charge of the parish and often the school teacher as well. "Boys and girls should know how to read, write, and sing polyphony" (p. 201), wrote the Andean critic of colonization Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala in the early seventeenth century, also criticizing the *maestros de capilla* for abusing their authority. This post was particularly important in rural parishes, where the priest was frequently a permanent absentee.

Baker's big points are fascinating and important but few in number, and therefore too often reiterated. After the first chapter, much of the book examines nitty gritty evidence that undergirds but does little to illuminate or elaborate the main points. There is a chapter on the cathedral, which Baker mostly wants to move beyond because cathedrals are the focus of most existing studies, one on convents and monasteries, one on urban parishes and confraternities, and one on rural parishes (called *doctrinas de indios*). Of these, the last two do the most to break new ground, and the discussion of confraternities is especially welcome as a point of comparison to the crucial musical role played by confraternities of people of African descent in port cities all over Latin America.

Thoroughly researched, theoretically informed, and clearly written, this book is a worthy addition to the historiography of Latin American music. As for the Andean alterations to Spanish traditions mentioned at the outset of this review, the book does not trace them because the sources simply do not allow it, but Baker has

provided a good sense of the social framework in which the process occurred.

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BRIAN S. MCBETH. *Dictatorship and Politics: Intrigue, Betrayal, and Survival in Venezuela, 1909–1935*. (Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 578. \$60.00.

Brian S. McBeth adds to our understanding of early twentieth-century Venezuela with a detailed history of the nation's politics during the rule of Juan Vicente Gómez. McBeth argues against traditional interpretations that stress Venezuela's relative stability under Gómez, drawing investment from foreign oil firms and transforming the nation into the second largest producer of petroleum by the time of his death. Instead, McBeth chronicles the turbulence of these years, marked by almost constant plotting against the government, including several significant expeditions against Gómez, some of which had popular support. McBeth's corrective to traditional interpretations adds to our understanding primarily by taking the threats to Gómez's rule seriously while highlighting that his continued power owed not only to the support of major foreign governments such as the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands, but also to his deft exercise of political flexibility and acumen.

McBeth offers a thorough, empirically based, chronological approach to his subject, using multinational (Britain, the United States, and Venezuela), multi-archival primary research alongside relevant historiography in Spanish. While excessive detail on such matters as fundraising and outfitting of major and minor expeditions bogs down the narrative, scholars of Venezuelan and Latin American politics as well as those of international history will find McBeth's work necessary primarily for this thoroughness. McBeth provides tables and appendices useful for viewing at a glance such information as state presidents who held multiple offices and the government offices held by exiles who plotted against Gómez.

The book has three chronological parts, each detailing multiple challenges to Gómez's rule and his responses. McBeth first explains Gómez's establishment of power from 1908–1916, perhaps the least fractious period. From exile, the deposed former dictator Cipriano Castro threatened but did not carry out an invasion in 1913. The 1913 threat led Gómez to establish a greater hold on power, ending a brief period of relative political openness. Next, McBeth details the multiple challenges Gómez faced between 1917 and 1928, when growing discontent against his rule carried serious potential to topple him. In particular, civilians and the military collaborated in a well-funded attempt to overturn him under the leadership of Román Delgado Chalbaud and with the complicity of Gómez's own son, Vicentico.

This uprising produced the Generation of 1928 and politicized students who participated in the upheavals of the so-called "Student Week," an example of the mobilization of the embryonic middle class. Part three opens with a blow-by-blow account of the ambitious yet doomed 1929 *Falke* expedition and then explains the winding down of Gómez's regime until his death in 1935, a period when he surrounded himself with ministers from Táchira state.

Opposition to Gómez came from several sources, both Venezuelan and foreign. Many of his enemies were former members of the government who lived in exile in the Caribbean, Central America, Europe, and the United States. Others included army officers and some groups on the left, such as the Venezuelan Revolutionary Party (PRV), established by exiles in Mexico. McBeth minimizes opposition from organized labor. The most persistent of Gómez's opponents was the luckless Delgado Chalbaud, who started conspiring against him in 1913, spent many years as a political prisoner, and led the 1929 *Falke* expedition in a simultaneous effort with the PRV. While Gómez enjoyed general support from foreign governments (except Mexico) and marginally benefitted from their tendency to keep an eye on exile activities against him, McBeth argues that they occasionally threatened his rule, most significantly the United States in 1917.

Gómez's political savvy manifested itself in many ways. He packed his son off to a diplomatic post in Paris and clarified that none of his children would succeed him, and he chose not to stand for reelection in the face of strong hostility to his rule, instead maintaining control through the army, a variety of constitutional manipulations, public relations efforts to shape international opinion, and most of all his ability to convince his many supporters at home and in foreign governments that stability in Venezuela required sustaining his authority.

McBeth demonstrates that Gómez's longevity was not inevitable and that his opponents, while unlucky, might have succeeded in toppling him. However, he could have made more of the international dimensions of Venezuelan developments. The transnational network of alliances he chronicles among exiles and foreign nationals was extensive. Exiles raised funds and gained encouragement from as far away as continental Europe and as close as the British Caribbean. McBeth shows how interested parties lobbied individuals, groups, and states for intervention in the name of particular personalities, ideologies, and economic interests, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, but getting the details about these maneuvers does not satisfactorily explain this milieu. Still, McBeth claims that earlier accounts of opposition to Gómez have underestimated the significance of such efforts, and this book tantalizingly suggests that there is more explaining to do.

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MIGUEL TINKER SALAS. *The Enduring Legacy: Oil, Culture, and Society in Venezuela*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 324. Cloth \$84.95, cloth \$23.95.

To note that one cannot understand twentieth and twenty-first-century Venezuela without paying significant attention to the emergence and development of the oil industry is to invoke a cliché. Miguel Tinker Salas's book is among the latest in a series of works that aim to make sense out of oil's relationship with the "modernization" of the Venezuelan state and society. The book has much to offer. After a brief introduction on the limitations of the existing historiography, Tinker Salas turns to a well-constructed and informative overview of the human and natural environment of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Venezuela, focusing mostly on the Lake Maracaibo region. This is followed by chapters dealing with the history of early oil exploration, the patterns of human migration that the emerging industry engendered, the ways in which this migration and the coming together of different regional and foreign groups transformed ideas of nation and race, the ways in which the industry impacted gender roles for both Venezuelans and foreigners, and the industry's impact on the development of civil society. Most of these chapters draw heavily on detailed research on life in the industry's residential compounds as well as in the larger "informal" communities that developed near major oil sites, with some discussion also given to the relationship between these forms of spatial organization and the "modernization" of Venezuelan cities, particularly Caracas and Maracaibo.

These chapters are the book's strongest, in part because Tinker Salas has intimate knowledge of life in the industry's residential camps. A number of key themes emerge from his discussions of these issues. First, one gets a clear sense of how foreign-based oil companies learned from their experiences in other countries, particularly Mexico, and thus deliberately presented themselves as partners in a Venezuelan national project aimed at "modernization." At the same time, one can see clearly many of the ways in which this complicated the social status of both Venezuelans and the many foreigners who lived in Venezuela. Perhaps equally important, following arguments made previously by Fernando Coronil, Tinker Salas shows how the modern Venezuelan state developed alongside the oil industry to the extent that the boundaries between these organizations were not always clear. These chapters are well written, engaging, and largely convincing.

There is one final chapter devoted specifically to the relationship between oil and politics, followed by a summary conclusion. Here Tinker Salas leaves behind the close-to-the-ground approach of earlier chapters and tries to discuss decades of Venezuelan political history in relatively few pages. Important periods necessarily receive less attention than they deserve. The 1970s, a period in which there was a great oil boom and

the oil industry was nationalized, receive little more than a page of discussion.

Tinker Salas is critical of the existing historiography, arguing that much of it is rooted in the interests of the oil companies, the United States, Venezuelan elites, and a middle class that benefitted during what is often called Venezuela's "fourth republic." By his reading, previous literature overstated Venezuela's "backward" character prior to the development of the oil industry, depicted foreign oil companies as the source of "modernization," and excessively celebrated the development model of the social democratic Acción Democrática (AD) party and its founder, Rómulo Betancourt, eliding the radical left's role in the opposition that toppled the dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez and its critiques of AD and COPEI (Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente) governments. Such arguments are an important backdrop to the book under review, and they are not without merit. However, they can easily be overstated.

Moreover, at times the book seems to contain an implicit teleology with the *telos* in question being the "Bolivarian Revolution" of Hugo Chávez. We are told that with Chávez "the discourse on the oil industry has come full circle" (p. 14), since Venezuelans today presumably really do control the oil and can proclaim that "Venezuela is now ours." In his brief discussion of conflict under the Chávez government Tinker Salas inversely replicates the elision of the left in earlier critiques. We are told, for example, that when the Chávez government assumed more direct control of the national oil company Petróleos de Venezuela (PDVSA) "the political and social model that the oil industry had relied upon since its inception failed to mobilize broad support among the Venezuelan population" and that "the majority of the population no longer viewed the industry as the instrument of development and modernization" (p. 250). Opposition to Chávez is visible in this account only in the form of a tiny elite of former PDVSA executives, their allies, and some middle class supporters, all hopelessly wedded to a vision of Venezuelan society that has passed. The reality is far more complicated than this suggests.

Finally, Tinker Salas fails to grasp the many points of continuity that link contemporary Venezuela to the decades discussed in the heart of the book. Let us not forget that multinational oil companies still have major operations in Venezuela even if they have less power than they once did. Furthermore, there is much greater continuity in political discourse than Tinker Salas's account suggests. In the book's closing line, he declares that "the reality is that in contemporary Venezuela oil no longer functions as an irrational symbol of identity" (p. 250). The critical reader will want to ask several questions. First, what did Arturo Uslar Pietri, the Venezuelan intellectual to whom Tinker Salas alludes here, mean in labeling this identity "irrational"? Second, are we meant to understand that earlier Venezuelan forms of identity were irrational, but that Venezuelan identity has now become "rational"? If so, what does this mean?

Finally, what is the empirical basis for the suggestion that oil has somehow been displaced in the national imaginary?

Despite these issues, the book's many merits will be apparent to readers. It will be widely read by students of twentieth-century Venezuela.

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JOEL HOROWITZ. *Argentina's Radical Party and Popular Mobilization, 1916–1930*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 240. \$45.00.

Joel Horowitz has written a thoughtful and well-researched book for a period of Argentina's history much in need of further understanding. The brevity of the fully democratic experiment that was put to an end in 1930 has always puzzled analysts. Many contemporaries and scholars have focused their explanations on the dangers of concentrating the destiny of a party or a government in the hands of a popular leader, as public moods have proved highly fickle and personalism has a tendency ultimately to undermine democracy. Horowitz's book, however, contains a welcome warning about centering on these types of interpretations. Hipólito Yrigoyen was certainly very popular and he exercised a personalist style, but the failures of the first democratic experiment seem to be more related to the lack of success of the Radical Party administrations in building and implementing a strategy to attract and sustain the support of the working class. While Yrigoyen's popular appeal provided his first presidency and his reelection with a large number of followers, Horowitz argues that it was primarily the inability of the Radicals to build a stable alliance with the unions that eventually deprived them of a more sustainable base of support.

The book is organized thematically in seven chapters. After an introduction stating its aims and a first chapter that sets the economic and political background of the 1916–1930 period, the pages turn to the main theses. Chapter two contains a novel study of Yrigoyen's popularity and of the reasons why, even though he followed similar policies, Marcelo T. de Alvear was never the subject of the same public devotion. Yrigoyen, unlike the Radical Party's founder Leandro Alem, did not speak in public and did not foster direct contact with potential voters. Lack of visibility can be more alluring than constantly being on the front line. Others crafted Yrigoyen's image: films, newspapers, and those around him created a compassionate portrait of a president who had fathered democracy, fought for political inclusion, and cared for the helpless. Alvear's public image, by contrast, was undermined by his own style and by surrounding cabinet members and politicians who provoked public distrust. Chapter three is devoted to dispelling the myth that patronage was essential to Yrigoyen's support. While existing and extensive, both at national and municipal levels, it was neither new nor unique to the Radicals. Therefore patronage, while im-

portant, cannot offer a compelling explanation for the party's popularity.

The last three chapters deal with the failed attempts of the Radical administrations to attract union leaders and build a stable, institutionalized relationship with the unions. There are several reasons for these failures. A poorly drafted pension bill met with united opposition both from labor and employers until it was dropped in Congress. According to Horowitz, the episode evidenced the difficulties the government encountered in developing social welfare programs. It also revealed, once again, one of the main shortcomings of these administrations: their tendency to draft policy unilaterally without prior consultation with interested parties. Particularly during his first term, Yrigoyen was unable to go beyond a tactical approach toward the unions and to build channels of communication beyond those based on personal contacts. Ultimately, his erratic resolution of labor conflicts resulted in the government's alienation from key groups. While some of these features have already been studied by David Rock, Horowitz adds his own interpretations and also expands on the policies of the Alvear administration, generally overlooked until now. When Alvear attempted to move beyond the personal and circumstantial to a more structural relationship with key unions, divisions within his cabinet coupled with the opposition of some unions conspired against his plans.

One of the most valuable aspects of this book can be found in the conclusion, where Horowitz not only revisits the many arguments that he makes in the previous chapters but goes on to address the legacy of the Radical administrations in terms of their successes, their failures, and, particularly, their style. The very deep institutional, political, economic, and social transformations Argentina underwent between 1930 and 1946 have overshadowed the long-lasting impact that the Radical presidencies had on later years. We have tended to insert a period-break in 1930, treating the 1916–1930 years as a homogenous, exceptional period. While fully aware of the transformations that took place after the 1930 military coup, Horowitz marks some aspects of Argentina's politics that can be traced to the Radical administrations. Juan Domingo Perón succeeded where the Radicals failed: in establishing a strong alliance with the unions and incorporating the working class into the political system. The denial of the legitimacy of opponents, while not new to the Radicals, was continued and accelerated during their time in power. Exclusion of the other became a feature of the country's style during democratic and non-democratic governments and is still very much part of the political culture. Personalism and single leadership has also become the favorite management style for conducting politics.

Finally, Horowitz underlines that the crisis of 1930 was not the sole responsibility of the Radical Party. The relevance of analyzing the Radical administrations in those first fourteen years of democracy does not lay in the fact that the period was cut short. It lies, as Horow-

itz shows in this illuminating book, in the understanding that some of the relevant policies failed, political culture and leadership styles were shaped, and, particularly because this was the first experiment with a fully democratic system, these features would have long-lasting consequences.

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KLAUS F. VEIGEL. *Dictatorship, Democracy, and Globalization: Argentina and the Cost of Paralysis, 1973–2001*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 234. \$65.00.

Klaus F. Veigel's book is a straightforward and useful narrative of Argentina's volatile economic history during roughly the last quarter of the twentieth century. Veigel traces the history of civilian and military governments and their economic policies and argues, not surprisingly, that the country's decline resulted from the inability to find a sustainable and efficient economic model, a failure dramatically revealed in the erratic and stunningly ineffective swings in economic policy examined in minute detail in the book. Veigel covers ground familiar to most scholars of Argentina but also provides the most up-to-date, accessible, and thoroughly researched study of the Argentine economy in those years, albeit one with certain shortcomings given an approach that is more that of an economist than that of an economic historian.

The book starts off shakily. The discussion of the 1973–1976 Peronist government is notably glib in its analysis. This chapter also demonstrates the limitations of a rather traditional approach to economic history that examines the economy exclusively through the actions of government officials and policy makers rather than as the product of complex social and political forces or even organized groups such as trade or business associations. Argentina's myriad ministers of economy are virtually the only protagonists in Veigel's story, and this leads to a somewhat simplified and distorted understanding of the "paralysis" he seeks to explain. For example, his statement that José Ber Gelbard, Perón's last minister of economy, failed because he "promised everything to everybody" (p. 34) is both factually inaccurate and conceptually flawed. Gelbard was well aware of the implications of a policy that would benefit some at the expense of others and executed his program accordingly. Nor was the program's nationalist content during his ministry strictly, or even mainly, Gelbard's brainchild but rather the result of a long, complex history to which diverse social and political actors had contributed.

Subsequent chapters are better and show a firmer grasp of the history. Veigel's analysis of the economic policies of the military dictatorship elucidates clearly the policies of the so-called *Proceso* (1976–1983). He corrects a widely believed myth that the policies of minister José Martínez de Hoz were a direct forerunner to the neoliberal policies of Carlos Menem's presidency



(1989–1999), although most informed students of these years have long known that Martínez de Hoz was not “neoliberal” because of any dismantling of Argentina’s state capitalism or the privatization of publicly owned companies—of which there were virtually none—but because of his radical deregulation of the banking system, a process which Veigel cogently analyzes and rightly argues was the main factor contributing to Argentina’s massive foreign debt. Subsequent chapters compellingly dissect in detail the dilemma of the restored democratic governments of the 1980s and 1990s, unable to find a successful economic model which would both restore competitiveness to the economy and tame inflation, culminating with the default on the foreign debt and implosion of the economy in late 2001 during the government of Fernando de la Rúa. Throughout these and other chapters, the real strength of the book is Veigel’s weaving together of the pressures and constraints of the international economy with the national context.

The book ends on a somewhat confusing note. After having largely left capitalist groups out of his story, or at least only tangentially present—even the powerful holding companies, or *grupos económicos* in the Argentine political vernacular, who dominated the economy in the 1980s and 1990s—he abruptly resurrects the shopworn and highly normative characterization of the Argentine “crony capitalists,” a predatory business class that exploits the state’s weakness for its own aggrandizement at the cost of the national economy’s well being, not to mention that of other groups and social classes. Given the relative autonomy he grants to policy makers throughout his narrative, this is a puzzling assertion. To be credible, his contention that the absence of clear “rules of the game” and protection of property rights explains the country’s crony capitalist business culture and therefore its paralysis needed to figure more prominently in the previous chapters, rather than being tacked on as almost an afterthought in the book’s final pages. The assertion itself is highly questionable. As recent developments in the world economy have demonstrated, the existence of both rules of the game and protected property rights do not prevent cronyism. Such a characterization obfuscates as much as it explains about the history of capitalism and capitalists in the modern world. This flaw aside, the book’s limitations are more disciplinary than those of the author and certainly do not diminish its value for students of Argentina or those simply interested in Argentina’s remarkable decline from Latin America’s premier nation to chronic basket case. Though it does not provide all the answers, it is valuable reading for understanding the country’s ongoing crisis.

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Riverside

BRODWYN FISCHER. *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Stanford,

Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 464. \$65.00.

Brodwyn Fischer’s book will occupy a significant place at the intersection of studies of modern urban design, patronage, and citizenship in Latin America. The basic thesis is that a lack of legal rights defined the struggles of the inhabitants of twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro as they settled, worked, and appropriated the capital of Brazil. Denial of rights—to stable occupation of the land, to recognized family relations, to the status of worker, to due process of law—was, in Fischer’s view, more important than race, class, or gender in defining the historical identity of the majority of the inhabitants of the *cidade maravilhosa*. Characterizing heterogeneous populations simply as the urban poor is unsatisfactory but, as the author recognizes, inevitable. Yet poverty is not to be understood exclusively in material terms, but also as a limited citizenship.

The evidence, covering the 1920–1970 period in overlapping chronological layers, is divided in sections defined by autonomous juridical realms. Although codification provides the structure, descriptions show how legal practice molded the law. In the first part, elite urban design fueled the impulse to raze or displace lower-class housing, creating irresolvable tensions in the context of demographic growth and loading perceptions of social difference with a difficult mix of racism, real estate speculation, and hygiene. The second part of the book examines labor rights granted under Getúlio Vargas and enhances our understanding of the social and cultural foundations of Latin American populism. In a few words, it took a lot of work to become a worker: the state created a thick labyrinth of paperwork, from birth certificates all the way up to employment cards, which left many without a claim to the guarantees inscribed in Brazilian laws. Bureaucracy was not a transparent instrument of policy but the policy itself, by creating the exclusions that made populism conceivable and affordable for *Varguismo*. The third part of the book examines the effects of these exclusions on people’s access to justice. Fischer explains judicial procedures and outcomes based on an extensive sample of cases and a study of judicial practices and ideologies. She finds that race was not “the single or most important source of bias” (p. 185); instead, increasingly frequent “socially discriminatory judgments about personal character” (p. 178) limited access to civil rights in this key realm of *cariocas’* interaction with the state. The fourth part of the book returns to the disputes around illegal settlements. Favelas were the locus of popular identities, capitalist greed, and partisan disputes, bringing in a complex cast of characters linked by a “perverse dependence” (p. 252) on the rents and resources of illegality. Literal and figurative battles show *favelados* always demanding social and individual rights, often with durable success and even favorable legislation passed in 1956.

This mixed legacy of popular claims and official withholding of rights forces the reader to maintain a critical engagement with the idea that the absence of those

rights is what defines popular urban identities. The evidence shows the multiple ways in which citizenship was undermined, corroborating urban studies that posit illegality not as the exception but as the defining trait of everyday life and state-civil society relations in modern Latin America. Even if we agree that progressive constitutional articles were “frankly utopian” (p. 116), the book shows the advance of rights—to health, labor, justice, and housing—during the twentieth century. Although *cariocas* saw the steep obstacles raised by the system, they still petitioned, occupied lands, voted, demonstrated, and went to court. In spite of imposed social labels and bureaucratic hurdles, men and women defined themselves as workers who contributed to their families, communities, and country.

Fischer uses letters, court testimonies, samba lyrics, and other sources to observe citizen engagement with the state. She suspects the sincerity of some of their words, suggesting that the claim of rights was a product of expedience rather than belief, a tool just as efficient as appeals for graceful favors or patriarchal protection. But the textual evidence also confirms the integrative power of populist language. Populist rhetoric did not result in a negative definition of urban dwellers as non-citizens, but worked as an effective path for a meaningful engagement with authorities traditionally detached from urban populations, and eventually promoted a more positive self-perception of Brazilian workers. In the last pages of the book, politics seems to be counterposed to rights. Indeed, the morally ambiguous negotiations or violence that characterize mass politics seem the opposite of the rationality of the law, and clientelistic official tolerance of illegality appears to be the reverse of true recognition of rights. Yet the book itself threads between the interpretive poles of patronage versus republicanism that often divide the historiography of modern Latin American politics: Rio de Janeiro was not a territory of lawlessness and pragmatic negotiations about power or subordination, nor a laboratory of Western republican thinking about citizenship and liberal rights. It is the object of a book sensitive to the realities of life in the modern Latin American city.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

EFREM ZAMBON. *Tradition and Innovation: Sicily between Hellenism and Rome*. (Historia: Einzelschriften, number 205.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2008. Pp. 326. €62.00.

The political history of Sicily between 289 and 241 B.C. was complex and chaotic. There were dozens of competing independent states on the island: Syracuse struggled against Carthage; various Greek cities struggled against Syracuse; the Elymaean polities of western Sicily struggled against Punic domination; second-rank cities such as Akragas (Agrigentum) and Messana rose to

sudden power and then lost it again. Authoritarian rulers arose out of the necessity to provide local protection against the general violence, styling themselves in the Hellenistic way as kings; but they contested for power within their own domains with both oligarchies and democratic assemblies, and civil wars and political purges were not uncommon. Just between 288 and 285 B.C. Hicetas, the leader of Syracuse, had to face (in sequence) a civil war, a major threat from Carthage, a major threat posed to the Syracusans by their own rebellious mercenaries, the Italic Mamertines, and a major threat from Phintias the king of Agrigentum (p. 63). Reading about this in Efrem Zambon's study, one is reminded of the dismaying sequence of Asia Minor enemies that King Attalus I listed one after the other on his Victory Monument of ca. 230 (*OGIS* 273–279). Sicily in the mid-third century was thus a classic case study in the anarchy that characterized the ancient Mediterranean from Spain to Syria in the five centuries before the rise of Rome. It was Roman power that in the end imposed a rough and ready version of peace upon all this violent disorder (in Roman interests, of course).

There are huge gaps in our knowledge of this anarchic, politically kaleidoscopic, and crucial period in Sicily, a period that eventually saw Rome's successful first venture in war and hegemony beyond the Italian peninsula. Polybius does not deal in any detail with conditions in Sicily before the arrival of the Romans in 264 B.C., and our other surviving literary-historical sources are fragmentary. Zambon's book possesses two virtues. First, he offers a complete conspectus in English of all the known evidence—not merely literary sources but also the latest archaeological discoveries, as well as analysis of coinage. Second, his perspective is not that of the great powers (Rome or Carthage) but is grounded in the experience of the smaller polities. This is refreshing, and here we can glimpse complex political, ethnic, and cultural realities. Thus the Italic rulers of Messana on the straits between Sicily and Italy, descendants of the Mamertine mercenaries who had seized this important city ca. 287, ruled over a multi-cultural polity where the Italic term *meddix* for the two annual chief magistrates was written in Greek; the warlord who became King Phintias of Agrigentum in the 280s founded a new major city in his mini-kingdom, named after himself in imitation of Alexander the Great (it was called Phintias, like the scores of Alexandrias founded by the Conqueror); Elymaean Segesta in western Sicily hated the tax-collecting Carthaginians and played upon (or invented outright) the myth of its founding by Aeneas in order to gain Roman favor and support. Zambon also emphasizes that the hegemony Rome established in Sicily during the quarter-century of war with Carthage between 264 and 241 sat more lightly on the smaller Sicilian states than either Punic or Syracusan rule had ever done. The Romans understood that a light hand reaches farther, and the institutions of direct Roman rule in Sicily only developed very slowly, in response to subsequent crises (such as the Hannibalic War).

Nevertheless, there are problems with this book. Some issues are discussed in excruciating and pointless detail—such as the politics surrounding the death of the Syracusan King Agathocles in 289/288, a discussion that ends after ten pages by showing that we can know little. But other and more important topics are passed by without discussion. This is most noticeable in the case of the alleged Treaty of Philinus, which the Agrigentine historian asserted forbade the Romans from Sicily as it forbade the Carthaginians from Italy. If Philinus is correct, then the Romans violated this treaty in 264 in coming to the aid of Mamertine Messana—which would be an example of a very ruthless imperialism. But Philinus hated the Romans, who had destroyed his home city in 262, and Polybius, after research in the Roman archives, denies that the treaty ever existed; it may simply be postwar Carthaginian propaganda. Philinus and his political attitudes are elsewhere central to Zambon's book, and Zambon briefly implies that he accepts the existence of the Philinus Treaty (p. 89), but the scholarly controversy surrounding the treaty is ignored (not even a footnote), nor does the treaty appear in Zambon's treatment of the crisis of 264 (pp. 200–207). On a lesser level of importance, did Hellenistic warships really have nine banks of oarsmen (p. 67)? Was there really a growing “democratic party” in Rome in 278 B.C. (p. 84)? And given Zambon's focus on the importance of the small Sicilian *poieis* (at least when taken as a whole), it is unfortunate that the book comes with no map to guide the reader to the numerous obscure places (e.g., Halaesa, Herbessus).

Finally, it must be stated that Zambon normally writes in Italian and this book should not have been written in English, because the English is execrable. To avoid being cruel, I will give only a few examples of solecisms; hundreds could be listed. Here are two from p. 73: “We ignore when exactly and how Sosistratus achieved the hegemony in Agrigentum” (he means we do not know, not we do not care); and the possible conquest of Syracuse by Phintias of Agrigentum “could obviously be a noise to the Carthaginians.” Other examples: “Following the democracy's restoration in Syracuse were immediately held elections according to the regulations, it maybe occurred the case of corruption” (p. 28). The Mamertines of Messana “were quite a tongue in the struggle between Carthaginians and Syracusans” (p. 198). Zambon has interesting things to say, but the constant eccentric English expression is a major distraction; the book was badly in need of a proofreader.

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RAYMOND VAN DAM. *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 441. \$85.00.

To historians of ancient Rome, Ronald Syme's *Roman Revolution* (1939) has the same fatal allure that Alex-

ander's eastern conquests once held for Roman emperors: it replicates the feat by which one man opened broad and bountiful new vistas. In Syme's case this was achieved through a display of philological insight and methodological panache, and the age of Constantine, which comes ready-labeled as a period of decisive change, has long seemed the obvious candidate for such a sequel. With the title of his book, Raymond Van Dam sets his sights squarely on this target. He divides his study into three major sections, each dealing with a different aspect of the age. In the first two, Van Dam uses two well-known inscriptions to organize his account. The first, from Hispellum in north-central Italy, records Constantine's favorable response to a request to set up a temple to his Flavian family. The second, from Orchestus in Asia Minor, documents the city's successful effort to free itself from dependency on the nearby city of Nacolea. Around the tale of these efforts Van Dam weaves an account of Rome's decline as the political hub of the empire and the growth of a self-consciously Greek culture in the east. Both inscriptions also show the way provincials tried to adjust to, and exploit, imperial policies.

In the book's third section, Van Dam turns to an analysis of contemporary texts to bring out the interplay between religious and political thinking in this period. Politically, he argues, the tetrarchy of Constantine's predecessor, Diocletian, created a “theology that identified emperors and gods”; Constantine used this precedent for his own self-representation (p. 268). Conversely, churchmen found the tetrarchy's ideology of plural emperors who shared a single office useful for developing their own thinking about the Trinity. Such connections are critical, in Van Dam's view, for understanding the important *Life of Constantine* that Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea completed shortly after the emperor's death in 337. Juxtaposing this work with contemporary theological controversies and Eusebius's own speeches, Van Dam suggests that Eusebius's *Life* was theologically driven: he used his subordinationist view of the relationship between Father and Son to create a Christian emperor who served as Christ's co-regent.

Van Dam takes maximum advantage of self-glorifying passages in Constantine's own prose to depict an emperor whose identification with Jesus Christ grew so strong in his later years that he started to create a new lineage for himself, downplaying the dynastic claim that his father, Constantius I, had provided in favor of sole emphasis on his mother, Helena, who now came to the fore as an analogue to the Virgin Mary. This, of course, made Constantine himself “the son of a virgin birth” (p. 306). Thus the interconnection: “Constantine appropriated Jesus' life to serve his political goals; Eusebius appropriated Constantine's life to serve his theological objectives” (p. 286). This glorification of the imperial role was too much for later ages. When Theodosius I came to the throne in the last fourth of the century, theologians labeled him a “new Constantine” and used his more orthodox policies to reinterpret the career of

his predecessor, so that "Constantine was increasingly seen as a 'prior Theodosius'" (p. 342).

Does all this amount to a new "Roman Revolution"? Yes and no. The powerful new methodology that Syme demonstrated was prosopography, the careful compiling of familial and career connections in order to expose a network of political and economic interests. Van Dam makes a few nods in this direction, primarily by indicating the careers of Constantine's kin (pp. 118, 302) or bilingual officials (p. 212); otherwise, prosopography is noteworthy primarily by its absence. In its place, Van Dam instead offers the panoply of tools subsumed under the heading of "critical theory." His is a very postmodern Constantine, someone who exists primarily in the many uses to which his career was put in subsequent ages. This is all to the good. But his deliberate decision to turn away from scholarly "obsession" with Constantine's conversion (p. 21) is a bit like studying Augustus without mentioning the Senate: it can be done, but it begs important questions. The founding of Constantinople is a clear turning point for the argument of the first two sections, but as he ranges over two centuries of change Van Dam has to struggle to keep Constantine part of the picture. Not so in the third section, where there are brilliant insights that make these chapters a must-read for any serious scholar. They come at a certain cost, however. Constantine's self-aggrandizement and Eusebius's fawning rhetoric are palpable, but Van Dam might have paid a bit more attention to Eusebius's account of the way Constantine chewed out a speaker for saying he would "rule with the Son of God in the world to come" (*Vita Constantini*, 4.48). There is more nuance in Eusebius's language, and Constantine's, than Van Dam reckons.

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CORNELIA B. HORN and JOHN W. MARTENS. *"Let the little children come to me": Childhood and Children in Early Christianity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 438. \$44.95.

The two trajectories of academic study of the social context of early Christianity and of the roles of women, which have flourished since the 1970s, have more recently coalesced in an interest in attitudes toward, and the experience of, families—a development that has also been followed in other ancient world studies. In turn this has led to attention being focused on the lives of children as well as on societal views of them, a subject previously neglected not so much because children are absent from the sources (although, as we shall see, this is a problem) as because they are not perceived as active agents in the central events and changes of "history." Cornelia B. Horn and John W. Martens's study of "children and childhood in early Christianity" exemplifies these developments and is one of the first thorough, book-length treatments of its subject. As such it is to be warmly welcomed both for its use of an extensive col-

lection of relevant source material and for its systematic approach.

A number of difficulties beset the enterprise: first, children are often invisible in the sources, then even more than now. Second, given the preeminent place taken by literary sources, the lives and experience of the "non-elite" majority, both adults and children, are largely inaccessible, and expectations regarding education, marriage, and responsibility found in those sources would apply only to a very small percentage of the population of the Greco-Roman world. Furthermore, our ancient sources routinely represent how their authors, adult and invariably male, perceived children should be, and not necessarily how they were. This last may be particularly the case in relation to early Christianity, where the surviving authors were shaping a culture they desired, perhaps in the face of contrary practice, and where other tendencies, both theological and hagiographical, determined the rhetoric of the sources. In addition, there is the danger of reading the ancient evidence through a lens of contemporary experience or ideals regarding family life and the roles of children, so that the questions asked are our questions. The authors recognize these concerns, although in practice they tend to proceed regardless, with occasional reminders, rather than seeking alternative strategies of reading.

Some of these challenges are confronted in the initial chapter: "What Is a Child?" recognizes that the subject of discourse on childhood and development was invariably male, girls passing directly from childhood to marriageability. The following chapter explores the impact of theological discourse of sons (and daughters) or children of God, beginning with the identification of Jesus as the servant/child (*pais*) of God. After this, different aspects of children's lives are explored: household and family life, education, work and play, abuse and violence, participation in worship, asceticism. Both in the initial chapter and throughout the specific topics the authors seek to set the Christian evidence in the context of that for Greco-Roman and Jewish practices, drawing on a range of recent studies. It must be said, however, that they show themselves less comfortable with the non-Christian sources, and specifically with the Jewish sources, where dependence on secondary literature sometimes leads them into contradiction or misunderstanding.

Inevitably not everyone will be persuaded by all their attempts to detect the hidden presence of children, but in most cases they present a reasonable case and are not afraid to admit to the silence of their sources. Despite their cautions, however, they tend not to distinguish clearly among statements in the sources that are descriptive, prescriptive, purely theoretical matters of legal principle, or perhaps legendary or hagiographical. There is also an apparent expectation that from its beginning Christianity will be different, even in the Gospels: "Christian" is more often presented as antithetical to "Greco-Roman" or "Jewish" than recognized as sharing a common world with these. Christian sources from the first to the fourth century, and some later, are



cited with little attention to the historical, social, and political developments they encompass, and with little discussion of contemporary changes in attitudes and practice amongst other inhabitants of the empire. Indeed, at times there is a sense of a mass of research material collected that has been insufficiently contextualized, digested, and reflected upon.

At times, too, the authors view the past through twenty-first-century and even Western spectacles: a comment such as “the ancient model of childhood can seem quite different from what we might expect” (p. 25), in a discussion of perinatal mortality, surrogate nursing, and child labor, appears oblivious to similar realities in many parts of the world today.

Despite these criticisms, the volume is a valuable contribution to its theme and it will constitute a rich resource with which others may work to develop more nuanced questions and methods of interpretation.

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PATRICIA E. GRIEVE. *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 312. \$60.00.

Although the story of the seduction of the fair Florinda, known as La Cava, by Spain's last Visigothic ruler, the subsequent invasion of the peninsula in 711, and the beginnings of the Reconquest under Pelayo's leadership may be as familiar to historians of Spain as that of Eve in the third chapter of Genesis on which it was based, “there is no full and systematic study of either Pelayo's or La Cava's evolution through the centuries, and certainly no feminist study that examines the shifts in how La Cava is portrayed and how those shifts accompany other kinds of Spanish national stories” (p. 29). It is this lamentable gap on the bookshelf that Patricia E. Grieve seeks to fill, not least because, as she observes, “it is both disturbing and remarkable to realize how many national stories and founding myths depend on the rape of women” (p. 114). In a sometimes entertaining feminist exegesis of Ramón Menéndez Pidal's pioneering treatment of the subject in his *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último godo* (1925–1927), and aided by her sensitivity to gendered narrative, Grieve traces the development of the story of Florinda, “the Eve figure in the legend,” and her reputation from the ninth century to 1492, by which time the lady herself was almost universally held responsible both for Spain's downfall and for all that followed.

As the author admits, “a book like this runs many risks; minefields are everywhere” (p. 17). Unsurprisingly, Florinda's fate among the historians (almost all male, of course) and her transformation in the telling from maiden to harlot are not unparalleled. In like manner, c. 1492, Isabel, the anti-Cava and for some both the second Joan of Arc and the second Virgin Mary, was deprived by her husband of the credit due to her, while a modern writer's identification of the

queen's “glumness” as justification for Fernando's philandering is accounted “rather remarkable for a book as recent as 1988” (p. 94)—which, incidentally, rather few items in the author's twenty-page bibliography pre-date.

Grieve's book is marred by many errors, especially when she strays off her and Menéndez Pidal's highway. She has Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo sounding off in 1949, some thirty seven years after his death. By no reckoning was Alfonso I king of León, nor Alfonso X crowned emperor in 1257 or in any other year. Écija was never an archbishopric, nor St. Leocadia — d. 303 and cited here for the significance of her relics at “the intersection of women's bodies and nation building” (p. 148)—a fifth-century figure, nor Antonio de Guevara bishop of “Maldonado.” Moreover, what sixteenth-century sense does the question whether Pelayo was “formally and officially” king possess? (p. 148)

Although Menéndez Pidal, who deserves better than to be chided for his “exclusionary canon” and scolded for lacking the interpretative insights of the 1990s, might have questioned the Chronicle of Alfonso III's description of the story of Pelayo at Covadonga as an invention, Pidalian scholarship will no doubt feel itself short-changed that Rodrigo “draws no parallel between the forcing of the locks [of the House of Hercules] and the forcing of the girl . . . though every self-respecting reader does” (p. 45). Not that most of what these medievals did cannot be made to bear a certain interpretation: if a sword is used the implication is inevitably phallic; likewise, in Golden Age ballads about knights, there is much use of the verb *esforçar* (p. 56) and descriptions of the taking of Muslim strongholds where “fecund, ‘female’ towns and cities, like the sexually available Muslim princesses of medieval epic and chronicle, found themselves possessed by forceful Christian men” (p. 117), while for the reading and listening public of those generations, “the Freudian implication of the cave as vagina—both dark, damp apertures—would not be lost” (p. 183), even though “sometimes,” as the pipe-smoking Freud himself had occasion to remark, “a pipe is just a pipe.”

The author's endnotes accommodate an alternative narrative into which miscellaneous material is crammed, and they provide a refuge for badly organized, distracting digressions that tend to go off on tangents for as much as a page at a time, or offer directives of this caliber: “For theoretical studies of the relationship of fiction and history, see Hayden White, Roland Barthes, and Michel de Certeau” (p. 265). Her meandering narrative swoops and soars. Attempting less she might have achieved more.

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THOMAS F. X. NOBLE. *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 488. \$65.00.

This book presents the first comprehensive study of Western responses to Byzantine iconoclasm and an impressive scholarly analysis of the early medieval discourse on sacred images, with a particular focus on Carolingian texts. Contrary to the traditional perception of Carolingian responses to iconoclasm as lacking coherence and often missing the point, Thomas F. X. Noble shows that Carolingian intellectuals were familiar with the major arguments on both sides of the iconoclastic controversy. The meticulous discussion of textual evidence also demonstrates that Carolingian authors differ considerably in their attitudes toward Christian figural art. What is common in those works, Noble argues, is that they evolved around three major themes: tradition (the relation of the Carolingian period to the preceding temporal and sacred history), order (evolving around issues of authority and legitimacy), and worship (essentially focused on the proper cult).

Most medievalists will appreciate the first three chapters, where Noble provides an exemplary overview of the discussion of Christian figural art and of its permissibility in the Greek East and Latin West between the years ca. 300 and 787. Therein, he rightfully questions—following Leslie Brubaker's argument (1998)—Ernst Kitzinger's long-entrenched thesis (1954) that the veneration of icons was a ubiquitous phenomenon in sixth- and seventh-century Byzantium ("The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 [1954]). Noble persuasively argues that the icons were relatively new and rare even in the eighth century, which sheds an entirely new light on the origins and the first stage of iconoclasm and Western textual and political responses to this phenomenon. Here Noble's discussion is up-to-date with a recent trend in Byzantine studies of diminishing the role of iconoclasm for, and its impact on, Byzantine society, and of seeing iconoclastic and iconophilic rhetorics embedded within wider political and social conflicts. Chapters four through seven constitute, in Noble's words, "the heart of the book" (p. 4) and offer a compelling textual study of Carolingian texts on sacred images from the 790s to the 840s. At times, some readers may find long digressions on particular Carolingian texts—such as the summation of Theodulf of Orléans's *Opus Caroli Regis* (pp. 184–205)—interruptive to the otherwise smooth flow of the narrative, but these sections will certainly be valued by students of Carolingian written culture. What makes these chapters especially appealing and innovative is that Noble contextualizes Carolingian discourses and debates dealing with Christian figural art within wider socio-political and theological settings. Of course, some Carolingianists may disagree with Noble in a few cases. For example, in spite of Noble's argument that the *Opus Caroli Regis* is representative of elite thought on sacred images and "art talk" at the court of Charlemagne in the 790s (p. 206), I would still align myself with scholars following Ann Freeman's more cautious contextualization of the text in her MGH edition of the *Opus* (1998). Nevertheless, such objections can hardly undermine Noble's main argument.

The book also attempts to contextualize "art talk" within the existing corpus of early Christian and early medieval iconography. In this regard, Noble offers some stimulating ideas for both early medievalists and art historians—such as the reconstruction of some perished murals through their surviving *tituli* (pp. 344–347) or an emphasis on wall painting and mosaics for a better understanding of Carolingian art and their relative accessibility to wider audiences compared to Carolingian miniatures (pp. 338–340). At the same time, the book's treatment of some visual evidence, especially coins, is open to criticism. For example, the dating of Charlemagne's imperial coins to 804–812 (p. 229) is anachronistic, and the currently accepted dating (812–814) questions a parallel (p. 242) between the *Opus Caroli Regis* and the message of these coins, which postdate Theodulf's text by two decades. Another example is the treatment of the image of Christ first placed on Byzantine gold coins during the reign of Justinian II (p. 32) and the canon of the Trullan Council (692) allowing depictions of Christ in a human form (pp. 26–27) as two unrelated events. As plausibly suggested by Philip Grierson (*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 2 [1968], p. 570), this numismatic innovation took place ca. 692, and must have been somehow related to its canon. Most importantly, the absence of illustrations makes it occasionally difficult for a non-specialist to follow an art historical argument. This is regrettable indeed for a book listing images in its title. If the book is assigned to graduate students, it should be accompanied with a standard illustrated text on early Byzantine and early medieval art.

These minor shortcomings notwithstanding, this book will no doubt become a standard reference for early medievalists and art historians interested in early medieval discourse on Christian figural art and its wider contexts. As Clifford Geertz and Noble remind us, "[a]rt is notoriously hard to talk about" (p. 366); this book, however, manages to engage with its subject in a convincing and intellectually stimulating way.

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GILL PAGE. *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 330. \$110.00.

Gill Page addresses Greek identity in Byzantium and former Byzantine territories and its evolution in response to political developments from the twelfth to the early fifteenth century. This study is based on a thorough analysis of a selected group of texts in Greek, their use of ethnic appellations, and the quantitative aspect of this use. Ethnicity is defined as subjective group identity rooted in the past, perceived in contrast to other groups, and becoming more apparent and shifting in conflict situations. Page justifies the preference for texts written by historians, since they may locate group identity in the past and reveal its contemporaneous na-

ture by their handling of events (chapter one). In tune with the Byzantines' self-identification as *Rhomaioi*, Page refers to "Roman" rather than to "Greek" identity. Each of the following chapters contains a historical survey and biographies of the adduced writers providing the context for a meticulous scrutiny of the latter's use of ethnonyms, their criteria of ethnicity, their various perceptions of Roman identity, and their definition of otherness.

In the ethnic terminology of the twelfth century, political Romanness was sustained by ethnic criteria of Byzantine Orthodox faith, language, and literacy. For the educated Constantinopolitan elite the positive associations of Hellenism with literary culture increased from the 1150s, despite its negative pagan connotation. Before 1204, however, the apparently monolithic sense of Byzantine Roman imperial identity was progressively eroded by western threats, the disaffection of the provinces, and cultural disparity between the capital and the rest of the empire (chapter two). Niketas Choniates reacted to the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 by giving more weight to ethnic Romanness at the expense of political Roman identity (chapter three). George Akropolites considered the Greek state of Nicaea established in 1204 in Asia Minor as the legitimate Roman empire, and emphasized Roman political identity though compelled to recognize the ethnic Roman identity of Greeks not subjected to Nicaean rule. With George Pachymeres, who covered the first Palaiologan emperors from 1258 onward, political Roman identity further decreased in importance to the benefit of ethnic Roman identity defined by language, dress, appearance, worship, behavior, and character. Pachymeres also used "*Graikos*" or "Greek" for self-identification, yet Hellenism played only a minor role with fourteenth-century Byzantine historians (chapter four). By the fourteenth century political and ethnic Roman identity had become divorced. In the face of the Turkish threat, Nikephoros Gregoras and Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos emphasized Christian identity, and the primary reference of "*barbaros*" was religious (chapter five).

The Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* (fourteenth century), written in the vernacular, is the primary source for the perception of group identity among Greeks living under western or Frankish rule in the Peloponnese after 1205 and of their interaction with the Franks (chapter six). Compromise under the Villehardouin dynasty is contrasted with deteriorating conditions from 1278 under the absentee Angevin kings based in Naples and under the impact of Byzantium's expansion in the Peloponnese. Rapprochement rather than ethnically conditioned hostility was the main feature in Frankish-Greek interaction, and the Greeks displayed a pragmatic attitude rather than political Roman identity and loyalty. These assessments are convincing, provided they are qualified. They are blurred by the author's use of vague expressions such as "mixed ethnicity" (pp. 181, 219, 224), "inter-ethnic co-operation" (p. 225), and "assimilation" (pp. 223–224,

235), and by the absence of correlation between the varying nature of Frankish-Greek interaction and social strata. Page unduly assumes widespread bilingual fluency (pp. 201, 229, 242), and ignores the existence of different degrees of linguistic sophistication. Prince William II spoke Greek "*auques bien*," "fairly well" (not "well," as p. 200), and bilingualism was largely restricted to Greeks integrated from the 1250s onward within the upper ranks of Frankish society and administration. As evidenced also in other conquered territories, indigenous mediators dominated cross-cultural linguistic communication: see David Jacoby, "Multilingualism and Institutional Patterns of Communication in Latin Romania (Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries)," in Alex D. Beihammer et al., eds., *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication* (2008). Page's suggestion that a Latin cleric planted anti-Roman polemical remarks in the earliest version of the Greek *Chronicle* (pp. 179–180, 240) is unsustainable. Rather, these remarks may be ascribed to a Greek integrated within the Frankish elite and identifying with it.

Lack of ethnic solidarity and insularity characterize Romanness in the fifteenth-century Byzantine Peloponnese, as illustrated by Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and the satirist Mazaris, two outsiders, and by the later versions of the Greek *Chronicle of the Morea* (chapter seven). An excellent summary of the book's propositions and Page's conclusions regarding the multiple strains of "Roman" identity comprise the final chapter. The study concludes with a glossary of Greek words, lists of references to key ethnic terms in the texts of each adduced writer, and a stemma presenting the author's filiation of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicle of the Morea*.

Despite some methodological flaws and undue generalizations in chapter six, this is an important and original contribution to the understanding of the multiple and evolving forms of Greek self-identification.

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JACQUES LE GOFF. *Saint Louis*. Translated by GARETH EVAN GOLLRAD. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxxii, 947. \$75.00.

In the mid-1980s, one of the most prominent scions of the *Annales* school of medieval historiography, Georges Duby, turned his attention to biography, which up until that time had been seen by many scholars as the antithesis of the *annalist* focus on the grand movements of nature and the individually unknowable agricultural toiling masses. Duby's biography of William Marshal (1984) set the stage for a resurgence of medieval biographies in France. The publication of Jacques Le Goff's massive study of the life of Saint Louis in 1996, which was one of the fruits of this effervescence, marks the clearest illustration of the marrying of *annalist* methodology to the traditional biographical genre. The

solid translation of this work into English by Gareth Evan Gollrad provides an opportunity to consider again the strengths and limitations of *annalist* biography.

Le Goff divides his work into three main sections. The first of these, comprising five chapters, is the closest to a traditional biographical discussion of Louis IX's life from his birth in 1214, through his death on crusade in 1270, and ultimately to his canonization in 1297. The second section, which is the strongest part of the book, includes ten chapters that focus on the way that Louis was presented in a range of contemporary written texts. These include official documents, biographical/hagiographical accounts written by mendicant authors and secular priests, the works of foreign historians, images of the king in sermon literature, and in contemporary didactic works. The single best chapter in this section is Le Goff's treatment of Jean de Joinville's historical account, which was based upon the author's long and close personal relationship with the king. The final section of the work, which also comprises ten chapters, uses Louis as the prism through which to examine his contemporary world. Important themes in this section include contemporary views about the obligations and duty of the king, the nature of government and political power in thirteenth-century France, and contemporary religious practice.

The study is bookended with an introduction, in which Le Goff explains the inspiration and methodological goals of the biography, and a brief conclusion that reiterates the major themes of the volume. There are two short appendixes. The first of which considers the effort of Dr. Auguste Brachet to diagnose Saint Louis's medical condition, and the second is a translation of Louis's letter to his subjects sent from Egypt in 1250. The volume is rounded out with a chronology of important dates in Louis's life and reign, a genealogical table the Capetian dynasty, eight maps, and a select bibliography that is organized thematically. The volume is equipped with a considerable scholarly apparatus of notes.

In a volume that has not been revised to take into account recent scholarship, there will always be *lacunae* to which attention can be drawn. Le Goff's casual assumption of the relevance to King Louis's governmental practice of the now discredited feudal construct is one important area of concern. Similarly, Le Goff's assertion that the thirteenth century marked a new period in the history of introspection, largely on the basis of canon twenty-three of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that required annual confession by each lay person to his or her own parish priest, no longer can be sustained. It is now widely recognized that individual lay confession to priests, with the concomitant requirement for individuals to examine their own consciences, dates back to the ninth century. However, much more problematic than individual points of scholarly contention is the basic methodology employed by Le Goff to gain perspective on Louis, the man and king, which is the basic purpose of a biography.

In the introduction, Le Goff points to the importance

of understanding the choices made by Louis in gaining an understanding of the man (p. xxv). In doing so, Le Goff echoes, perhaps unconsciously, the principle enunciated by the great philosopher of history, R. G. Collingwood, that the task of the historian is to rethink with his protagonist the options that this historical figure faced during his life. Here, Collingwood famously called upon historians to (re)think the thoughts of Julius Caesar in the moments before he crossed the Rubicon. Le Goff, however, does not succeed in applying this methodological principle to the life of Louis.

One example will have to serve to illustrate the missed opportunities to come to a closer understanding of Louis as both an individual and a ruler. Le Goff observes that Louis's victories in the war of 1242–1243 against the English made the king's reputation as a military leader (p. 105). The series of campaigns that comprised this war are described in considerable detail by contemporary narrative sources. In addition, the military topography of fortifications, fortress cities, roads, and waterways have been described in great detail by both archaeologists and specialists in military history. This enormous volume of information permits a number of conclusions to be drawn about the type of military commander that Louis was in his late twenties, whether he was bold or tentative, innovative or conservative, a master of detail or a delegator of authority. Le Goff, however, eschews the opportunity to gain insight into the character of his protagonist, to rethink Louis's thoughts, in one of the most important aspects of the king's life: that is, as a military commander. Instead, here as throughout the first section of the volume, Le Goff limits himself to stringing together series of events in which Louis played a role.

Ultimately, this biography of Louis fails in the basic task of bringing the protagonist to life. The volume as a whole remains valuable for shedding light on what Saint Louis's contemporaries chose to say about the man and king, and is useful to both scholars and graduate students. However, the true biography of Louis IX remains to be written.

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ÉLISABETH CROUZET-PAVAN. *Les villes vivantes: Italie XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 2009. Pp. 477. €27.00.

SIMONE ROUX. *Paris in the Middle Ages*. Translated by JO ANN MCNAMARA. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 249. \$29.95.

The title and introduction of Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan's book promise the reader a broad survey of the Italian communes in the late Middle Ages, but it is really a monograph on Venice, with other cities adduced occasionally for comparison. The only exceptions are chapters six, seven, and seventeen, where she uses evidence from Orvieto, Bologna, and Florence dealing



with public-private cooperation at the turn of the fourteenth century in urban renewal, civic celebrations, and neighborhood sociability. Simone Roux's book, by contrast, is exactly what it purports to be. While Roux's book is a faithful and unusually fluid translation of her *Paris au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003), Crouzet-Pavan's is original.

Neither city was "typical" of medieval urbanization. Admitting this (p. 44), Crouzet-Pavan nonetheless uses Venice as a paradigm. Roux sees the extraordinary diversity of Paris' population and the goods and services there as the glory of the place, not replicated elsewhere. Although neither book is illustrated except for maps, each recreates visual impressions from written sources and descriptions drawn from iconography. Each fixes a norm with thirteenth-century material, then discusses later changes on the basis of it. This is more a problem for Roux, whose book tends to be detailed and expository for the thirteenth century but more analytical for the fourteenth and fifteenth. Roux's notes are less extensive, but both books use archival sources. Except for her passages on women in the workforce and as taxpayers, Roux's sources are narratives. In most chapters she sets the stage with a picture drawn from a single major source, then modifies it with briefer records, often archival. Her book is thus the more readable of the two. Both authors largely eschew government and politics, although Crouzet-Pavan's passages on these topics are stronger than Roux's.

Relations with mainland territorial powers are important mainly in the early stages of Venice's history, while the presence of the royal court meant that most Parisians experienced government not through their own elites but rather through persons who were close to the king or acted for those who were. Each author tries to situate urbanization in the context of environmental issues, in which Venice's struggle with swamp and sea created the city, while Roux begins with the Paris wall begun by Philip Augustus, which first clearly demarcated city from countryside. Each has strong sections on the alteration of the landscape as population grew and, particularly for the last two medieval centuries, on public and private architecture and living space. While in Venice this expansion was done largely at the behest of the city government, enhancing its status as the notion of "public utility" gained force, the expansion of Paris was at private initiative except for the walls, if one considers persons linked to the ruling dynasty as "private." From the early fourteenth century the emphasis changed at Venice to beautification of the city and the consequent enhancement of its honor. The city regulated buildings with statutes and codes on grounds of the common good. The sudden decline of Paris in the early fifteenth century, when it lost at least half its population, had no parallel at Venice. Crouzet-Pavan devotes entire chapters to fire, sewers and waste disposal, and miasma, almost entirely from Venetian evidence; Roux touches more succinctly on these topics as general problems of urban life. Crouzet-Pavan's sections on the church are intermingled with other topics.

Roux devotes a separate chapter to the powerful churches and abbeys of Paris. Each has chapters on women and the family, but Crouzet-Pavan's are deeper. She devotes an entire chapter to the sluggish real estate market in Venice, which she attributes to local inheritance law, which made it difficult for Venetians to transfer property outside the extended family. Each book has chapters on the crafts. Crouzet-Pavan devotes an entire chapter to the glassmaking operation at Murano. She agrees that the first third of the fifteenth century was the height of Venice's merchant power, when statistics of Venice's wealth place it above the northern monarchies. Yet she notes Venice's conservatism as a weakness: Genoa was more innovative (Venice took much longer to make the voyages through Gibraltar), and the Tuscan cities pioneered more sophisticated commercial techniques. Such concessions seem to me to render untenable her decision to base a book conceived as a survey on a city that was clearly powerful but exceptional. Each author, particularly Roux, has material on local markets and purchasing patterns, but while external trade gets predictably extensive treatment for Venice, it is scarcely mentioned for Paris. Roux's economic chapters concern finance rather than manufacturing and trade. Paris, essentially a consumer city, had no major export, but "big money" was made at and around the royal court.

The differences between the books are less in approach than in the distinct characters of the two cities and their surviving sources. While Venice's records were generated mainly by various branches of the city government, those of Paris were royal. They thus create a hierarchical impression that has been buttressed by the models devised by scholars. Roux, however, argues (pp. 65–66) that while hierarchies based on wealth, royal service, and the church undeniably existed, the reality of all such groups living together in a city caused such distinctions to break down in practice. Each book, particularly Crouzet-Pavan's, shows the influence of Jacques Heers's studies and approach. Neither is linear-chronological, but rather topical. Crouzet-Pavan cites some British and American work on the Italian cities in her notes to individual chapters, but her historiographical sections are devoted entirely to works that appeared in French. Roux's book has some surprising bibliographical lapses, specifically English and American work on women in the Paris workforce and on the English occupation of Paris after 1420.

Readers will find these complementary books welcome additions to the growing literature on medieval urbanization. Roux's is directed toward educated lay readers and university students, while Crouzet-Pavan's is meant for scholars, particularly French, who however should be aware that its focus is much narrower than its title represents.

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JONG-KUK NAM. *Le commerce du coton en Méditerranée à la fin du Moyen Age*. (The Medieval Mediterranean, number 68.) Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xvi, 567. \$184.00.

Jong-Kuk Nam has written a very useful examination of the late medieval Mediterranean world through the prism of cotton: its variety, production, commercialization, industrialization, and transport. He argues successfully that cotton was one of the major motors of maritime commerce in the medieval Mediterranean. Nam's work joins the recent monograph on sugar by Mohamed Ouerfelli in treating the Mediterranean as a whole as the backdrop against which to study the trade in a specific commodity (see *Le sucre: Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale* [2008]). Nam's study fits in a significant historiography of broad focus—including Jean-Claude Hocquet on salt, Henri Laurent on the wool cloth trade, Robert Delort on furs, Dominique Cardon on the wool cloth industry—and represents a valuable geographic expansion of the treatment by Maureen Mazzaoui of the Italian cotton industry and Wolfgang von Strömer of the central European cotton industry.

The book is accompanied by massive supporting material: tables the author has created from data of the Datini archives of Prato and the work of Eliyahu Ashtor to feature cotton prices, regions of production, ships used to transport cotton, as well as regulations, contracts, and merchant correspondence. The bibliography and footnotes reveal that Nam has spent much time in the archives of Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, Ancona, as well as the Datini archives. He has read widely in the published narrative sources, including merchant manuals and travelers' accounts. His in-depth command of the secondary literature is particularly striking as he cites a wide body of scholarship on the Mediterranean, often taking a revisionist approach, disagreeing with Mazzaoui and John Day on the amount of Sicilian cotton reaching Genoa, for example (p. 286) and again with Mazzaoui over the amount of cotton sent to Flanders versus northern Italy (p. 357).

The conceptualization of the work is novel. After a detailed discussion of terminology related to cotton products and of weights and measures, Nam first entertains the final products: a remarkable range of cotton cloth, often produced as fustian, a mix of cotton and linen or cotton and hemp. The uses of cotton were many: clothing first and foremost, undergarments, armor, ships' sails, packing materials, bed clothes, and paper, among others. The premier cotton industries of Western Europe included Milan and Cremona in Italy. There were 6,000 cotton guild workers in Milan in 1467, and as many as 40,000 pieces of fustian cloth of Cremona were imported into Venice and re-exported in the fifteenth century. Central Italy also produced cotton products. The southern German towns of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Augsburg were impressive producers of cotton cloth.

Syrian cotton that came into the hands of Venice was the superior raw material, with Turkish cotton domi-

nated by Genoa of lesser quality. Cotton production in Egypt had a short lifespan. Sicily, Malta, and Pantelleria produced cotton, as did Cyprus, Romania—the remaining Greek parts of the Byzantine Empire—and southern Italy. Nam was unaware of the work of Ouerfelli on sugar, although he does discuss sugar production as a competitor for cotton in an area such as Egypt. Given the revived interest in the assessment of the productivity of Muslim lands in the later Middle Ages, these works should provide important new information for the current debate over the economy of the late medieval Middle East.

In his discussion of the transport of cotton, Nam provides a specialized study of ship types and their evolution. He gives an extraordinarily in-depth discussion of the Venetian convoy system (*muda*) with its two sailings a year to the Levant that is of general utility to the reader well beyond the movement of cotton that prompted the discussion. The exploits of the great Venetian Soranzo company (*fraterna*) illustrate well the Venetian trade in Syrian cotton. The Venetians used both galley and *coque-nave* transports in their well-organized export lines via Aigues-Mortes, Flanders, and Barbary. Venetian organization far outstripped the equally voluminous but more chaotic Genoese transport of Turkish cotton. Venice emerges as the largest player in the cotton trade, with Genoa a close second and Barcelona a distant third.

Some further editing would have helped to avoid a few typos and awkwardness of language and also to assure that definitions and descriptions for terms and people come with the first mention: e.g., *valute* (price lists) or the Genoese notary of Crete Lamberto di Sambuceto, introduced anew every time mentioned. At times the preeminence of the spice trade (particularly the Venetians in Alexandria) seems subsumed by Nam's enthusiasm for cotton, but he later acknowledges its significance.

These few quibbles aside, this is a remarkably rich treatment of the commerce in cotton that has much to teach the reader about Mediterranean commerce overall from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. Careful to point out when his discussion is preliminary or when the evidence is slim, Nam has done Mediterranean scholarship a great service in his meticulous, creative, encyclopedic study of cotton.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

DANIEL H. NEXON. *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 354. \$29.95.

Daniel H. Nexon teaches political science, and he approaches the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with

contemporary questions in mind. Exploring the international relations of the Reformation era, he argues, can help us understand the interaction of religious movements, great power rivalries, and rebellion in our own troubled world. The result is a book that is not primarily aimed at historians but deserves their close attention—partly for its insights and theoretical guidance, partly for what it says about the current condition of interdisciplinary social science.

Nexon's analysis starts from an interpretation of the early modern state. In these centuries, he argues, most polities were "composite states," unstable assemblages of territories linked to their rulers by specific compacts, rather than the homogeneous nation-states of much modern theorizing. This fact, Nexon argues, means that much standard political terminology has only secondary relevance for the early modern period. The Florentine city state, the French monarchy, and the Habsburg empires shared the characteristics common to all composite states, despite their other differences; so also, Nexon suggests, do numerous contemporary political arrangements.

Religious movements had explosive effects on polities so organized, and these cannot be adequately explained in either materialist or cultural terms. Rather, Nexon argues, analysts need to focus on the interplay between organization and ideas: new religious commitments changed relations between rulers and subjects and among subject groups. Before Martin Luther, rulers could use specific discourses ("polyvalent signaling," in Nexon's terminology) with these groups, convincing each that its demands were being heard; meanwhile subjects, divided by language, culture, and interests, had difficulty speaking to one another. The Reformations forced rulers to speak a single language on at least some issues, and created new alliances among subjects, within states and across state boundaries. The book's first four chapters develop models for understanding these processes; four more chapters retell the real-life details, as they played out in the Habsburg monarchies, the French Wars of Religion, and the Peace of Westphalia.

Historians will learn from these analyses (despite some inevitable factual errors), and they will find Nexon's models linking internal and international politics helpful and stimulating. But the book also holds some unsettling surprises for the historian reader. Except for a few decorative flourishes, it relies entirely on secondary studies, and mainly on Anglo-American studies at that: I count four foreign-language items in the book's thirty-one-page list of references. Some translated works do appear in those pages, but there are also startling absences: Fernand Braudel, Jan de Vries, Roland Mousnier, Natalie Zemon Davis, Heiko Oberman, and Quentin Skinner are among the missing, as is Philip Benedict's brilliant overview of international Calvinism. More is at stake here than disciplinary fussiness. Nexon's choice of materials ensures that his historical actors are heard only faintly and indirectly, and that their religious and political values remain simplistic ab-

stractions. The book's reliance on English-language scholarship also risks a more subtle distortion. Nexon writes from within the culture of today's hegemonic power, and he shows few signs of engaging with historical cultures whose experience of international hegemony has been more cataclysmic than our own.

It is hard not to link this America-centrism to one of Nexon's principal interpretive choices: his treatment of early modern empires as essentially similar to the era's other composite states, facing the same problems and moved by similar interests. Doing so means downplaying the specific costs and violence associated with projecting power across long distances and big cultural barriers—in the past, and presumably in the present as well. Nexon says relatively little about such costs; economics holds a secondary place in his explanatory scheme, and ideas about "empire as a way of life," a specific way of controlling and distributing resources, have no place at all. His view of state violence likewise tends to minimize differences among forms of rule. He writes that even "such highly coercive bargains" as empire "still represent contractual relations" between ruler and ruled (p. 72); and he presents "the factors leading to [Spanish] overextension" (p. 233) as problems demanding explanation, rather than as predictable, commonplace accompaniments to empire. Not surprisingly, William Appleman Williams, Chalmers Johnson, and James C. Scott are also missing from the list of references.

Nexon dedicates his book to the late Charles Tilly, who helped direct the work as a dissertation and whose vision of historical social science informs it. Those who knew Tilly will be touched by the warmth of Nexon's prefatory tribute to him. But they will also note how wide the distance between historians and social scientists has become since Tilly conducted his own doctoral research, in the archives of provincial France. Nexon's book demonstrates that history remains important for practical thinking about the contemporary world. It also suggests a need for historians to assert their own ideas about what such a usable history should be.

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JACQUELINE BROAD and KAREN GREEN. *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400–1700*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 334. \$99.00.

That women created an intellectual tradition of their own for the first time in early modern Europe is being increasingly recognized. Recent studies making this point focus largely on Italy, France, and England. This book does the same, although it is the first on the history of political writing by women in these three linguistic and political communities. The salient conclusions are that women remained more traditional than men during this entire period (1400–1700) in terms of political theory. There was no Thomas Hobbes or John Locke among them: that is, none who based political organi-

zation on secular rather than religious principles, none who challenged the religious foundation of the state or, in France and England, the divine institution of monarchy (not an issue in Italy). Mary Wollstonecraft was the first woman to do so, almost a century after Locke. Women also remained more traditional in accepting Aristotle's idea that politics and ethics go hand in hand, that politics requires virtue. Aristotle, however, did not believe women were capable of prudence, an essential political virtue, and so excluded them from the state. Early modern women denied Aristotle's assertion and sought to demonstrate women's virtue and therefore capability of being equal participants in public life. Christine de Pizan, in her *City of Ladies* (1405) demonstrated by many examples the political virtues of women throughout history. Marguerite de Navarre in the *Heptameron* (ca. 1547) suggested that women are actually morally superior to men. And Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) argued (and demonstrated) that women are as capable of ruling as men. At the same time most accepted the subordination of women to men, although Moderata Fonte in Italy (d. 1592), Gabrielle Suchon in France (d. 1703), and Mary Astell in England (d. 1731) argued for their independence from men as a condition for self-development. Astell was the first to propose an academy for girls. (She also supported absolute monarchy over against Locke.)

The questions of the status of monarchy and the equality of women and men were brought to the fore during the period of the English Civil War (1641–1651). For the first time the rhetoric of male tyranny and female slavery appeared in writings of English women (earlier Venetian women Fonte, Lucrezia Marinella [d. 1653], and Arcangela Tarabotti [d. 1652] discussed the topic). But the language of men's injustice toward women was addressed in a political context during the civil war period. John Lilburne and Richard Overton, leaders of the Leveller movement, argued that women should share in governance of the church since they had a duty to attain their own salvation. Leveller women followed suit. Katherine Chidley argued for freedom of conscience, but she did not argue for the equality of women and men. Nor did Chidley challenge the tyranny of men as a social group. But at the same time she affirmed that husbands have authority over wives in bodily and civil matters. Hence modern liberal political ideals cannot be read back into even these women writers. Nor can they be read back into Quaker women, who advocated the right of women to speak in church but stopped that right at the church door. Madeleine de Scudéry in France and Astell in England put forth important ideas regarding education during the latter half of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries, but not about politics. Hence the conclusion that early modern women were not modern secular liberals arguing the equality of the sexes, universal human rights, or equal participation of women and men in governance. The authors therefore make clear that modern understandings of "feminism" do not apply to these

writers. But what these women achieved was noteworthy nonetheless, and worth our attention.

Sarah Gwyneth Ross's *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*, also published in 2009, argues forcefully that there was an early modern female intellectual tradition and that it is "feminist" in a modern sense. The texts Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green analyze lead to more conservative conclusions. They also include a wider range of authors, since Ross's text takes little account of the political thought of early modern women writers. But both books represent a new wave of scholarship on early modern women. And their demonstration of the existence of an early modern intellectual tradition of women writers is a valuable new way of viewing women's history. Women's presence is enlarged, but at the same time so is that of all who study early modern Europe, for they will see more and more deeply than they thus far have done.

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ADAM C. STANLEY. *Modernizing Tradition: Gender and Consumerism in Interwar France and Germany*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 261. \$39.95.

Adam C. Stanley has written an imaginative book that enterprisingly combines studies of constructions of gender in France and Germany during the interwar years. This has required him to investigate sources in both French and German, and the result is an innovative and comparative synthesis. Stanley's premise is that, after women had participated in the public sphere during World War I to a greater than previous extent, there was a desire across the political spectrum for a return to prewar gender relations. This was reflected in an emphasis on domesticity and the harnessing of the newest technologies and techniques to support a traditional image of women as homemakers and mothers submissive to male authority. Stanley utilizes extensively advertisements for modern products found in the popular press and department stores' promotional literature to portray how interwar images of women were projected.

It seems, by implication only, that the images and the ideology relate to married, urban women. The countryside features solely as a tourist destination. The emphasis on women being subordinate to and guided by their husbands precludes consideration of single women who were, after all, the ones more likely to assume the role of "*la garçonne*" or "the new woman," against whom opinion-formers had set their faces. The alleged disapproval of (married?) women in employment discounts the essential and traditional role played in small family businesses—urban as well as rural—by female family members, including wives and married daughters. And what about the effects of World War I in altering the gender balance so that the larger num-



bers of single women had to—whether or not they wished to—manifest that independence denied by the gender constructions portrayed in this book? A very fleeting acknowledgement of this appears as late as chapter five, the last substantive chapter, instead of as essential contextual detail in the introduction.

The advertising material that Stanley draws on is copious and refers to a vast range of commodities, from baby food through domestic appliances and materials to automobiles. It embraces lifestyle choices, including sports and tourism. However, in the interwar era, there was nothing unusual about treating sports as recreation rather than as competitive or professional activity as is now predominantly the case. Therefore the absence of “competition and achievement” in advertisements geared toward attracting women to sports may reflect the attitudes of the time more to sport than to gender.

In spite of its accomplishments, then, this is a perplexing book. Certainly, it is about gender images and constructions and not about political policy. Yet the latter is essential context. Entirely missing is any acknowledgement that Western European constructions of gender roles in this period were at least partly conceived in stark opposition to a new model of gender construction in the Soviet Union that struck terror in the hearts of the European middle classes and devout Christians, in particular. These Bolshevik attitudes found an echo in the attitudes of indigenous communist parties of Western Europe, and of Germany in particular, especially in relation to the role of women in the public sphere and in reproductive matters. And what about the effects of the Great Depression on gender roles, with mass male unemployment especially? The Depression receives a few mentions in connection with automobile production, but little more. Again, the emphasis on advertisements for modern household appliances and other products may be justified, but a great many homes in both France and Germany did not have the electricity supply that was necessary to power these appliances. Stanley himself states that in 1928 less than half of Berlin homes had an electricity supply (p. 27); the figure was much lower in French and German small towns and the countryside. In any case, the ownership of the appliances that “modernized tradition” was very restricted, even among the middle classes, until after 1945.

In some respects, therefore, both the conception and the execution of this book are flawed. But the subject matter is engrossing and will appeal strongly to historians of both gender and consumption, as well as to social historians more generally.

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PAUL GLENNIE and NIGEL THRIFT. *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300–1800*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 456. \$70.00.

This meaty and informative study fruitfully revises the existing history of timekeeping, but the authors are unduly wary of offering their own big picture, which makes their conclusion disappointing. At heart, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift prefer to remain “splitters,” in the terminology of J. H. Hexter, himself a gifted splitter. His wording, though inelegant, highlighted a temperamental division among scholars. While “lumpers” happily fit the fragmentary data into grand narratives, “splitters” respond, often with some justification, that “things are really more complicated than that.”

Glennie and Thrift take respectful but careful aim at numerous colleagues but especially at one highly distinguished “lumper,” the heterodox Marxist historian, E. P. Thompson, whose classic article, “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,” was first published in 1967. It is a measure of the relative paucity of research in the field of horological studies that this forty-two-year-old study is still a prime target. Thompson argued, with much social and anthropological commentary, that “clock time” really arrived in people’s daily lived experience with the spread of industrialism in England and, in particular, with the advent of the factory.

Theoretical arguments and empirical evidence are marshalled against this view by the twin splitters, writing seamlessly together. There is not one “clock time” constituting a generalized *thing* throughout time—a point on which Thompson would have agreed. Instead there are pluralities of ideas, devices, and practices. For Glennie and Thrift, history’s unfolding is not linear but multilevelled and diversified. Five major chapters document variegated clock practices from the fifteenth century onward. Time-keeping devices, including publicly accessible clocks, bells, and sundials, offered pervasive time cues, especially for city dwellers, long before the spread of privately owned clocks and watches. Furthermore, such personal “timepieces” were diffused more widely and earlier than is often realized.

Literate people in the sixteenth—as in the eighteenth—century referred in diaries and letters to an understanding of measured time. Schools also imposed a temporal discipline. “Now at five of the clock by the moonlight I must go to my book—and let sleep and sloth alone” ran the saying (c. 1500), attributed to a twelve-year-old boy (p. 231). Whether he actually arrived on time remains doubtful. Nonetheless, there was a timetable and an intended discipline, known to the young. Such indicators confirmed “the sheer density of temporal infrastructure in early modern England” (p. 157).

Turning to the eighteenth-century culture of astronomical research and technological experimentation, Glennie and Thrift document the quest of navigators to find reliable measurements to establish longitude at sea. Of course, not all improvements were immediately adopted. Cautious seafarers stuck to what they knew, while the incompetent stuck with their ignorance. Here the authors make the salient point that successful technological upgrading depends not only upon producers’

inventions but also upon users' skills and willingness to adopt new ways.

Their final research chapter concludes with a revisionist account of the horological genius, John Harrison. He did not emerge from "nowhere" to invent the marine chronometer, as is often claimed. Instead, he came from an established community of provincial clockmakers and, furthermore, he could tap into national networks of scientific inquiry.

The research ingenuity and rich detail of Glennie and Thrift's study enable them to refute many generalizations. Not for them a story of technological triumphalism in the later eighteenth century, *en route* to a glorious "modernity," nor for them a jeremiad on the loss of pre-industrial freedom and the imposition of strict timetables, *en route* to an inglorious "modernity." There was no general change, whether for better or worse, with the advent of industrialization. Indeed, splitters among the economic historians have already disputed the timing and even the existence of "the" Industrial Revolution in the later eighteenth century.

That said, however, Glennie and Thrift almost make an alternative case for a "slow burn" of evolutionary changes (pp. 407–414), which could be related to commercialization and urbanization from the sixteenth century onward. An older terminology would have called this the era of not of "industrial capitalism" but of a prior "merchant capitalism." Of course, other splitters challenge that concept too. All the associations of "capitalism," like "modernity," have become overstretched and underspecified.

Yet the need remains for a better analysis of change, not for abstention. Glennie and Thrift ultimately prefer "episodes in the history of clock time" and "segregated spaces that cannot (and perhaps should not) be allowed to coalesce" (pp. 58, 61). Time, however, is unidirectional and produces an unfolding history, which links pluralism into a temporal whole. Spatial episodes do not remain segregated. Things do happen together, even if in different places. Space after all is yoked into space-time or (better) time-space. So, in the history of clocks and time-keeping, many changes evolved and coalesced, as Glennie and Thrift show but do not quite say.

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CHRISTOPHER W. BROOKS. *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 456. \$130.00.

Christopher W. Brooks's comprehensive new study focuses on the place of law in early modern English society. Casting the law as the protagonist, he seeks to reintegrate the history of law, legal institutions, and the legal professions with the general political and social history of England between the ascension of the Tudors in the late fifteenth century and the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. Brooks notes that, despite the widespread use of legal sources by historians of so-

cial and cultural history and the increase in the study of the history of crime, ecclesiastical courts, civil litigation, the legal profession, and the permeation of the common law in early modern political thought, the history of law "as a societal institution" (p. 3) and its role as an organizing framework of society has been neglected.

In the first part of the book Brooks explores the history of the "common law mind" and its development throughout the Tudor reigns to explicate the relationships between legal thought and political and constitutional issues. Drawing on law reports, legal treatises, and a wide array of manuscripts, the book traces the legal issues confronting common law lawyers, servants of the crown, and members of Parliament as they struggled to define the relationship between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, to ascertain the role of Parliament as it faced the uncertainty of the succession during Elizabeth's reign, and to agree upon the limits and constraints on monarchical prerogative in the run up to Civil War. The second half of the book takes a thematic approach as it investigates the nature of local legal institutions, the responsiveness of localities to national policies, the enforcement of statutes and regulations, and the impact of the local on parliamentary legislation. The sheer number and range of sources is impressive: Brooks examines understudied local jurisdictions including manorial courts, leet courts, borough courts, and church courts, but what is more valuable to legal, social, and cultural historians is the expert knowledge of legal instruments (such as deeds, conveyances, and copyholds) that he draws on to show how the legal fabric was woven. For Brooks, "law appears to offer a tantalizing opportunity to transcend the divide between political and social history" (p. 10), and the book lucidly models how historians might do this.

Brooks has masterfully deployed a wide range of sources—including moots and readings on statutes as well as charges read on circuit to assize and quarter sessions juries—to show how the common law adapted to changing social and economic situations and emerged as the source of stability in every debate about governance, order, and power. He convincingly demonstrates that the constitutional issues that led to civil war were disputed by lawyers, judges, and members of Parliament in Westminster and responded to the gentry and country squires charged with enforcing the law in the provinces. Through an analysis of the ways in which legal agreements shaped quotidian economic transactions, Brooks shows how thoroughly the law permeated the daily lives of people at all levels of the social and economic scale. Far from being an intellectual game of abstraction, Brooks reminds us that those who argued on the wrong side of legal opinion or disobeyed social, moral, or economic regulation at the local level faced real consequences ranging from trading restrictions and minor punishment to forced retirement, imprisonment, and execution.

With its stress on the value of law as an organizing

structure and its reliance on sources generated by English legal culture, the book often reaches conclusions that emphasize consensus and minimize conflicts of all kinds between popular and elite culture. Brooks has ample evidence for his conclusions, but one wonders about some of the conflicts and power struggles that law enabled and facilitated rather than resolving. What did "one of the most striking features of the culture of the rule of law in the early modern period: the existence of a language of liberty" (p. 423) mean in the context of the "integration" of Wales, attempts at the "perfect union" with Scotland under James, and the colonization of Ireland? Despite the expansion of English dominion into surrounding regions and the recurrence of the word "empire" in his sources, Brooks does not consider a full-fledged analysis of what empire meant to early modern English society and how the legal framework—so ubiquitous to the "common law mind" he explicates (and so often employed as a justification for the English occupation of Ireland)—enabled empire to emerge as a project for early modern contemporaries. The same is true of the word "slavery"—used in the debates running up to the English Civil War even as ownership of colonial plantations and involvement in the colonial slave trade expanded. The insights of cultural history which Brooks avoids might inspire future legal studies that take up these issues.

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STEFANIA TUTINO. *Thomas White and the Blackloists: Between Politics and Theology during the English Civil War*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2008. Pp. xiv, 213. \$99.95.

Until recently, studies on Catholicism in early modern England, especially pertaining to the middle decades of the seventeenth century, have been few and historiographically isolated. With the rise of revisionism and significant contributions from John Bossy, Arthur F. Marotti, Eamon Duffy, and others, scholarship has moved this topic from the margin toward the center, taking seriously the role of Catholic liturgy, philosophy, and theology in altering the religious landscape of early modern England. Stefania Tutino's book amiably continues this historiographical trajectory by offering a thick description, a more nuanced narrative, and the first intellectual biography of Thomas White—a curiously neglected philosophical opponent of Thomas Hobbes—and his colleagues Kenelm Digby and Henry Holden, members of a group called the Blackloists.

One of Tutino's authorial *desiderata* was to "provide more questions than answers." It seems, however, she does far more than raise questions, for her book, compactly written and cogently argued, illuminates the hitherto underexplored aspects of English religious and intellectual history by putting White and the Blackloists at the key nexus between old and new paradigms in scientific and religious discourse.

After setting the historical and ecclesiastical context of the English Catholic Church immediately before the Civil War in chapter one, Tutino proceeds to offer a scintillating account of the emergence of the Blackloists' natural philosophy, comprised as an amalgam of Aristotelianism, atomism, and certain influences from alchemy. This natural philosophy had a spillover effect in the way White construed the task of theology, configured as more rational and not hermetically sealed off from the critique from natural philosophy. White envisaged a model of reciprocity between natural philosophy and theology, although which field has the upper hand is frustratingly allusive, an ambiguity soon to be resolved in the hegemony of philosophy over theology as Tutino encapsulates the *geist* of White's endeavors to "build a system in which God could avoid meddling with nature, without ceasing his relationship with mankind altogether" (p. 41). White's preoccupation with certitude—a common intellectual pursuit among early modern thinkers, as Richard H. Popkin, Barbara Shapiro, and others have shown—was resolvable only by adhering to the dual authority of the church and tradition. White's 1651 treatise against Lucius Cary's discourse on infallibility established another notion increasingly incompatible with the new notions of science and reason as the ultimate epistemological authority.

In her discussion of the Blackloists' views on politics and ecclesiology, Tutino shows the subtlety and ingenuity of their Gallicanism with an English twist and how the question of allegiance—be it to the papacy or the sovereign state—did not produce a uniform perspective among Holden ("a Gallican in England"), Digby ("a Catholic Political Acrobat"), and White ("a Catholic political theorist"). She develops in chapters four and five White's political theology and the relationship between Oliver Cromwell and the Blackloists, with both chapters providing fascinating insight into the complexities of the question of political allegiance, the absorption of the "religious other" whose loyalty was suspect, and the reconfiguration of the English republic with diverse religious groups as tolerated members of the commonwealth. Eschewing facile distinctions among confessional allegiance, political commitments, and scientific method, Tutino offers a discussion of the intriguing convergence among White, Digby, and John Wallis (the Savilian Professor of Geometry since 1649 and a key member of the John Wilkins Circle at Oxford) as an example of intellectual cross-currents, overlapping—though not transcending—confessional boundaries for the sake of philosophical and scientific agendas, particularly in their common opposition to Hobbesian materialism, which proved unacceptable to Wallis the Presbyterian, Seth Ward the hard-nosed Episcopalian, and the Catholic Blackloists.

One figure virtually absent from Tutino's description of White is Hobbes himself. Considering that White's *De Mundo Dialogi Tres* (1642) was answered by Hobbes and that the two had a rather complex personal and philosophical relationship, closer analysis would have added another layer to Tutino's fine study within the

"contextualism" school of historiography. This quibble notwithstanding, the book is a welcome contribution to our understanding of both White and the Blackloists, and in a dialectical exercise, those with whom they interacted philosophically, politically, ecclesiologically, and scientifically.

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NICHOLAS D. JACKSON. *Hobbes, Bramhall and the Politics of Liberty and Necessity: A Quarrel of the Civil Wars and Interregnum*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 331. \$99.00.

The intellectual career of Thomas Hobbes was filled with controversies. Indeed, in a century marked by significant "battles of the books" Hobbes stands out as one of the most prominent controversialists. His thoroughgoing materialist metaphysics, highly unorthodox theology, idiosyncratic biblical interpretation, and innovative political theory put him at odds with many in the European intellectual world. Further, his steadfast rejection of the received Aristotelian natural philosophy and "school metaphysics" brought him into conflict with those who upheld the traditional account of man, God, and nature. The aim of the present book is to present Hobbes's controversy with John Bramhall, the Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, which began in 1645–1646 in a series of private exchanges but became public in 1654 and lasted until Bramhall's death in 1663. The scholarship on Hobbes has seen several extensive studies of his political, scientific, and mathematical controversies, but this is the first book devoted to an account of the quarrel with Bramhall. It is in nearly every respect a welcome addition to the literature.

Nicholas D. Jackson's main aim is to put the controversy between Bramhall and Hobbes in its appropriate political and social context, and he does an admirable job. The subject of the controversy was the vexed question of free will: namely, whether human actions are rigidly determined by antecedent causes that necessitate them, or whether at least some instances of human action are freely willed (in the sense that they depend only upon the agent's will, which itself is unconstrained by antecedent causes). This subject might well seem to have few, if any, political overtones. Nevertheless, in the context of the religious conflicts of seventeenth-century England the issue goes straight to the heart of a fundamental difference between Anglican and Puritan thought.

Jackson rightly stresses that the metaphysical differences between Hobbes and Bramhall were connected to broader issues of religion and politics, chief among which was the question of the status of bishops in a properly ordered commonwealth. Hobbes's political theory requires that the civil sovereign is the ultimate authority in matters of religion, so that bishops derive their power from the sovereign rather than directly from God or from a church whose authority supersedes

that of the civil power. Bramhall, in contrast, held that the office of bishop was sanctioned *jure divino* and could not be subordinated to the claims of the civil authority. One's views on free will are obviously independent of his or her stance on the status of *jure divino* episcopacy, but the difference of opinion between Hobbes and Bramhall on this point was an important contributing factor to their quarrel. Likewise, Hobbes's emphatic rejection of traditional Aristotelian philosophy, along with the associated "school divinity" he dismissed as "canting and fraud," contrasts sharply with Bramhall's allegiance to the philosophy of the schools and his suspicion of such "innovators" as Hobbes, Francis Bacon, or René Descartes.

Jackson's account of the Hobbes-Bramhall dispute is organized chronologically. The first two chapters introduce us to Bramhall, the "Great Arminian" who rose through the Anglican ranks in Ireland in the 1630s and whose close alliance with the Royalist cause eventually led him to flee England for the continent in 1644 as Royalist prospects grew ever dimmer. In France Bramhall met other Royalist expatriates, including William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, and Hobbes (whose service to the Cavendish family was longstanding and would continue to the end of his life). Chapters three and four detail the background to Bramhall's association with Hobbes and Newcastle, and the origins of the dispute over free will. The controversy began when Newcastle requested that Hobbes and Bramhall debate the topic at his Paris residence some time in the summer of 1645. Later in the same year, both Bramhall and Hobbes wrote extensive letters to Newcastle summarizing their arguments and the matter remained a private affair for several years. Jackson's fifth and sixth chapters detail Bramhall's work on behalf of the Royalist cause in exile in the period 1646–1650 and give an account of Hobbes's activities in the same period, culminating in his writing of *Leviathan* (1651). What had been a purely private debate on the metaphysics of free will made its way into print in 1654 with the unauthorized publication of Hobbes's 1645 paper under the title *Of Liberty and Necessity*, complete with a virulent anticlerical preface. Bramhall felt himself bound to respond, and the result was an exchange of polemical pamphlets that dragged on until 1658. Jackson's seventh and eighth chapters detail this exchange, and his ninth chapter describes how the controversy ran its course in the 1660s.

On the whole, the writing is clear and engaging, and the level of scholarship is high. There are only two respects in which the book disappoints. The first is Jackson's frequent suggestion that Hobbes's pronouncements on matters of religion violate his own political theory by assuming an authority that rightly belongs only to the sovereign. He writes that Hobbes "tacitly assumes the authority to pronounce upon various controversial theological questions," and asks "by what authority, according to his own teaching, did he think himself warranted in making such judgments?" (p. 74). Elsewhere, he considers Hobbes to have "usurped au-



thority to pronounce upon religious questions" (p. 200) and seems to endorse Bramhall's accusation that Hobbes's had "usurped the authority to declare good and evil" (p. 249). This sort of objection misconstrues Hobbes's account of a subject's obligations.

The second respect in which Jackson's account comes up short is in his assessment of Hobbes's and Bramhall's arguments on the question of free will. In Jackson's view, the question whether or not there is freedom of the will cannot be answered. He asserts, "failure to demonstrate free-will is no different from a failure to demonstrate that God exists: it is the outcome that awaits anyone who attempts to prove the unprovable" (p. 114), and later adds that "neither the determinist nor the libertarian view can be demonstrated or proven to be true" (p. 296). If Jackson could actually show that the question is *in principle* irresolvable, this would be a most interesting philosophical result: we would then be in the position to assert that either determinism is true (yet incapable of being shown to be so) or the denial of determinism is true (but equally incapable of being proven). But this way of thinking about the issue misconceives what Hobbes, at least, thought he was doing.

These criticisms aside, Jackson's book is a significant contribution to the literature and will be of value to anyone interested in Hobbes, the political and religious struggles of the English Civil Wars, or in seventeenth-century intellectual history.

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ANNABEL PATTERSON. *The Long Parliament of Charles II*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. vii, 283. \$45.00.

With a clever turn of phrase in the title of her book, Annabel Patterson reminds us that the Parliament that assembled in 1661 and sat through eighteen sessions before its dissolution in 1678 is more aptly called the "Long Parliament" than its more traditional nomenclature, the Cavalier Parliament. The title also highlights why we do not have a monograph that covers the entire Parliament; it lasted too long for a conventional scholarly book. As might be expected from one of the foremost literary scholars of the English Renaissance, Patterson does not attempt to write a traditional history of the Parliament. Instead she focuses her analysis on the sources generated within Parliament, from Charles II's speeches to diaries of MPs and newsletters sent to the country relating parliamentary affairs. Pithily written and without the slightest fear of hiding in the bushes, Patterson very clearly lays out her agenda: King Charles II was the bad guy; those who "opposed" him fighting for liberty, greater political freedom, and a less censorious press were the good guys whom we should like and admire. Whiggish in the extreme and unafraid to express her opinion, Patterson launches an all out assault on Charles and those Anglican Royalists in Parliament who supported the king. It may be anachronistic, but it is certainly a refreshing change from the cau-

tious and ideologically "neutral" ground of the historian's craft.

The first two sections of the book that detail her methodology and the textual analysis of the writings in and about Parliament are undoubtedly the strongest and most rewarding. Patterson chooses to focus on the parliamentary sources, making them the "center of the story" (p. 8). This close textual work pays immediate benefits as Patterson astutely analyzes the king's speeches to Parliament, discovering duplicity and "out-right lies" and, perhaps more importantly, how "counterproductive" they were in furthering the king's agenda. She then turns to those who recorded and disseminated parliamentary proceedings, from the diarists and memoirists to the illegal "scofflaw pamphlets" that circulated throughout England at times of parliamentary crises. As might be expected, Andrew Marvell plays a starring role here both in his detailed letters back to his constituency of Hull and through Patterson's reading of his *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (1678). Something is missing, however, and that is a willingness to read this material in the context of the enormous amount of scholarly work done on parliamentary diaries and the circulation of information. Admittedly, much of this falls in the early Stuart and Civil War periods, but nevertheless the chapters would have benefited from a greater engagement with the historiography and methodology of those working in the earlier periods, especially Richard Cust, Ian Atherton, and Fritz Levy on parliamentary news, and even harking back to Wallace Notestein on the use and collection of separates.

The third section, which examines the parliamentary sessions, suffers both from the lack of space that Patterson has to work with and her insistent focus only on religion and foreign policy. While these are undoubtedly the key political issues and the points of crisis over parliamentary resistance that Patterson finds in 1673–1674, 1675, and 1677–1678, we are left with only a picture of continuing crises, wondering how the Restoration regime survived at all. Hampered by this, the 1675 session receives a scant fourteen and a half pages and other sessions fare little better. This is in many ways unfortunate, as Patterson's use of lengthy quotations does provide a real flavor for the speeches in Parliament and the type of information being sent back to the counties. Perhaps too we would have gained some insight into whether the sessions just lurched from flashpoint to flashpoint or some consensus actually developed around less controversial matters.

The last section of the book, which details how parliamentary history came to be written and its proceedings published in the eighteenth century, is a fascinating account. Patterson even provides us with a likely candidate for the interest in Parliament as the editor of *Grey's Debates of the House of Commons* (1763): James Ralph, a Whig and friend of Benjamin Franklin no less. His story is lively and interesting but sits awkwardly at the end of the book and would have served better as a stand-alone article rather than as a lengthy epilogue.

The past few years have seen something of a revival of interest in the second half of the seventeenth century, from Tim Harris's important two volumes, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (2005) and *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (2006), to Steve Pincus's radical reinterpretation of the Glorious Revolution, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (2009). Patterson's work is a welcome addition to this growing body of scholarship on post-Restoration England, but as rewarding as individual chapters of the book may be, we still lack a thorough study of the long Parliament of Charles II.

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BRENDAN SIMMS. *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783*. New York: Basic Books. 2007. Pp. xvii, 802. \$39.95.

Diplomatic history began the twentieth century as among the most rigorous and prestigious of historical genres, a status that World War I only enhanced; by the early twenty-first century, however, its reputation for Dryasdust formalism is equally widespread. In this book Brendan Simms ably rehabilitates his subject in a geopolitical study ranging over two continents and three reigns to provide a fluent survey of Britain's rise to, and loss of, superpower status. One of its merits is that it makes diplomacy both intelligible and fascinating. And it also has a clear thesis. In this analysis, diplomatic success—not manufacturing growth or increasing tax-raising ability—was primarily responsible for building up state power. In the public sphere, “Foreign policy, rather than taxation, popular unrest, religion, elections or colonial expansion, was the central political preoccupation in eighteenth-century Britain” (p. 1). Moreover, this is an explicitly Europe-centered study: for Simms it was not the navy that was the key to victory, and not in the Caribbean or Indian Ocean, but the army, and in Europe, primarily in Germany and the Low Countries. This fact demanded a strategic vision extending across the whole continent. British ministers (at least, the Whigs) were Europeans.

Simms is among a generation of scholars who have rightly recovered the often-overlooked significance of the continental connection established by the accession to the British throne of the House of Hanover in 1714. Unlike eighteenth-century Tories, Simms analyzes this connection positively, as a source of strength. For him, the personal union with Hanover was the entry ticket to the great game of European alliances; Britain played that game in his first three conflicts with remarkable ability, in his fourth with disastrous ineptness. In this volume the American Revolution was decided not by patriotic colonists but by Britain's failure to retain its allies on the European continent, so that from 1778 it faced overwhelming odds against an array of European enemies. How much of this isolation was deliberate British policy is less clear.

Simms therefore defines himself against a historio-

graphical tradition that elevated imperial and naval history over diplomatic relations with the European continent (and, by implication, against the “new imperial history”). His story is of rational grand strategy, not of the intricacies of diplomacy from which, others might argue, unexpected results arose. Military historians too might contemplate the unpredictable results of battles, and their unforeseen consequences. If one element is downplayed here, it is chance; although Simms acknowledges its role in principle, he knows that there was a right answer in grand strategy, and that this right answer generally brought victory.

What was that right answer? Simms presents his three victories as the results of successfully forged continental alliances in defense of notions (to some, nebulous; to him, real) of the “balance of power,” the “Protestant interest,” and the “liberties of Europe” (p. 670). This may be debated, especially if one questions the success of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714): the land war in Spain failed in its major strategic objective of excluding a Bourbon from the Spanish throne and so failed to prevent a Franco-Spanish dynastic alliance. If American independence was a delayed result of the battle of Almanza (1707), the issues would be more complex; yet that battle is mentioned only in passing (p. 56). A different count is possible: two defeats (the wars of 1702–1714 and 1776–1783), one draw (1740–1748) and one victory (1756–1763). That would, to say the least, complicate the analysis. We might also add a draw in the war of 1689–1697, not examined closely here.

Simms argues that Britain was saved in his three first conflicts by three things: good luck, the mistakes of her enemies, and “the capacity of the executive and the political nation to rally around a policy of engagement in Europe” (p. 669). We might further consider the first two. Not surprisingly, he sees “remarkably familiar” debates conducted today between Euroskeptics and Europhiles (p. 2), but there are more sophisticated exponents of the non-Europeanist historical case than H. E. Marshall and Arthur Bryant, whom he cites, and closer engagement with alternative positions would have added to this book's many strengths. Simms rightly acknowledges, in places, the mutually supporting nature of land and sea forces, of transoceanic and continental strategy, but the main thrust of his book is a cogent and well-informed stress on the latter. The reduction of possible strategies to two is also over-formulaic.

These questions are sure to generate debate around this important and eloquent study. Simms has provided by far the best overview of the “continental” perspective on British diplomacy in the period.

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JAMES LIVESEY. *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. (The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 294. \$45.00.

This convincing intellectual history retells a canonical story about the emergence of the idea of “civil society” in the middle of the eighteenth century. Scholars have explained that emergence either in reference to European state-building or to the energies of Scottish thinkers excluded from the heart of British national power by the 1707 Act of Union. James Livesey’s primary insight is to shift the explanatory context from “nation” to “empire,” folding in the Irish case and playing out the consequences, both in the turbulent decade of the French Revolution and in our present day.

Three nations (read, historical communities) were yoked together in the empire of the British Union. Excluded from English political liberty, provincial elites in Ireland and Scotland, beginning with the generation born in the 1710s and 1720s, developed the idea of an alternative sphere of agency and freedom: civil society. The power of Livesey’s insight is revealed, first, in how the idea developed and cohered in relation to specifically imperial circumstances and events, and second in how, born in exclusion from political power, civil society contained the seeds of its own demise.

Two early chapters on the Irish case investigate the intellectual innovations made by Protestants and Catholics respectively. The activities of the Protestant Dublin Society explored a socially grounded vision of nation that promised to reconcile Irish dependency and British liberty. The Society’s associational practices were a means of compensation for a colonial elite. Catholics, meanwhile, found their way to a similar social idea for different reasons. As a politically defeated and confessionally excluded community, they articulated civil society as a realm superior to politics which might incarnate virtue, especially that of religious charity. This development was not merely derivative or imitative but made up of Ciceronian notions of friendship and French mystical Catholicism.

Coffeehouse culture in England—where, at the self-serving heart of empire, there was no need for a sustained philosophical discussion of associational life, but plenty of innovation in practice—and the hearkening to civil society of one trading family, the Blacks, in response to imperial change, occupy other chapters. But the Irish case is followed most importantly by chapter five on the Scottish science of society. This is perhaps the most familiar topic in the book, here re-illuminated by the imperial context and the Irish link. In conversation with their Irish counterparts, Scottish thinkers turned civil society into a master category, a universalizing move born of their biographies as frustrated men on the periphery of empire. The right kind of British liberty was the institutional context in which the moral sense engendered new social forms marked by politeness and sentiment. This was a position of accommodationist imperial critique, rejecting English nationalism and the threat to modern liberty of imperial extension by offering a new notion of society and empire.

If not among the later Scottish thinkers, in the hands of David Hume, Livesey’s standard-bearer, the idea of

civil society attained a genuine coherence. For Hume’s insight is that which Livesey follows: the ethics of civil society were an accommodation to a uniquely powerful imperial state. Unlike his more timid colleagues, Hume integrated politics and society by providing an anatomy in which political and moral experiences were rooted in the passions. (Livesey suggests the move was so alien and so audacious as to be “monstrous.”) More typically, though, the idea of civil society was unable to recognize a proper relation to politics and to the hard reality of contention. Presuming a social peace, the idea could not effectively enable Irish reformist desires. In the early 1790s, looking to France, the United Irishmen presumed the inevitability of a peaceful revolution in and for civil society. They had no serious political agenda except for suffrage. Indeed, because of the fundamentally utopian notion of civil society, they had no political wits. In combination with an increasingly repressive British state, the effect was a bloodbath.

The exclusion of the American mainland and Caribbean colonies from this imperial British “Atlantic” story may artificially limit the implications of Livesey’s account. The North American case is presented as separate because of the radical break of revolution, but that revolution was late in the history of ideas told here, and was surely motivated and informed by the idea of civil society. This is nonetheless a powerful intervention in the history of empire and of ideas that demands a broad audience of eighteenth-century and British Atlantic historians. Indeed, the frequent illuminating comparisons and connections to continental Europe, especially to France, suggest that Europeanists too have much to learn here.

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DEBORAH BRUNTON. *The Politics of Vaccination: Practice and Policy in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, 1800–1874*. (Rochester Studies in Medical History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2008. Pp. 255. \$85.00.

In 1799 the World Health Organization announced the eradication of smallpox, a scourge that caused huge mortality beginning with its emergence in approximately 10,000 B.C. and mutilated those sufferers it did not kill. Smallpox was defeated by vaccination, a technique adapted by Edward Jenner and others from older variolation practices and pioneered in Britain beginning in 1796. Deborah Brunton describes and compares the implementation of vaccination services in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, offering compelling arguments about why vaccination operated and was accepted differently in these different places and linking its administration to the professionalization of medicine and introduction of public health initiatives during the mid-nineteenth century. She also places recent research on anti-vaccination beliefs and activities in useful perspective, maintaining that opposition to vacci-

nation was significant only in England and was less central to either popular health culture or enforcement of compulsory vaccination laws than has been argued elsewhere.

Following private and charitable introduction of vaccination services in the early nineteenth century, the first Vaccination Act for England and Wales was passed in 1840. From this point onward, the question was not whether there should be a vaccination service, but what form it should take and how the public could be induced to make use of it. In 1848, the Scottish Poor Law began to vaccinate paupers. In 1851, the Medical Charities Act empowered Irish dispensary officers to vaccinate anyone free of charge. Brunton identifies as the broad goals of these services "to make vaccination compulsory for infants and to ensure that the poor had access to free vaccination" (p. 163). Her study focuses on the processes involved in enacting vaccination legislation, setting up and implementing vaccination services, and encouraging or enforcing public use of those services. Challenges common to all parts of Britain included the medical community's resistance to anyone offering vaccination services other than themselves and to the low fees for vaccination offered by government authorities. Further challenges included possible delivery mechanisms for vaccination services and enforcement of vaccination laws.

Brunton argues that in England and Wales the central government, dominated by John Simon, linked vaccination services strongly to Poor Law unions. This trend had the benefit of broad national coverage and comparatively systematic administration. Its downside consisted of widespread resistance from medical practitioners, who objected to the work being done by specifically qualified public vaccinators, and public anti-vaccination sentiment, which was more widespread there than in Ireland and Scotland. By comparison, Irish vaccination services were not successfully delivered by Poor Law authorities, but were effectively administered through medical charities. In Scotland, only paupers were vaccinated by parish vaccinators; most registered vaccinations were provided by private medical practitioners. It is noteworthy that in England and Wales, despite or perhaps because of the enforcement imposed, vaccination was less pervasive and effective than in Scotland and Ireland.

This book is useful, not only as a study of smallpox vaccination, but in its observation of the interactions between medical interests and public policy, as well as the complex relationships between government authority and popular action. It suggests implications for current national and global struggles to control disease—not least important of which is the conclusion that one size never fits all, but that local strategies must be tailored to local conditions.

Nonetheless, the book is flawed. The chapters on England and Wales, which comprise almost two-thirds of the study, suffer from a forest-trees problem, where the welter of detail obscures argument. Furthermore, despite its focus on professional medical issues, the book

provides little information about what was driving policy or medical interest in vaccination. Discussion of medical conceptualization (and its translation into political argument) of why vaccination worked against smallpox would have been a helpful addition to an otherwise useful study of an important and under-researched history.

LUCINDA MCCRAY BEIER  
*Appalachian State University*

ANGUS HAWKINS. *The Forgotten Prime Minister: The 14th Earl of Derby*. Volume II, *Achievement: 1851–1869*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 529. \$70.00.

This book deals with a Conservative resurgence. Well-connected with strong aristocratic links and a paternalist by nature, its protagonist revived the fortunes of his party in opposition and created an answer to a period of "liberal" rule in Britain. Angus Hawkins describes the man's ascent to the office of prime minister after long years in the wilderness and a period of internal turmoil. The person described was heir to a long tradition of Conservatism, yet he was also willing to forge a distinctive "new" style of Tory politics at a time when the current was running in the direction of reform. It is possible to continue the comparisons between the fourteenth Earl of Derby and the current leader of the British Conservative Party, David Cameron. Indeed, it is no coincidence that a book about the life of a previous Conservative leader who returned the party to office after a period of opposition should appear at just this moment in time. Until recently, biographies of leading Labour politicians were the order of the day. The scale of the Conservative revival in Britain may be measured by the increasing interest in the party's past leaders and governments, beginning with former Conservative leader William Hague's *William Pitt the Younger: A Biography* (2004). Hawkins invites comparisons between the Earl of Derby and more recent Conservative leaders by placing his subject in the tradition of Stanley Baldwin, Harold Macmillan, and R. A. Butler in eschewing jingoism and "divisive ideology" and fostering a "nation [that] wished to be at ease with measured progress" (p. 408).

To reduce this volume to a mere reflection of current political tendencies is to do some disservice to Hawkins. The volume under review is the second part of a two-volume life of the fourteenth Earl of Derby that by itself runs to 529 pages. The fruit of many years of research, the scale of the project was made possible by the author's use of hitherto neglected sources at Liverpool Record Office. This material sheds light on a subject who has had no previous serious biographical treatment, and provides the basis for Hawkins's claim that Derby is "the forgotten prime minister." Well-known for his work on mid-nineteenth-century parliamentary politics in Britain, Hawkins is the first historian of that period in some time who can claim genuine discoveries. The result is a highly detailed and specialized analysis of the Derby ministries of 1852, 1858–1859, and 1866–



1868, and of Conservative responses to reform at the time of the 1866–1867 reform bill debates.

Hawkins's biographical treatment provides some interesting insights. In particular, Derby's own trajectory from Whiggery into Conservatism demonstrates the shifting and fluid nature of Whig politics at a time of transition and rapid political change. Moreover, Derby's response to parliamentary reform liberates Conservatism from the charges of opportunism usually associated with the name of Benjamin Disraeli. The Earl of Derby emerges from this treatment as a far more significant figure in the second reform bill debates than is usually appreciated. This volume will undoubtedly force British political historians to re-examine some of the issues surrounding British Conservatism in the 1860s. It is, however, something of a pity that Hawkins works so diligently to recapture the world of high politics and yet neglects the fascinating social role of the Derby family in Lancashire. For anyone brought up in Lancashire or in Liverpool, the Derby family is inescapable. "Eagle and Child" pubs named after the Derby coat of arms are part of the popular iconography of the area. Scattered throughout this volume are insights into the benevolent role and practical paternalism practiced by the Derby family from their estate at Knowsley that shed considerable light on the position of the old aristocratic families in the region. More analysis of the role of the Derby family in alleviating the impact of the cotton famine during the American Civil War would have provided the opportunity for a reappraisal of the politics of patrician benevolence as well as answering recent criticisms of the nineteenth-century British aristocracy. Unfortunately such insights are never organized in any systematic way, and the politics of the local, as opposed to the high and the purely parliamentary, remains frustratingly neglected throughout. In short this is unashamedly a work of "high" politics and of conventional political biography. In many places the author's choice works well; elsewhere in the volume, however, opportunities are missed to re-examine the intersections between high and low politics.

ANTONY TAYLOR  
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FERGUS CAMPBELL. *The Irish Establishment, 1879–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 344. \$110.00.

Fergus Campbell's new book investigates various facets of prerevolutionary Irish elites, defined as "the 1200 or so most powerful people who—arguably—'ruled' Ireland during the three decades before 1914" (p. 1). This establishment is broken down into six constituent groups: landlords, government officials, police officers, elected politicians, businessmen, and churchmen. Campbell analyzes these groups primarily through statistical data, highlighting such factors as age, wealth, education, marital status, social background, and religion.

The book's main strength lies in its approach. Con-

sidering the Irish elite as a unified category is innovative and intriguing, and Campbell uses the techniques of bottom-up, data-driven social history in the study of an elite group, rather than assessing elite actors based on actions or ideologies. In so doing, he answers Peter Hart's call for more quantitative analysis of the Irish revolution. Campbell also argues that this "social history of the powerful" is critical to understanding prerevolutionary Irish life (p. 2). Certainly, greater insight into these elites provides a better sense of what the revolutionaries claimed to be opposing, as well as exposing the closed nature of that elite caste. Campbell also nicely supports some of this statistical analysis with qualitative sources, including memoirs, letters, and memoranda. The interconnectedness of this elite—the gathering together of which is the book's major innovation and strongest point—could have been played up even more in the individual chapters. There are occasional anecdotes or bits of analysis indicating the overlap between these elite groups, and also indicating possible zones of interaction between them (intermarriage or belonging to the same clubs, for example). This sort of prosopographical analysis could have been made even more central to Campbell's book. How did Anglican churches play a role in cementing ties between landed, business, and government elites? Were there any practical advantages to this common Anglicanism? What kinds of business went on at these shared social clubs? What were the consequences of the disconnect between the largely Catholic political class and the largely Protestant business elites? These sorts of questions get some attention in the text, but much more could have been said.

The central question asked by Campbell is also a salient one. He wants to investigate the degree to which there was "greening" of the Irish establishment (i.e., greater participation by Irish Catholics) in the prerevolutionary decades, and whether any such "greening" was the result of progressive policies instituted by the British government (p. 10). This is a critical question, as historians such as John Hutchinson and Senia Pešeta have concluded that the revolution was fueled in part by middle-class frustrations over blocked socioeconomic mobility. Campbell concludes that there was relatively little "greening," in fact rather less than Lawrence McBride found in his earlier study of civil servants in Dublin Castle, although the contrasts between McBride and Campbell are not particularly well set up in the book. The elite, with the exception of politicians and, obviously, Catholic clergy, remained Protestant, with relatively few Catholics rising to the pinnacle of Irish society. The police force and the Irish executive, in particular, created obstacles against promotion of Catholics from the ranks. Those Catholics who did ascend were often landed elites themselves and thus not terribly representative of their co-religionists. Campbell often cites political and religious discrimination as a reason for this blocked mobility, which is an important conclusion.

The most significant weakness is that, until the epi-

logue, the analysis seems a little light, with statistics too often recited without much further scrutiny. For example, Campbell notes that Anglican higher clergy had larger families than did business elites or landlords, but there is no analysis of the significance of this. Similarly, a disproportionate number of Irish business leaders were former army officers, but there is little effort to interrogate this phenomenon. In addition, much of the information gleaned from the statistics is not terribly new or interesting. The fact that most landlords were Protestant, wealthy, and clubbable is not particularly surprising, to give one example, while the relative marriage ages or family sizes of various elite groups seem to have little to do with the question of "greening." While the central question raised by the book is a good one, the excessive focus on that question renders much of the statistical data irrelevant. Either that focus needed to be consistently widened, or much of the data having little to do with the question of "greening" should have been significantly pared.

The book's strongest chapter is the epilogue, in which some broader analysis is provided. There are some interesting observations throughout—such as the British government's evident disdain for the Irish landlord class (p. 60)—but the overall impression left is a desire for better balance between analysis and data.

JASON KNIRCK

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OLWEN PURDUE. *The Big House in the North of Ireland: Land, Power and Social Elites, 1878–1960*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 297. Cloth \$104.95, paper \$49.95.

What is there about Ireland's landed class that exerts such fascination for historians? Reviled in earlier nationalist historiography, rehabilitated (partially) by revisionists, and deconstructed by postmodern scholars, the *fin de siècle* flavor of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Irish landlordism continues to hold particular appeal. Olwen Purdue's book is the latest in a number of studies that have focused on the fortunes and behavior of Ireland's landlords in the period immediately prior to and following partition. Thus Terence Dooley's *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland* (2001) followed Mark Bence-Jones's *Twilight of the Ascendancy* (1987) in exploring the eventually terminal economic and political pressures faced by landed families in the century after 1860. Concentrating on the twenty-six counties that were to constitute the Free State, Dooley provides a southern benchmark for many of the issues discussed by Purdue. Other studies employ a narrower focus, and have traced local or regional narratives of elite landownership to their extinction in Ulster and elsewhere.

Purdue's work differs from these in providing the first synoptic analysis of the course and causes of landed decline (and in some cases, survival) in the six counties that became Northern Ireland, in the period between 1878 and 1960. The dates are chosen for various reasons. 1878 saw the publication of John Bateman's *The*

*Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, which Purdue uses to identify her sample of northern landowners, and marked a turning point in landlord-tenant relations. Agricultural crises reinforced tenant demands for land reform and brought to an end twenty years of tenant prosperity. 1960, on the other hand, saw the number of northern landed families stabilize as the survivors settled into their contemporary cultural, social, and political roles. For Purdue, these eighty-two years encompassed the radical transformation of Ireland's landed class from ruling elite to disenfranchised "other" (in the south) and country gentlemen (in the north). This difference offers a clue to Purdue's regional focus. She argues that the historical ethnic and cultural distinctiveness that resulted in the constitutional separation of Northern Ireland in 1921, also ensured that the narrative of landownership there was, in her words, "a different story" (p. 1).

Her argument is straightforward. While northern landlords experienced the same economic demands for land reform from the 1870s as their southern counterparts, unlike those in the south these came from tenant communities who shared many of their landlords' cultural and political values. When faced with the growing demand for Home Rule in the 1880s, northern tenants were prepared to acquiesce to their landlords' continued exercise of their customary political authority. In turn, this meant that those northern landlords who were able to survive the financial consequences of land reform were well placed to continue to exercise that authority and leadership during the politically turbulent years that preceded partition and in the nascent northern state that followed. Consequently, despite significant losses through bankruptcy and indebtedness (amounting to perhaps sixty percent of the northern landowners listed in 1878), and aided by the assiduous maintenance of their social networks with their English and Scottish counterparts, a significant proportion of landlords felt able to maintain their domicile in the northern counties through to the 1960s.

Purdue's argument has a certain appeal, but it contains unresolved tensions arising from her attempt at regional synopsis. Although her analysis is based on the 110 landowners identified in Bateman's *Great Landowners* as being seated in the six counties with estates of over 2,000 acres, she rarely deploys this data-set to the full, preferring instead to exemplify her arguments through recourse to selected examples of individual behavior. Consequently, the reader is left wondering as to the representative nature of these. Were there no dissonant voices among this group? Were *all* northern landowners unionists? Were none liberal? Did all support the *rapprochement* with the Orange Order from the 1870s? Were *all* equally engaged in providing leadership and training for the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1912–1914? Moreover, Purdue's use of Bateman's threshold criteria for "great" landownership is entirely uncritical, and results in her concentrating on the upper echelons of landed society in the north. While she is clearly aware of the extreme diversity of wealth within

this group, nowhere does she explore the implications of this for the social, cultural, and political performance of landownership. Did the most modest of “great” landowners (in Bateman’s estimation), people like G. J. Clarke of The Steeple, Antrim (2,422 acres), *really* behave like the Duke of Abercorn with his 76,000 acres in Tyrone and Donegal? What of the numerous other landowners who fell just below Bateman’s threshold criterion? Purdue is silent on this point. Accordingly, we are left with the feeling that, persuasive though parts of her analysis is, she really has presented us with only a partial account of one possible landed past in the “Six Counties.”

LINDSAY PROUDFOOT  
*Independent Scholar*

NICHOLAS BLACK. *The British Naval Staff in the First World War*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 333. \$115.00.

The Royal Navy’s performance during World War I fell far short of expectations. Contemporaries expected a magnificent Trafalgar-like victory, but they were presented instead with a series of embarrassing setbacks. Historians typically depict the navy of this era as a rigidly conservative institution ill-prepared to cope with the new technologies that had transformed naval warfare over the previous century. Britain’s naval staff, established less than three years before the outbreak of the war, has received its full share of criticism. According to the conventional view, the staff organization was inundated after the outbreak of war with men of limited ability: officers who had been wounded or were otherwise unsuitable for service at sea, or retired officers past their prime. Rather than providing the intellectual leadership the navy desperately needed, this undistinguished body stifled offensive spirit in the fleet, blocked the adoption of convoy, and produced impracticable (and at times absurd) schemes for dealing with the u-boat threat.

These criticisms originated with a small but highly vocal group of British naval officers (including Herbert Richmond, Kenneth Dewar, and Joseph Kenworthy) who had personal experience on the naval staff during World War I. Their views were later accepted uncritically by most scholars, including the influential naval historian Arthur J. Marder. Nicholas Black’s detailed study of the British naval staff demonstrates, however, that the popular stereotype of the naval staff officer is inaccurate. Service records reveal that only around ten percent of these men had been brought out of retirement, and most of those had been retired for a relatively short time. Nor was the staff simply a dumping ground for the wounded and unfit: approximately eighty percent could be classified as completely healthy. Most importantly, Black shows that staff officers assigned to the Admiralty possessed important specialist skills and had, on the whole, above average service records.

This book provides an important reassessment of the naval staff’s accomplishments during World War I.

Critics have erred, Black argues, by focusing on what they believed this organization should have been doing—planning operations—rather than what it actually did: gathering and analyzing information on which decisions could be based. Black makes a strong case that the naval staff’s record in this area was much better than historians have recognized. He credits it, for example, with the prewar decision to abandon Britain’s traditional close blockade of the enemy’s ports in favor of a more realistic policy of distant blockade. He also shows that under the leadership of Arthur Balfour and Henry Jackson—a regime generally given little credit by historians—the naval staff played an important role in shaping the bolder strategy that ultimately produced the long-awaited engagement with the German fleet at the Battle of Jutland in 1916. This study also challenges accepted views about leading naval decision makers of the period. Black maintains, for example, that Admiral John Jellicoe was more willing to decentralize than has been recognized. Admiral David Beatty, on the other hand, is criticized for supporting a variety of unworkable projects and interfering with the Admiralty’s efforts to protect British trade. Winston Churchill also comes in for sharp criticism. One of the naval staff’s main accomplishments, Black argues, was helping to block many of the impracticable schemes Churchill put forward in the early stages of the war.

None of this is to suggest, however, that the naval staff did not make mistakes. Black is well aware of the organization’s failures, the most important of which was the delay in adopting convoy for merchant shipping in response to the German submarine offensive. But even when criticizing the naval staff, Black shows that previous assessments have been either simplistic or inaccurate. This book is a valuable addition to the growing body of scholarship challenging the seminal work of Marder, and it will be essential reading for scholars of the twentieth-century Royal Navy.

CHRISTOPHER M. BELL  
*Dalhousie University*

PETER J. BOWLER. *Science for All: The Popularization of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. x, 339. \$45.00.

In 1927 the Anglican Bishop of Ripon called for a “scientific holiday”: a ten-year suspension of scientific research to allow society to catch up with all the existing applications. Science, of course, took no such vacation but, as Peter J. Bowler’s new book demonstrates, British scientists in the first half of the twentieth century were keen to match the onward march of knowledge with a campaign to communicate the insights and applications of science to wider society. This was not quite the “science for all” implied in the title—Bowler rather rashly claims that “most working-class people remained ignorant, and to some extent suspicious, of science and its effects” (p. 88)—but science for a middle-class and (upper) working-class self-education and self-improvement market.

At the heart of Bowler's account is the claim that the growth and professionalization of science—in 1911 there were around 5,000 scientists in Britain; in 1951 the figure was 49,000—did not, as is often supposed, entail the abandonment of the Victorian ideal of scientists communicating with the public. Bowler convincingly demonstrates that not only did a host of “Big Names,” such as Arthur Stanley Eddington, James Jeans, J. B. S. Haldane, Lancelot Hogben, G. P. Wells, and Julian Huxley, continue the Victorian ideal, but, even more revealingly, so too did a host of rank-and-file scientists. Indeed, the first half of the twentieth century witnessed such a growth in popular science writing, in the form of books, magazines, encyclopaedias, and competing publishers' series—including Cambridge University Press's *Manuals of Science and Literature*, Williams and Norgate's *Home University Library of Modern Knowledge*, and the Pelican series—that popular science writing was an accepted, and acceptable, activity in any professional scientist's career.

Bowler's deep knowledge of the history of science, built up over many years of distinguished scholarship, ensures that he remains master of the wealth of material in this book, but his writing is not always as elegant as it might be. Part one, “Topics and Themes in Popular Science,” is a rather jumbled survey that will leave the uninitiated floundering and all readers regretting that more time was not taken to produce a clearer overview. Part two, “Publishers and Their Publications,” and Part three, “The Authors,” are, as Bowler says, the “real meat” of the book and are, for the most part, much better written. Even here, however, there is too much repetition and too many generalized statements. At times the writing is clunky (we are told, for example, that H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History: The Whole Story of Man* “sold like hotcakes” and left its author “laughing all the way to the bank” [pp. 103–104]); at other moments, it is slightly perverse (as when Bowler feels the need to explain that 1938 was “the year before the outbreak of war” but introduces the names of a host of minor science writers without any background explanation). The overall feel is of a book that would have benefited from one more substantial rewrite.

In fairness to Bowler, some of these stylistic problems may be an inevitable by-product of his commitment to convey the range of popular science writing in the period and his commendable determination to include the “more prosaic efforts” (p. 113) alongside the most distinguished. No single study, prior to this book, has done so much to convey both the breadth of popular science writing and the relative absence of opposition to it in the scientific community. It is the range of Bowler's study that takes it beyond the work of Peter Broks, David Edgerton, Sophie Forgan, Anna-K. Mayer, and others whose writings he generously acknowledges, and his synthesis of the historiography is qualitatively enhanced by his own research, including a biographical register of 550 science writers operating in the period 1900–1945. Although sparingly referred to in the text this will be a valuable source for future historians.

The major point of contention with regard to this book is likely to concern methodology. In essence, Bowler attempts to reinstate the “dominant view” of science popularization, at least for the study of early twentieth-century Britain. In this period, he argues, there existed a culture of self-improvement and an audience, created by the growth of mass literacy, eager to receive instruction from a scientific community equally eager to provide it. Thus, although science never spoke with one voice, and the predominantly passive public exercised an indirect influence through publishers' commercial considerations, science communication in this period was largely a matter of instructor teaching instructed. The deferential audience and its self-improvement culture only finally broke down, Bowler contends in his concluding chapter, with the post-war expansion of higher education.

Many will remain skeptical of Bowler's methodological claims and wish that he had probed some aspects of his argument, such as the meanings of self-education and self-improvement, which are treated as unproblematic, more deeply. But anyone interested in British science and culture, and the role of the expert and the intellectual, in the early twentieth century will profit from reading this book.

DAVID STACK  
University of Reading

A. MARTIN WAINWRIGHT. *The Better Class' of Indians: Social Rank, Imperial Identity, and South Asians in Britain, 1858–1914*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 273. £60.00.

A. Martin Wainwright's book builds on growing scholarship on the history of South Asians in Britain, pioneered by Rozina Visram and more recently taken up by Antoinette Burton, Michael H. Fisher, and Shompa Lahiri, among others. The book examines London as a kind of contact zone between Britons and Indians, taking up various institutional sites in the metropole such as the National Indian Association, the India Office, and inner-city missions that housed destitute Indians. Wainwright makes a compelling case that officials in these institutions attempted to support Indians as they made their way in England. He shows how a logic of improvement through education was extended to those who were deemed plausible recipients of Britain's civilizing mission. Wainwright argues that officials and non-officials alike in Britain had a great deal of sympathy for Indians, particularly those who were recognizable to them in class terms: thus Indian princes and public school boys were (not surprisingly) more worthy of charity than, say, paupers or “quack” doctors. Through a series of case studies on claims for financial support, Wainwright demonstrates that the process of “helping” needy Indians was very much based on notions of compassion and recognition—processes that shored up British notions of class, more so than race.

This is a very carefully argued book, parsing the distinctions between class bigotry and racial prejudice as



a way of making the case that much postcolonial scholarship has overemphasized the centrality of race in understanding Anglo-Indian encounters; in this, Wainwright relies very heavily on David Cannadine's intervention in *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (2001). By privileging class as an analytic rubric, Wainwright restores the logics of social ranking back into British imperial history and is able to reclaim some of the liberal idealism behind empire: the idea of Macaulayan self-improvement through education, the ambition to bring progress to India by promoting leadership among Indian elites, and the desire to reform a "backward" or "primitive" society and pull it into a productive modernity.

Wainwright shows us many small examples of how individual Britons extended kindness, compassion, and understanding to Indians and argues that these individual acts constituted a kind of liberal humanity that structured the Anglo-Indian encounter in the metropole. He suggests that these encounters show that class recognition offered positive conditions for mutual understanding. He notes that British officials and reformers imagined elite Indians to be similar enough to be subjects of improvement, but recognized their differences to make accommodations for their cultural needs. One passage in the book (pp. 198–200) shows how the Inns of Court and Cambridge, Oxford, and London universities allowed Indians to substitute Sanskrit or another classical Asian language for the classical language requirement (which was ordinarily Latin and Greek) and Wainwright notes that this sort of accommodation was a hallmark of the similarity-difference dyad in imperial liberalism in which Indians were seen to be similar enough to be tutored, with some differences to be acknowledged (which Thomas R. Metcalf so clearly articulated in *Ideologies of the Raj* [1995]). While Metcalf mapped how the balance of similarity-difference shifted over time, Wainwright maps these concepts through different institutional and social sites arguing that the relationship between Britons and Indians was often ad hoc and contradictory.

One of the intriguing arguments in the book concerns the ways in which caste identities and stereotypes, as they were understood by the British and performed by Indians, ran parallel to British notions of class: thus a zamindar (a landholder) or a Brahman was as unlikely to be expected to be sent to the poorhouse to perform manual labor as would an aristocratic landed Englishman (pp. 139, 151–152). By arguing that there were moments of equivalence in notions of caste and class, Wainwright suggests that social hierarchies resonated with Indians and Britons alike. Indeed, his arguments that elite Indians were keen to have certificates of identity because these documents demonstrated their superior social status over other Indians show how closely British ideas about social superiority (the "better class") lined up with the aspirations of Indians who came to Britain before World War I (pp. 102–111).

The idea of caste in India became seen by British observers as an obstacle to India's modernity, and one

wonders how we might expand Wainwright's argument to imagine the ways that class-based attitudes and practices compromised the modernity of British liberalism. Wainwright's reliance on class as his primary analytic, over race or gender, allows him to uncritically reclaim the ambitions of British liberalism in terms of its civilizing mission over colonial subjects, but one wonders whether the self-consciously improving, reformist, evangelizing, compassionate liberalism that Wainwright describes was not itself always corrupted by the kinds of class hierarchy that were present in Britain.

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ANDREW MULDOON. *Empire, Politics and the Creation of the 1935 India Act: Last Act of the Raj*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. viii, 278. \$99.95.

The 1935 Government of India Act, as the subtitle to this volume indicates, was the last major piece of constitutional legislation for British India before independence was granted twelve years later. The historical consensus now argues that the 1935 act was not envisaged as the final stage in a process moving toward decolonization but was rather designed to bolster British power. Britain hoped to achieve this end by retaining control of strategic, financial, and defense powers while devolving all other items of administration to popularly elected provincial assemblies. A further safeguard would be provided by admitting representatives of the Princely States to a federal assembly in which they would provide a conservative bulwark against the Indian National Congress.

Andrew Muldoon does not repeat these well-aided arguments but instead attempts to explain, first, how the Conservative government successfully surmounted resistance to the act from grass-roots opponents and, second, why the legislation failed to halt the progress of the Indian freedom movement. The first theme is addressed more convincingly than the second.

The volume impressively brings a keen appreciation of British domestic politics to the study of constitutional reform in India. Often events at Westminster are played down with the focus far more on the personality of individual viceroys and the challenges they faced from the nationalist movement. Muldoon assesses the constituencies to which diehards in Parliament like Winston Churchill could appeal in attempts to block reform in India. In particular he identifies the significance of Lancashire interests in British politics and why representatives from this county had to be assiduously wooed by Secretary of State for India Samuel Hoare in order to prevent a grass-roots Tory uprising against the reform process. The narrative meticulously relates the key moments in Hoare's attempts to get the reform package approved and how he raised the bogey of a socialist government to undercut support for the diehard element in the Conservatives' ranks. Muldoon displays a sound grasp not only of the domestic maneuvers

within the Tory Party but also of the ways in which wider imperial events such as the rise of Eamon De Valera to power in Ireland affected the question of Indian constitutional reform. Ultimately, Hoare outflanked the diehards by portraying reform as a means of bolstering British power.

This mistaken view, Muldoon maintains, was rooted in deeply held British stereotypes of Indian disunity that resulted in an underestimation of the Indian National Congress Party. One important subtheme here is the extent to which the British relied on Indian liberals such as Tej Bahadur Sapru to provide insights into Indian political developments, rather than to opening up lines of communication with the Congress Party. This policy was flawed as Sapru and others had their own political agendas, which could skew the knowledge they provided to the Raj. Muldoon maintains, however, that even when evidence pointed to the contrary, the British clung to long-held assumptions about the Congress Party's limited influence with the rural masses.

British officials certainly did engage in some of the wishful thinking that Muldoon criticizes. However, his assessment of the Indian National Congress's power may be overplayed. While they agree on nothing else, the Cambridge and subaltern schools of Indian historiography both undermine the assumption of a uniform, all-encompassing Indian nationalist movement that Muldoon seems to accept here. Congress was not only factionalized, it did not reach below the richer peasant communities. Provincial autonomy introduced by the 1935 Government of India Act intensified tensions between ministerialist and organizational wings of the local Congress Party chapters to such an extent that the decision to resign from government in 1939 was seen as a way out of these problems. While provincial autonomy undermined British authority by enabling the establishment of a Congress Raj in the provinces, this came at a cost. In addition to internal party tensions, Congress rule from 1937–1939 brought to a head Hindu-Muslim conflict and paved the way for the Pakistan demand. This leads one to question whether the British had misjudged both Indian society and the likely consequences of provincial autonomy to the extent that Muldoon avers. A powerful argument could in fact be advanced that it was not so much the consequences of the 1935 Act as the contingency of World War II that hastened the British departure from India. The Congress reverted to its struggle mode as a result of the war. The new circumstances led to the Cripps Declaration in 1942 which signalled the timing of the British departure. Henceforth it was a case of how—rather than when—the British would go, and in particular what would their departure mean for the princes and Muslims who had been conceived as the bulwarks of the new constitutional edifice constructed in 1935.

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YIRMIYAHU YOVEL. *The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 490. \$35.00.

The *conversos* of Spain—the descendants of forcibly baptized Jews, also known as *Marranos*—are among the best-studied populations of early modern Europe. Scholars employing diverse approaches have, over the last few decades, challenged much of the mythology that once suffused scholarship on the subject. But imaginary constructs are hard to dispel. Among the stereotypes of “the Marrano” that have lingered is that of the conflicted, ambivalent human being—a generalization that was first elaborated in J. A. van Praag’s 1948 study *Gespleten zielen* (*Split Souls*).

This is not to say that the population of *conversos* (as well as *ex-conversos* who escaped the Iberian peninsula and reverted to Judaism) lacked conflicted personalities. On the contrary, *converso* identity conflict has been well documented by scholars, whose conclusions are supported by Inquisition records, literary works, rabbinic *responsa*, and communal records. But it is one thing to identify such conflict as conspicuous in a population; it is another to define that population by it.

In his new book, Yirmiyahu Yovel offers a sprawling argument that the peculiar characteristics of the *conversos*—peculiar, that is, in the context of the premodern world—later became general features of modernity. Up to the final two chapters, the author emphasizes ways in which the *conversos*, in his view, manifested “duality,” whether as crypto-Jews, Catholics in an Erasmian vein, private skeptics, authors of picaresque works, or defenders of a non-rabbinic “Judaism.” In the final chapters he discusses additional patterns of thought and behavior that, in his view, connect the *conversos* to “Western modernity,” on the one hand, and to “Jewish modernity,” on the other.

There is a troubling insularity about the book. Yovel rarely views the *conversos* in the context of the wider world of early modern and Reformation thought. When he is faced with examples of split identity, irony, or interiority in early modern non-*conversos*, he is likely to view these figures as “Marrano-like.” For example, although there is no evidence that Miguel de Cervantes was a *Marrano*, Yovel detects in *Don Quijote* “a Marranesque feature . . . planted in the book’s underlying structure” (p. 279). Of Michel de Montaigne, whose mother had a semi-*converso* background, he writes, “Whether or not Montaigne had acted as a Marrano, a Marrano [of a certain kind] would have acted like Montaigne” (p. 329). And so on.

The *conversos* from whom Yovel gleans his notion of “the Marranesque” are the conventional “celebrities” of *converso* history: Fernando de Rojas, Juan Luis Vives, Juan de Valdés, Teresa of Avila, Luis de León, Luis Carvajal *el mozo*, Mateo Alemán, Uriel da Costa, Juan de Prado, and Baruch Spinoza. Scholars have examined the careers of all of these figures, and it is true that all of them struggled intellectually and emotionally in ways that were, or may have been, a result of their

*converso* origins. But they were also responding to many other stimuli in their environments—as were, say, Erasmus, Thomas More, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Michael Servetus, Jean Bodin, Menocchio of Friuli, William Shakespeare, and René Descartes, none of whom had known Jewish ancestry. Were these latter men less restless, skeptical, ironic, universalistic, self-aware, or skilled at equivocation than the *converso* icons? In understanding the *converso* condition, should we not take into account that *conversos* were reacting to European currents in a way many other Europeans were as well?

And what of *Marranos* who were not “Marrano-like”? One of the characteristics Yovel regards as “Marranesque” was a “new system of values, honoring a person for initiative and achievements, rather than because of his or her origin and descent” (p. 338). How this applies to *conversos* is unclear. Most *conversos* were conventional in their social values and, if they could, they sought prestige through wealth, advantageous marriages, and, yes, titles of nobility. Their gravestones are famous for the display of family coats-of-arms; their outstanding personalities expressed no objection to the power and honor that inherited wealth bestowed. This is but one instance of the author’s tendency to project onto “the *Marranos*” characteristics that may appear in a few exceptional *conversos*, or that may simply reflect his own preoccupations.

The author is not a historian and does not claim to offer original research. The material he presents is twice removed from its original source. This makes his categorical statements about complex historical realities problematic, especially since they are used in later chapters to support arguments about complex issues of Jewish existence today. “A modern Jewishness was created,” he writes about non-nationalist, secular Jewish loyalties in the twentieth century, “one that is concerned with its new meaning and will not renounce it, even when incapable of defining it unequivocally.” As if the book were preparing for just such a juncture, he adds, “What could be more Marrano?” (p. 366). But the dots, one fears, are not so easily connected.

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JOSEPH BERGIN. *Church, Society and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 506. \$55.00.

The word definitive is perhaps too often used in reviews, but Joseph Bergin’s new book on the French church in the long seventeenth century certainly qualifies. Bergin is particularly well suited to this task, having published numerous articles and four previous monographs on the subject: one each on Cardinals La Rochefoucauld and Richelieu, and two formidable prosopographical studies on the French episcopate from the wars of religion through the reign of Louis XIV. As in those earlier books, so in this one the author is careful to circumscribe the scope of his work. This is not a book on the political relations and machinations

of the church vis-à-vis the monarchy or other confessions but rather an interior history of the church itself, its institutional structure, its divisions, its adherents, and most importantly, the changes it experienced in the aftermath of the Tridentine reforms and the Wars of Religion in France.

Bergin begins with analytical chapters on the geography of French dioceses and parishes, sources of church wealth, numbers and types of regular orders, and tensions between regular and secular clergy. He finds that there was remarkably little change over time in the number and boundaries of dioceses and parishes or in the basic land holdings and wealth of the church, and notes that noble families continued in this century as they had in the past to hold tight to traditional rights over benefices and offices, especially in cathedral and collegiate chapters. Likewise, the structure of the traditional regular orders remained fairly static, especially since the peculiar French habit of allowing one bishop to hold several abbeys enabled the siphoning off of revenues that might otherwise have boosted membership. All of these factors slowed but did not stop the efforts of reformers to advance the Catholic reform movement.

Bergin shows that the most dramatic expansion of the church came in the growth of new mendicant orders such as the Capuchins and Récollets and secular congregations like the Oratorians and Lazarists. Female orders experienced an even greater expansion than their male counterparts with the founding of the Ursulines, Capucines, and Carmelites, and Bergin devotes a particularly helpful chapter to this development that has inspired the recent work of historians like Elizabeth Rapley and Barbara Diefendorf. Along with the Jesuits, these new orders renewed and reinvigorated religious life inside the church, and the secular congregations in particular, along with the Jesuits, founded large numbers of seminaries and *collèges* that began the process of reeducating and reforming the secular clergy.

The author argues that this expansion in the non-traditional structures of the church mirrored a growing religiosity in France as a whole that found expression in a *dévo*t movement partly institutionalized in the Company of the Holy Sacrament. Here, Bergin offers some of his most valuable and interesting chapters, showing the interplay between the secular *dévots* and the reforming church that led by the end of the century to the divisions and debates over Jansenism. He dedicates a particularly fine chapter to this very difficult topic, arguing in essence that Jansenism, however hard it was and is to define, was very much an outgrowth of the reform movement, and that the debates over the rigorist impulse in the church, so important to that movement, were the best evidence of its success. In the end, he argues in favor of “the reality of a substantial *longue durée* of efforts to refashion, revive and reform French Catholicism, in the face of the inherited geographical, economic and institutional structures . . . which remained massively resistant to change” (p. 425). Indeed, the French Church was so successful in its reform ef-

forts by the eighteenth century that it heavily influenced similar movements in other countries.

Throughout the book, Bergin is careful in his judgments, meticulous in his use of a wide variety of evidence, and encyclopedic in his knowledge of the subject. In such a fine book, weaknesses are few and far between, and indeed, the only regret of this reviewer is that the author has chosen explicitly not to explore more fully the role of French Protestantism in pushing the church toward reform. He argues that it did, but beyond that, we get very little. It would likewise be useful to hear something about the church's political roles, especially in the causes and aftermath of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Toward the end of his book, Bergin indicates he will take up that subject in a future work, and one can only hope that this fine historian keeps that promise. In the meantime, he has given us a nuanced, well argued, thoroughly researched book that has a great deal to offer specialists and generalists alike. It is unlikely that we shall soon see a better work in any language on the French church in the seventeenth century.

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MICHEL BOIRON. *L'action des intendants de la généralité de Limoges de 1683 à 1715*. Foreword by JEAN-LOUIS HAROUEL. (Cahiers de l'Institut d'Anthropologie Juridique, number 20.) Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, with l'Association Limousine de Coopération pour le Livre. 2008. Pp. 496. €30.00.

Michel Boiron takes us back to the thrilling days of yesteryear, when French scholars produced monographs like the one he has written on the nine intendants of the *généralité* of Limoges who served between the deaths of Jean-Baptiste Colbert and Louis XIV. That Boiron should take us back to the methods of that period is understandable: this remarkable man began his thesis in 1955, gave it up in 1961 for personal reasons, and, after a full career as an engineer, returned to woo Clio, who can have had no more ardent a lover.

What can we learn from such a thesis-book, conceived in the 1950s, and partly carried out in those days, but finished at the dawn of the twenty-first century, four historiographical generations later? Young anglophone scholars, used to two full generations of French scholars who read their work, will be shocked to see a book that has no connection to the vast anglophone literature on the French state produced since 1963, when Orest Ranum pulled back the linguistic curtain. Having difficulty imagining what it would be like to discuss the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes without knowing William Beik's work on Languedoc? Look no further. That absence is a shame, because Boiron does a superb job showing the challenges faced by an intendant in an area with a substantial Protestant population (twelve percent of France's total) trying to manage "conversion" in the face of conflicting attitudes, and policies, in Versailles. Intendant Louis de Bernage, in his mem-

oir of 1698, had no illusions about the sincerity of forced "conversion," just as his predecessor Saint-Conest, in 1687, had suggested that trying to convert adults was a waste of time: he wanted Catholic education of children.

Boiron provides archival research in a pure form, with all its strengths and weaknesses. He faced a major logistical problem: the lost archives of the Limoges intendancy. He had to rely almost exclusively on the G7 series in the Archives Nationales. The result is a cautionary tale about the dangers of looking mainly at the correspondence of the central ministry. The remarks about local judges (p. 270), for example, draw exclusively from the intendants' negative remarks about them: were judges in Limoges, Tulle, Angoulême, or Brive all "incompetent, lazy, old, and sometimes dishonest" (p. 271)? Bernage may have thought so, but the historian must question this. One need only look at the balanced remarks about Angevin judges in Sylvain Soileil's fine monograph to see the dangers in this old-fashioned, hypercentralized approach.

Alas, Boiron's thesis has nearly as little connection to contemporary French as to anglophone historiography. The bibliography may cite Joël Cornette or François-Xavier Emmanuelli, but the author never engages their work. Anette Smedley-Weill's monograph on Louis XIV's intendants provides an occasional biographical detail, but Boiron never examines any of her substantive analytical points. Once one gets past the framework problem, however, the thesis contains a mine of information. Boiron has a wonderful touch for the macro impact of the micro: he reminds us that intendants' commissions required them to remain in their jurisdiction. They could not return to Paris, even for personal emergencies, without permission from the Controller General: as Boiron rightly suggests, this seemingly little detail in fact provided an excruciatingly effective form of leverage. In the thirty-two-year period covered here, that office granted only thirteen leaves of absence, for as little as three weeks.

Boiron recognizes that the intendants had to deal with contradictory interests: those of the king and of the state often conflicted with the reality on the ground, especially in years like 1693–1694 or 1709. He wisely organizes the book into sections on the intendants as agents of the king—above all as informants, as the state's eyes and ears—and as protectors of the local inhabitants. Here he runs up against the archival problem: lacking intendancy records in Limoges, we never see the exchanges between intendants and their informants, such as the subdelegates.

He gives us a wonderful sense of the intendant's balancing act, perhaps best summed up in Chancellor Pontchartrain's May 1710 letter to the intendant Bosc du Bouchet, who had acted rudely to local notables while seeking to alleviate food shortages. "The king pardons nothing less, in those to whom he has chosen to confide his authority, than the abuse they do by excessive actions when they get carried away, giving in fully to their mood and their natural vivacity, excited by a misplaced



zeal" (p. 61). Boiron shows us that, sailing between the Scylla of "misplaced zeal," and the Charybdis of the insatiable beast of state, the Louis Quartorzién intendant needed an unfailing social and political compass, a steady hand on the tiller, and the nerves to handle with equanimity either a dead calm or the tempests blowing down from the north.

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THIERRY RIGOGNE. *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France*. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 2007, volume 5.) Oxford: Voltaire Foundation. 2007. Pp. xvii, 313. \$125.00.

Beginning in the reign of Louis XIV, the French monarchy embarked on an ambitious project to tighten its control over the production and circulation of the printed word. It sought to restrict the number of printing shops throughout the kingdom, to concentrate the printing of new works in Paris, and to enlist members of the printers' guilds in the job of policing themselves. It also created a new organ of government, the Direction de la librairie, to take charge of administering the book trade. Enacted through a series of edicts covering nearly a century, from 1686 to 1777, the policies of the French monarchy toward the book trade dramatized the aspirations of the absolutist state to extend and centralize its power. But how well did those policies succeed? And what consequences did they have—above all for printing and bookselling outside of Paris, in the area that the French describe collectively as "la province" and that was home to roughly ninety-five percent of the kingdom's population? In this meticulously researched and closely argued work, Thierry Rigogne sets out to answer those questions.

The starting point of Rigogne's study is a remarkable and never-before-analyzed document: a survey of the French book trade that the royal official Gabriel de Sartine commissioned in 1764, shortly after he had taken up the post of Directeur de la librairie. Sartine's was not the only such survey to be conducted in the eighteenth century, but it was the only one (apart from a 1700 survey) to which the responses, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, have survived intact. It was also the only one not to be launched in advance of some new legislative initiative. So far as one can tell, the impetus behind it was simply the will to knowledge of a rapidly bureaucratizing royal administration: "Sartine seemed to pursue no agenda beyond gathering information" (p. 11).

But how to interpret that information? Certainly not, Rigogne argues, by treating the responses as "inert repositories of data" (p. 29). The responses came from thirty-two *intendants*, the chief royal administrators in the provinces, who in turn had solicited information from their *subdélégués* and other local officials. Quite often those officials had close relations to local printers and booksellers; and in such cases, they were apt to

wink at certain kinds of illegal activities—notably, the printing and sale of pirated books—which were essential to the survival of the book trade in the provinces. One would not expect them to have confessed, in official responses to the central administration, the full extent of their complicity in such activities.

To correct for the biases inherent in the responses to Sartine's survey and to place them in a broader historical perspective, Rigogne draws on a variety of other sources, such as the lists compiled in the *Almanachs de la librairie* (a series of trade directories published between 1777 and 1781) and the dozens of memoranda and reports by provincial booksellers and royal administrators contained in the archive of the Inspection de la librairie. By sifting and tabulating the data derived from those various sources, he is able to shed light on nearly every aspect of the book trade in the provinces. He documents which cities had printers' guilds, who was in charge of policing the book trade, and how frequently books were confiscated; where printing shops were located, how many presses they had, what kind of books they printed and for whom; who sold books, where they got them, and whether they were authorized to sell them; and much else besides. A great many scholars have worked on the book trade under the Old Regime, including such eminent historians as Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier, but Rigogne's study is the first one to offer a comprehensive, detailed, and empirically grounded view of the book trade throughout the French provinces at the height of the Enlightenment. It yields two important conclusions.

The first conclusion has to do with the overall health of the provincial book trade, which Rigogne shows to have been far more robust than scholars have realized until now. True, the ranks of the provincial printing industry thinned during the course of the eighteenth century, and those printers who survived the government purges were seldom able to publish legal works by contemporary authors—a sector of the market that royal policies reserved almost exclusively for Parisian printers. Denied access to royal book privileges, printers in the provinces coped as best they could, by doing job printing for ecclesiastical institutions, law courts, and administrative bodies, or by turning out school textbooks for *collèges* and universities. Most importantly, however, they pirated Parisian editions, an activity that allowed them to conduct swaps with the many pirate printers outside the kingdom and thereby diversify their assortment of books. In the eighteenth century, it was crucial for printers in the provinces to build up an assortment of books. Those who did not, the printer-only typographers, virtually died out during the course of the century; those who did, the printer-booksellers, were able to create a new role for themselves, as suppliers to a widening network of purely retail booksellers. The retailers, who often established themselves in remote provincial towns where there had been no bookshop before, drew their supplies of books from the capital above all, but also from foreign firms and from such provincial centers of printing and transshipment as

Lyon or Toulouse. During the 1760s and 1770s, their numbers grew so rapidly that Rigogne speaks of a “retail bookstore boom” (p. 174). Behind the appearance of provincial decline, he argues, lay concealed “a complete redistribution of roles and functions between Paris, the provinces, and foreign presses, as well as between publishers, printers and booksellers” (p. 220).

The second important conclusion of Rigogne’s study is that in most of the provinces, neither bookshops nor printing establishments were subject to any kind of regular surveillance. The royal edicts on the book trade had placed the main responsibility for carrying out inspections in the hands of the guilds’ *chambres syndicales*. The provincial guilds, however, did not have the same incentive as their Parisian counterpart to enforce regulations. And besides, only fifteen of the towns with guilds had *chambres syndicales*. Outside of those towns, booksellers seem to have plied their trade in a kind of extralegal grey zone—grey, that is, from the standpoint of the central administration, which had scarcely any idea who was selling what to whom across broad swathes of the French provinces: hence Sartine’s survey. The loopholes in the system were so large, vast quantities of pirated and forbidden books could have passed through them. And clearly they *did* pass through them, more smoothly and with fewer difficulties than anyone would have guessed until now.

Exquisitely detailed and backed up by an abundance of statistical data, Rigogne’s study exposes the yawning gap between royal policies on paper and their implementation in the provinces. It represents a major contribution to the scholarship on both Old Regime France and the history of the book.

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PIERRE CLAUDE REYNARD. *Ambitions Tamed: Urban Expansion in Pre-Revolutionary Lyon*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 261. \$85.00.

This short book traces the efforts of architect Jean-Antoine Morand (1727–1794) to develop new suburbs for Lyon in the last decades of the Old Regime. Perhaps inspired by the seemingly inexorable urban expansion and suburban sprawl that have cocooned Western cities in the last 250 years, Pierre Claude Reynard has produced a nuanced account of the trials and travails of this would-be building entrepreneur who planned to extend the early modern core of Lyon to the east and south across the Rhône River. Through the prism of Morand, Reynard’s account sheds light on the impact of geographical spaces on the economic realities of urban expansion, the local rivalries involved in Lyon’s growth, and the role of patronage networks linked to Paris and Versailles in enabling middling-level entrepreneurs like Morand to realize their plans.

Morand died on the guillotine for helping Lyon resist the armies of the republic, but that dramatic death was, in many ways, anticlimactic. By 1794, Morand’s ambi-

tions had already been “tamed”; ironically the eclipse of both Morand’s and Lyon’s ambitions came just as the elimination of certain religious orders, the eradication of privilege, and the revolutionary sale of clerical lands permitted a more thorough-going and rational approach to urban redesign. Rather the tale told about Morand’s personal and professional life focuses on the era from the 1750s to the early 1780s when this scion of Briançon in Dauphiné came to Lyon and began to work for the noted architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot, his first patron. Morand began as a set designer for the theater, a creator of public festivities, and an interior decorator. Only slowly did he emerge as an architect, in part due to short stints of professional training in Paris (1753–1754) and Italy (1760). Professionalization is an important theme in this work. From the 1750s, Morand bought properties in new quarters and developed them while simultaneously ingratiating himself with powerful clerical patrons, namely the Archbishop of Lyon and two cathedral chapters. He combined various paid local positions, small-scale entrepreneurial activities, and major plans to redesign the city of Lyon by incorporating the area across the Rhône. Reynard shows what is obvious to anyone who has visited New York City: bridges play a vital role in developing a site like that of Lyon. The fight over who controlled the crossings and what technology would be used to build them reflected broader issues of urban development.

Reynard emphasizes (perhaps over-emphasizes given the evidence he presents) the vital role of Antoinette Levet, Morand’s wife, as a true partner in his schemes (pp. 6–7). A theme of social mobility is cogently presented: although Morand’s efforts to obtain a patent of nobility failed (p. 137), his son Antoine became a true notable. He was named to the imperial nobility and became a member of the Legion of Honor (pp. 150–151). Reynard also discusses some aspects of Morand’s technical competency and how it was acquired. One of the most interesting and useful aspects of the book is the depiction of the partnerships Morand formed to operate a bridge over the Rhône and develop rental properties. More of the book is devoted to the political machinations and inconclusive battles that went into Morand’s development efforts. Such struggles have their interest, but are more familiar to most readers than the other parts of the work.

At 165 pages of text, this is a short book. The inclusion of several long sidebars about subjects like “What visitors saw in Lyon” (pp. 116–117) read like padding. Given Reynard’s unquestioned expertise in explaining complex technological issues, I was surprised and disappointed by the relative lack of discussion of Morand’s technical education, skills, and accomplishments. I can only guess that the sources did not permit Reynard to go further in this direction. Greater attention to the technical side of Morand’s achievements would also have deepened a rather repetitive discussion of entrepreneurship seemingly intended to depict Morand—unconvincingly—as a “hero before his time” (p. 165). I would have preferred to see Reynard situate his find-

ings about Lyon in the context of the trajectories of urban development of other French cities or to have Reynard consider the significance of the type of public/private entrepreneurship that he is at pains to depict (pp. 20, 160) for our understandings of Old Regime finance and economic development. Reynard certainly made some effort in the latter direction in the conclusion but, in such a brief account at such a lofty price, his decision not to use his many talents and formidable local knowledge to explore these types of questions seems like a missed opportunity. Morand's life might have had more value as a case-study rather than miscasting him as the "hero" of a tragedy of delayed development.

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PATRICK WEIL. *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*. Translated by CATHERINE PORTER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 438. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Patrick Weil's rich, erudite, scrupulously documented, and often fascinating book will surely be the authoritative work on French laws and debates around nationality and citizenship policy for some time to come. Given the special importance of France's postrevolutionary history in this arena, it should also prove indispensable for those working more broadly and theoretically on questions of nationality, including its intersections with the politics of empire, race, and gender. Originally published in French in 2002, the book, in its first two sections, traces the history of France's changing nationality regimes since the French Revolution, with special attention paid to "ethnic crises" under the racist Vichy regime and in French Algeria. The third and more theoretical section addresses the exclusions inscribed in France's purportedly egalitarian and inclusive nationality regime. It also tackles the contrast between *jus soli*, or territorial citizenship, and *jus sanguinis*, or citizenship by descent, made famous by Rogers Brubaker's influential *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1992).

This book can be read in part as a serious rebuke to that argument, although Weil does not dwell on Brubaker in particular. Brubaker's book posits a stark and constant difference between the French and German conceptions of nationhood that generated divergent citizenship policies. As he puts it, "If the French understanding of nationhood has been state-centered and assimilationist, the German understanding has been *Volk*-centered and differentialist" (p.1). Brubaker's argument does correspond to claims by French and German intellectuals since the nineteenth century about what nationality entailed. But Weil compellingly demonstrates that nationality policy did not often reflect such a contrast: as he shows, surprisingly but convincingly, there was often a "complete opposition between the mechanism used to attribute nationality to a person and the one used to constitute the nation" (p.

185). And indeed, the Prussian nationality regime behind later German policy, far from being a reaction against France, was self-consciously modeled on France's own *jus sanguinis* policy, in effect from 1803 until 1889. Weil dates the connection between *jus sanguinis* and "racial" nationhood to French, British, and American perceptions of Germany during World War I, and their deep mistrust of Germany's policy of preserving its emigrants' German nationality, even, under certain conditions, when they naturalized elsewhere.

In keeping with Brubaker, recent debates have tended to focus on contemporary immigrant populations in France and Germany (often of non-European, Muslim, or postcolonial origins), and have assumed a deep divide between a French tradition of civic nationhood and a German tradition of ethnic nationhood. In that context, France, for all the recent turmoil around its policy of *laïcité*, has looked relatively hospitable to immigrants seeking incorporation into the nation, and Germany has seemed insular, exclusionary, even racist. It has been easy to assume, too, that the two states' nationality laws were not only consistently different but also constructed in response to the same dilemmas those states face now. But Weil shows that the conflicting ideologies and interests that have produced nationality policies in France and Germany over two centuries have often centered on very different concerns: the desire to conscript various "foreign" men, especially those living in border regions, or to prevent nationals from undertaking military service abroad; fear of demographic decline or, especially in late-nineteenth-century Germany, anxiety over the loss of vast populations to emigration and the desire to ease their, or their descendants', return; the anxiety of professionals in the face of skilled immigration, for instance by Jewish lawyers in the interwar period. Weil notes the many strange bedfellows and ironies of nationality policy, as when, in the early twentieth century, feminists found their position defended by populationists primarily interested in "retain[ing] little Frenchmen for France" (p. 203). Weil is particularly good on the ironies of Vichy and Algeria, noting that "Vichy demonstrated . . . that one could apply legislation involving a racist exception while retaining *jus soli* and the law of 1927, one of the most liberal laws in the history of France" (p. 189).

Weil returns briefly in the conclusion to the contrast between France and Germany to argue that even Germany's current policy of automatic but provisional citizenship for children born in Germany to foreign parents may perpetuate "feelings of discrimination and inequality" (p. 252), and that France's unconditional grant of citizenship at birth is fairer and more egalitarian. But, though he ends on the hopeful note that the history he has told may be seen as one of a "progressive opening up to foreigners, a conquest of equality, and finally a series of victories over discrimination" (p. 254), Weil is no triumphalist. His conclusion rightly suggests that the longstanding gulf between the French ideal of "equality before the law" first articulated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the ex-

clusions and discriminations inscribed in French nationality law—above all regarding descendants of colonized Algerians—continues to bedevil French national politics.

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NOELLE PLACK. *Common Land, Wine and the French Revolution: Rural Society and Economy in Southern France, c. 1789–1820*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. xiv, 215. \$99.95.

Noelle Plack's meticulously researched book examines the subject of common land in the department of the Gard from the French Revolution through the Bourbon Restoration. Although several scholars have focused on the revolutionary law of June 10, 1793, authorizing the partition of common land, Plack contends that only a long-term study beyond the legislation's suspension on 21 Prairial IV reveals its full significance. Specifically, she argues that the 1793 ordinance allowing the egalitarian division of the commons fostered widespread land clearance—some official but mostly unofficial. This broad chronological examination of the fate of common land in a specific local context constitutes the primary contribution of Plack's study to our knowledge of the revolution's impact on French social and economic developments.

After beginning with a useful survey of existing scholarship on the revolution's impact on rural France as well as a description of the Gard's environment, economy, and social structure, the book's core chapters emphasize shifting debates and legislation regarding common lands and the application of land laws in the department. Early revolutionaries viewed the partition of commons as critical to agricultural freedom and increased productivity but proved wary in the context of agrarian revolts of abolishing collective rights that many peasants cherished; their Rural Code in 1791 stipulated that the commons would be subject to a specific decree. After much wrangling over the mode of partition, that decree arrived in 1793 when the National Convention authorized an egalitarian division of common land (with exceptions) in communities where one third of men and women voted for it. In the Gard, approximately twenty-five (out of 361) communes voted for partition, while eighteen executed such divisions, mainly in the *garrigues* micro-regions. The infrequency of official partitions might suggest the law's limited impact or seemingly supports Georges Lefebvre's thesis that peasant attachment to collective rights consolidated France's agrarian structure. But Plack insists that the law's "implications were immense" (p. 59), for the principle of dividing common lands motivated many poorer denizens of rural regions to clear plots despite the absence of an official act of partition. The evidence for such a claim stems from Plack's valuable examination of the laws of 9 Ventôse XII (February 29, 1804) and March 20, 1813, and Bourbon ordinances from 1818 and 1819, which aimed at forcing occupiers of

common land to either declare, pay taxes on, lease, or purchase their unofficial holdings. For example, the March 20, 1813, law, which permitted the sale of common lands during the empire's financial and military crisis, led to sales in seventy-six communes in the Gard. In the village of Fourques, most of the 317 plots were purchased by occupiers of land who had previously declared their unofficial holdings under the law of 9 Ventôse XII—itself a sign that the 1793 legislation resulted in unofficial clearances of common lands.

The examination of land legislation and its implementation in the Gard allows Plack to assess in her last chapters the broader social and economic significance of common land reform. Plack acknowledges that the majority of communes did not experience common land division and that in any case peasants frequently devoted their new plots to subsistence agriculture—facts that remind us of villagers' commitment to collective uses and that in places the revolution reinforced peasant subsistence practices. Yet because at least forty-two percent of communities in the Gard experienced the privatization of common land and because much of that land was devoted to an expansion of commercial viticulture by smallholding peasants, Plack concludes that the French Revolution had a "profound impact . . . not only on rural society and the economy, but also on the lives of ordinary people" (p. 159). According to her, southern France's mid-nineteenth-century "viticulural revolution" had its roots in the 1793 legislation privatizing common land.

Plack's introduction clarifies the direction of her book but does not proffer a thesis. As such, her sweeping conclusion arrives as something of a surprise at the end of a cautious and nuanced study that is sensitive to local conditions and that also declines to endorse either side of the debate between Lefebvre and Anatoli Ado, who claimed respectively that the peasant revolution was anti-capitalist and that peasants were small-scale agrarian capitalists. In addition, given her continual references to and citations of Nadine Vivier's corpus of work on common land, Plack might have justified her book in the context of that preexisting scholarship. Finally, the nature of Plack's sources and her focus on legislation mean that only opaque light is shed on the "lives of ordinary people." Still, this is a welcome and commendable book. Readers will appreciate its up-to-date discussion of scholarly debates and the painstaking archival research that results in Plack's convincing demonstration that the common land legislation of 1793 had a far greater impact than previously thought.

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JEAN LE BIHAN. *Au service de l'état: Les fonctionnaires intermédiaires au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2008. Pp. 365. €19.00.

Middle-grade officials—"intermediary functionaries" in Jean Le Bihan's terminology—were state officials



who neither conceived of social policy nor carried it out in person but who linked makers and executors. Le Bihan is concerned with the collective consciousness of these men. Did a new corporative identity develop over the course of the nineteenth century? Did these men acquire a sense of shared community? Why or why not? The answer to these questions can tell us a lot about the character of state formation and about the autonomy and independence of government in nineteenth-century France. In what country more than France, with its legendary centralization, might the state be expected to act as an autonomous force?

To study the growth of identity among middle-grade officials and changes in their mode of integration into the French state, Le Bihan focuses on three bureaucratic groups: prefectural administrators (*"gradés" de prefecture*), tax collectors (*percepteurs*), and assistant civil engineers (*conducteurs*). He analyzes these groups in an area of France that was not economically and socially typical in any ideal sense but which possessed features common to many French departments, the Ille-et-Vilaine, in the Breton region of western France between 1825 and 1914. It was a predominantly agricultural region, with Rennes a medium-sized city that was a geographic crossroads and an old bastion of republicanism in a region more famous for its legitimism. To study these groups Le Bihan brings to bear an impressive array of archival sources: departmental year-books and registers of births, deaths, and marriages, supplemented by matriculation records and administrative dossiers. By the end of this fascinating study we know where these men lived in the city, the families into which they married, and the number of children they had.

Examining how employment niches evolved into coordinated careers, Le Bihan discovers a "professionalization paradox." Over the course of the nineteenth century the responsibilities of middle-grade officials increased, the number of people they supervised grew, recruitment formalized, work hierarchies proliferated. Spatial mobility intensified and centralized control expanded. Yet at the same time a promotion ceiling made it almost impossible for intermediary functionaries to reach the summit of their professions. At the top of the hierarchy were men whose relations with social elites and political decision makers were more intimate than members of the lower ranks could hope to attain. While France democratized, and recruitment to the middle grades also democratized, the ceiling on upward movement within the bureaucracy not only remained but remained largely unchallenged. According to Le Bihan, middle-grade officials accepted subordination and obedience in exchange for security and state recognition. Intermediary officials earned relatively high wages, were entitled to pensions, frequently received public honors and, unlike their superiors, did not fear purgation at every change in the form of administration. They were regarded both by their neighbors and the administration as the visible and responsible presence of the state in their locality.

While a look at our three groups reveals elements of convergence, important differences remained and hindered the evolution of corporative consciousness. The government sought most to accommodate assistant civil engineers who could find alternative employment in private industry or who could strike out on their own. Fewer political concessions were made to the prefectural staff who were dispersed and isolated, thus difficult to organize, with little chance of exterior employment.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, collective organization within the middle grades consisted of mutual-aid societies and professional lobbies for particular occupational interest groups. The advisory character of middle-grade organizations distinguished them from trade unions that white-collar workers were forming. National organization made middle grades aware of common occupational interests, but no larger sense of identity emerged.

Le Bihan presents a splendidly comprehensive comparison of the evolution of three bureaucratic groups and it seems ungrateful after this bounty to ask for more. Still, while the book tells us much about the relationships among the middle grades and the higher echelons, it slights the lower echelons, giving us little sense of what was happening below where white-collar worker and lower level administrator blended together. Le Bihan's efforts at providing a comparative perspective are tentative, justifiably so. For comparative purposes he posits a coherent French model to inform his investigation of bureaucratic identity. While he has established points of convergence, he may underestimate points of divergence. A search for national models may be too ambitious given the present state of comparative administrative history. That Britain and the United States lack an equivalent job title or work category for the French occupation of *conducteur* illustrates the need to better understand component parts before reaching for an overview. Andrew Abbott's seminal study of international occupational differences (*The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* [1988]) reminds us that occupational structures, once established, can be enduring and their formation shaped by contingency and historical circumstance.

Nonetheless, this is an exciting and impressive study of bureaucratic evolution in one particularly important bureaucratic state, the French one. It should serve to inspire others and to promote comparative analysis.

MICHAEL HANAGAN  
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JEFFREY HAUS. *Challenges of Equality: Judaism, State, and Education in Nineteenth-Century France*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 230. \$49.95.

Focusing on the unceasing struggles of communal leaders to secure state support for Jewish schooling, Jeffrey Haus's book represents a valuable contribution to the history of the Jews in nineteenth-century France. Most

studies devoted to the post-1789 era have emphasized the ideological concerns, political challenges, and thorny issues of identity that confronted the first Jewish population in Europe to attain citizenship. In this solidly researched monograph, Haus is not only attentive to the nitty-gritty details of budget and finance, but he utilizes this data to elucidate broader issues facing modern French Jews.

Haus divides his account of Jewish education into three parts, beginning with the establishment of the consistorial system during the Napoleonic regime and ending with the separation of church and state in 1906. Parts one (chapters one-three) and two (chapters four-five) are devoted to primary and rabbinical education while part three (chapters six-eight) concentrates on the impact of French anticlericalism. Although not an unfamiliar story, this description of Jewish schooling is more concrete than previous accounts. Government funding serves as a barometer of state attitudes toward Judaism and, to a lesser degree, of Jewish attitudes toward the state. No less important than the material support it provided, state funding conferred legitimacy upon Jewish education and culture.

The analytical thrust of this book revolves around the major French educational legislation of the nineteenth century. On the basis of his detailed treatment of the Guizot Law (1833), Haus concludes that its impact was not as beneficial to Jewish education as is assumed because it required the consent of municipal authorities before permission to open a secular school could be granted. Although official state policy sanctioned separate Jewish schooling, financial constraints and a range of religious and political factors often precluded the allocation of adequate governmental resources. Moreover, consistorial leaders discovered that after 1831, when expenses of the Jewish religion were included in the national budget, there was greater difficulty in securing financial backing for Jewish schools than before. Nor were Jewish communities themselves united in support of separate Jewish schooling, as is proven by the insistence of some members that integration required attendance at French schools.

Paradoxically, by expanding the instructional and supervisory powers of the Catholic clergy, the Falloux Law (1850) undermined the ability of communes to resist the increasing religious influence. Although this development stymied the growth of Jewish primary education, it encouraged the creation of supplementary religious programs in the public schools. Haus argues that the new programs were part of a novel plan to broaden the appeal of French Judaism among affluent families and to respond to Catholic conversionary pressures. But most of all, supplementary instruction signified the failure of Jewish communities to attain adequate funding for their schools.

Haus skillfully chronicles the establishment of the central rabbinical academy in Metz in 1829 and the ensuing efforts to form a modern rabbinate. The modernization of rabbinic training was viewed as crucial to the advancement of Jewish social integration, although

the precise steps toward the realization of this goal were extensively debated within the government and among consistorial leaders. As the rabbinical school budget came to depend almost entirely on public funding, the state gained considerable leverage in shaping the curriculum. Convinced that indifference to secular education undermined the ability of the French rabbinate to exercise moral influence, the Ministry of Religion required Latin and Greek as part of rabbinic training. In addition to the clear link connecting the financial relationship between Judaism and state to the transformation of the rabbinate, curricular reform reflected the changing public role that rabbis were expected to play as well as wider trends in French secondary education. Later, in an era of renewed emphasis on technical and scientific training, the school was able to reinforce the more traditional elements of rabbinical education.

Part three is devoted to the rise of French anticlericalism in the decades following the collapse of the Second Empire, especially as reflected in the Ferry laws (1878–1882). During this period, the political influence of the Catholic Church weakened while state influence in schooling grew stronger. Haus meticulously describes how laicization led to the erosion of support for Jewish institutions. Even so, consistorial schools continued to conform to standards set by the state, particularly the subordination of religious instruction to secular studies, because they depended on municipal authorization. Following the separation of religion and state, the Consistory turned its attention to the absorption of East European immigrants. Ultimately, consistorial leaders abandoned the model of education that combined religious and secular learning in a specifically Jewish environment, and “in its place they created a more broadly defined Jewish educational space beyond the reach of French public life” (p. 150). In this shifting political environment, the unique elements of French Judaism were emphasized alongside the prominent place it was expected to occupy in the public sphere.

Viewed through the lens of state funding, education offers a valuable perspective on the complex challenges facing modern Jewry. By examining the language and concerns of government officials alongside internal discussions among Jewish leaders, this book advances our understanding of Jewish policy making, of the changing boundaries between Jewish and civic space, and of the evolving relationship of Jews and the state.

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SÉBASTIEN DUBOIS. *La révolution géographique en Belgique: Départementalisation, administration et représentations du territoire de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.* (Classe des Lettres.) Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique. 2008. Pp. 335. €25.00.

“It is a known fact,” Sébastien Dubois states, that the French Revolution modernized the political and administrative space of its small neighbor. Dubois, an ar-

chivist who has worked at the Royal Archives in Brussels and in Liège, nuances this view of the Belgian geographical revolution in his detailed study of the changing divisions of Belgian territory at the turn of the nineteenth century. Not everything changed. French revolutionaries organized departments on the foundation of Old Regime structures, and these territorial divisions have been preserved in modern Belgian provinces.

Dubois explores the organization of space but also analyzes the residents' and rulers' perceptions of that space. How, he asks, do the inhabitants change their identities from the period of Austrian rule at the end of the eighteenth century through independence in 1789 through French rule and into independence in 1830? In his "new historical geography," he asks "how men represented themselves, lived, thought, and perceived space" (p. 16). Rather than featuring maps as would a classical historical geographer, he studies the "relations between political space and space, between geography and collective identity, and the ways one conditions the other" (p. 17).

Territorial structures overlapped under the old regime structures creating a "confusion of jurisdictions" (p. 36). At the local level, the *terroir* was the land cultivated by a group of men, usually within a village or several hamlets. The parish was not only the ecclesiastical division, but the social grouping of parishioners under one priest. The village was imprecisely delimited and defined. The boundaries of the seigneurie often straddled and divided these local institutions. Above these structures ranged the state, understood both as an abstract political society and as a concrete entity that was broken into provinces.

Political change throughout the period moved in the direction of centralization. The Brabant Revolution of 1789 required the collaboration of all the provinces under the slogan "Union makes strength" (p. 41). The increasing intervention of the state in local affairs defined a greater sense of national identity. By the end of the eighteenth century, Dubois contends, it was not just a question of borders marking the limits of a monarch's prerogatives but of a national identity defined by a common culture.

The driving force behind all of the reforms was the attempt to make the rule of the state more efficient. That meant eliminating overlapping jurisdictions. Austrian Emperor Joseph II divided the Belgian provinces into nine circles, all uniform and taking their orders from the center. Rather than replacing the Old Regime structures as historians often assume, Joseph superimposed new institutions on old foundations. The French Committee of Public Safety had more room to maneuver as it tried to rationalize the state. There was even continuity among administrators, Dubois explains, tracing the career of Charles Doutrepont, a supporter of Joseph's reforms, who led the Brabant revolutionaries and joined the French Administration centrale et supérieure de la Belgique, all the while working to revolutionize the organization of space to regenerate the

Belgian provinces. As soon as French officials left, the old geographical terminology reappeared, but the central vision of a Belgian nation remained.

Belgian nationality is a highly contested topic. Dubois considers the linguistic divide but only gives it the importance that contemporaries did: that is, fleeting references to the difficulties of administering this "bizarre assemblage of different countries where they speak German, Walloon, and Flemish" (p. 155). Instead of tracing back the current struggles between the Flemish and Walloons, Dubois pays attention to relations with German speakers, to the incorporation of Liège and Bouillon into Belgium.

Dubois conducted research in fourteen separate archives in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. His meticulous research has allowed him to ferret out all of the significant references to territorial divisions and his thorough understanding of the period allows him to analyze these divisions and projects in their cultural context. He uses a wide range of documents, including a set of 1776 essays in response to a question posed by the Academy of Brussels on the effects of emigration on "the national character" of the Belgians (p. 169). He sets his understanding firmly in the context of recent historiography. Although the lengthy quotes convey a deep understanding of the period, they can interrupt the flow of the author's argument. Dubois traces each of the reform projects and the development of resistance in admirable detail. That makes this study, awarded a prize by the Belgian Royal Academy, useful to students of Belgian history, although the references to places ranging down to hamlets and villages may exclude some non-specialists.

JANET POLASKY

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KEES BOTERBLOEM. *The Fiction and Reality of Jan Struys: A Seventeenth-Century Dutch Globetrotter*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. vi, 315. £55.00.

Jan Struys, a Dutch sail maker, recounted his "perilous and most unhappy voyages" in a book published in 1676. By the late seventeenth century, travel accounts had become a very popular genre, both in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere in Europe. The publisher expected substantial profits, as he had purchased a costly privilege from the States of Holland that protected his copyright for the next fifteen years. Still, the success of this volume must have been a surprise to both publisher and author. Dozens of reprints and abridged versions followed, not only in Dutch but also translated into French, German, English, and Russian. The book is a remarkable early example of a view of the world beyond Europe seen through the eyes of a traveler from a low station of life. It remained widely read well into the eighteenth century, and was used, for example, as a source by the famous French naturalist Comte de Buffon. Today the book remains important for historians of regions of the world visited by Struys, including Africa, Indonesia, Thailand, Taiwan, Japan, and the Ot-

toman Empire, where he served for a time as galley slave in the 1650s. The value of his work is particularly great for the history of Russia in the years around 1670, when he was in the service of the tsar. Another region to which Struys devotes much space is Safavid Iran, where he and several other Dutchmen in Russian service were captured. Here Struys was for the second time enslaved. After two years, in 1672, his freedom was purchased by a Polish diplomat. After extensive further travels he finally made it home to the Dutch Republic.

Kees Boterbloem has written a critical study about this successful book, both examining its literary aspects and gauging its historical value. Struys's adventures sometimes seem exaggerated. But since so few adventurous travels were recorded, we have relatively little comparative material with which to judge his account. Roelof van Gelder's study of the travel accounts of German sailors and soldiers in the service of the Dutch East India Company could have served to stress this point. That fiction and reality could be a problematic mix was already clear at the time of the book's publication. At the end of his life Struys had to defend himself against accusations of falsification. There were, and are, certainly reasons for doubt. Boterbloem makes clear that the book was written by a ghostwriter, probably Olfert Dapper, a well-known scholar living in Amsterdam who himself had published several historical and geographical books. As Boterbloem learned from archival material, Struys could not write and must have related his tales from memory. Struys's travel accounts, particularly the first two sections on Asia and the Mediterranean, were, however, supplemented by his ghostwriter with stories from earlier publications. The more specific the details, the less authentic they were, concludes Boterbloem. However, there is also much original information, as is clear from the third part, on Russia. This section is the most extensively analyzed by Boterbloem, who is a specialist in the field of Russian history. Here he concludes that fiction never altogether replaces facts. And more than that, Struys is an important source for the reign of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and Stenka Razin's rebellion. The book is also informative about the earliest efforts to build a Russian navy. This is of great interest as this was the period in which Russia began entering the European orbit. The book finally provides unique information about Struys's encounters with the Muslim culture of Iran. Boterbloem's study thus contributes to a number of important fields of historical study.

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ARIANNE BAGGERMAN and RUDOLF DEKKER. *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary*. Translated by DIANE WEBB. (Egdocuments and History, number 1.) Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xii, 553. \$158.00.

In 1791, just two years after the outbreak of the French Revolution, Otto van Eyck of the Netherlands was

given a diary by his parents. Although the eleven-year-old would have probably preferred something playful, the gift came with a burdensome assignment: Otto would have to record his education in its pages. His Dutch elite parents wanted to provide their eldest son with the latest ideas of the thinkers of the Enlightenment. In the words of John Locke, Otto was a *tabula rasa*—but in the course of the following seven years, the pages filled with his thoughts and ideas from his books and school assignments. The reader quickly notices how Otto was educated and how the ideas of the enlightened pedagogues infiltrated and were disseminated into the mind of a teenager in late-eighteenth-century Holland.

The main sources of this book are the diary recordings that Otto kept between his eleventh and seventeenth year (1791–1797). The authors, Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, set out to reconstruct Otto's life by completely recreating his experiences and world in the 1790s. The book starts by climbing the tower of Delft just as Otto had done two hundred years earlier. Otto counted 333 steps to the top but there are actually 365, one for each day of the year. Otto miscounted. Today the view from the top is also different. The country estates that could have easily been seen in the distance beyond the city boundaries are no longer visible. Perhaps this is an allegory of the historian who tries to reconstruct the past. Can the past ever be reconstructed and be true to its historical subjects, and can the historian see the past without being clouded by his own contemporary vision?

In this respect the authors are successful, because they provide an excellent panoramic overview of Otto's world and education. Drawing on a wide diversity of sources, including international and Dutch authors, pedagogical treatises and manuals, medical manuals, novels, family histories, encyclopedias, travelogues, and maps, Baggerman and Dekker carefully recreate the world in which Otto lived. They reconstruct and analyze his required reading, his study of the natural world with plants and animals, the social world he lived in, his geographical environs, Dutch society at the time he lived, the meaning and significance of time, and the political upheaval that Dutch society underwent during the 1780s. This upheaval was a preamble of the French Revolution, which in turn heralded the revolutionary change that Holland underwent after French occupation. In the final chapter the authors address his lifelong poor health and ultimately his early death at the age of seventeen from tuberculosis.

Otto is the eighteenth-century version of the "Boy in the Bubble." Instead of oxygen being pumped into a germ-free plastic tent, every pedagogical thought and idea was carefully filtered into Otto. At many times there is an uneasy feeling about how controlled his education was, and how his parents wanted him to grow up to their liking. For example, Otto intensely enjoyed being outdoors and doing manual labor together with the farmhands on his father's estate. He dug and hauled sand in a wheelbarrow, and he disclosed in his diary that he enjoyed watching the men working. When he com-



plained to his parents that he would “rather be in the field helping the workers to drive the cart” than do his homework, his parents forbade him from watching the field hands. When Otto revealed that he wanted to be a farmer when he grew up, his parents strongly discouraged that profession and encouraged him to be a lawyer or clergyman, occupations more suitable to the family’s elite social standing. This is more revealing about the nature of Otto’s enlightened parents than about him.

When it comes to puberty and adolescence, the reader yearns for more about Otto’s rites of passage into becoming a man. With the exception of touching on the heated debate of masturbation in the eighteenth century, the authors avoid addressing the contemporary discourse on manhood and masculinity. In the years that Otto kept his diary (between his eleventh and seventeenth) he went through puberty, could have started drinking excessive amounts of alcohol, and could have been more rebellious in his behavior toward his parents, as was quite common for adolescents in the early modern period in all social echelons of Dutch society. The fact that the authors do not address these rites of passage suggests that even at the age of seventeen Otto was still (considered) a boy.

Throughout the book, the nature and nurture debate lingers. Otto’s parents were lucky with him. He was a socially and morally well-adapted child, a good *natured* human being. He was clearly *nurtured* with an enlightened education by his progressive parents. The latter were the real children of the Enlightenment, because they consciously embraced enlightened pedagogical thought and wanted their children to grow up with its ideology.

BENJAMIN ROBERTS  
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MICHAEL PRINTY. *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 246. \$90.00.

Michael Printy argues that an endeavor by civic-minded burghers and jurists to rethink the relationship between church and state in eighteenth-century Central Europe constituted a distinct Catholic Enlightenment, whose intellectual concerns and cultural accents framed German Catholicism for the next 150 years. This endeavor was reformist rather than revolutionary: it sprang from disillusionment not so much with Catholicism as with the institutional constraints and practical limitations of an imperial church weakened by rational criticism, incipient nationalism, and the economic and social imperatives of state building. In presenting an intellectual project that reimagined the church as a vital and binding force in modern public life, Printy joins Jonathan Sheehan, David Sorkin, Dale K. Van Kley, and other revisionist scholars who claim that the Enlightenment reshaped and reinvented, rather than simply attacked, traditional religion.

Printy’s argument rests upon an imposing command of Latin, German, and French texts, whose authors

translated Enlightenment ideas about a rightly ordered civil society into the idiom of Reform Catholicism. Included in the tightly integrated analysis are such pivotal theorists as Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, whose legal challenge to papal primacy aroused dedicated reformist energies, as well as lesser-known figures like the imperial councilor Joseph Sartori, who pleaded for decisive state intervention in ecclesiastical finance. Printy also considers relevant pamphlet literature and opinion journalism, whose defining *élan* expressed abiding regard for the institutional and cultural contributions of historic Christianity as well as the individualism characteristic of rational reassessment.

Reformist sympathies developed along three main vectors of critique. The primary target was the jurisdictional power of the papal monarchy, which, according to Hontheim and the German Gallicans, had usurped German liberties and could not withstand legal scrutiny. Printy’s articulate examination of the historical status of papal claims in the minds of these early reformers anchors the remainder of the study. The reformers’ reassertion of the episcopal idea did more than demand autonomy. It also emboldened a generation of Catholic intellectuals to press a right to reformulate and direct the church as it adjusted to modern conditions. The Febronian struggle was thus the cradle and the galvanizing event of the Catholic Enlightenment in Central Europe.

Reformers were just as keen to curtail the temporal powers of the *Reichskirche*, and by the same rhetorical devices of usurpation and recovery. Worldly cathedral chapters, wealthy benefices, and exemption from taxation were not ordained by an independent ecclesiastical society; rather, Germany’s huge clerical establishment was a product of accidental and positive laws, which the secular state was authorized, at any time, to rescind. Now was the time. The utilitarian concerns of state building demanded the suppression of monasteries, amortization of clerical wealth, and heavy taxation of church property.

The reformers’ arrogation to the state economic matters that had traditionally pertained to salvation was, in fact, just part of their general revision of German social life, which also required the rationalization of “superstitious” Baroque piety. Pilgrimages, Marian sodalities, village miracles, the imprecations of Jesuit harangue—these encouraged but idleness and fanaticism in the common people, reformers alleged, and could not be tolerated in a prosperous civil society led by reasonable, morally probative, and practical men. Here Printy establishes most successfully the bourgeois foundations of Reform Catholicism.

Because it neglects such basic topics as humanitarianism, popular sovereignty, the growing epistemological hegemony of inductive science, and expanding public spheres, Printy’s study of Reform Catholicism, however well designed and subtle, is not a fully contextualized addition to Enlightenment scholarship. And yet it is hard to imagine an account of the Catholic Enlightenment in Central Europe without Printy’s con-

tribution, for it persuasively establishes the interpretive framework of accommodation within which the history of Reform Catholicism unfolded. I am less enthusiastic about Printy's further assertion that the Reform Catholicism of the eighteenth century explains the predicament of the Catholic bourgeoisie in the nineteenth. Protestant nationalists and ultramontane clergy may very well have compelled the Catholic *Mittelstand* to reside somewhere "between Germany and Rome" (p. 217), but leaving it at that is a simplification in need of greater analytical precision. The official nationalism of the Imperial German state, for example, even at its most intolerant and aggressive, was more seductive among Catholic bourgeois than Printy assumes, while popular piety, despite appearances, very often served rational ends, such as the attainment of literacy and education. The determination of "what it meant to be German" (p. 21), then, as well as what it meant to be "enlightened," remained, for the bourgeoisie as well as for the lower classes, decidedly open questions. Despite these reservations, Printy has written an intellectually ambitious and learned study of the cohesion and identity of modern bourgeois Catholicism. Its academic quality is offset by regrettably indifferent copyediting of text, notes, and bibliography.

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TILL VAN RAHDEN. *Jews and Other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860-1925*. Translated by MARCUS BRAINARD. (George L. Mosse Series in Modern European Cultural and Intellectual History.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 477. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

ABRAHAM ASCHER. *A Community under Siege: The Jews of Breslau under Nazism*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 324. \$55.00.

The study of the modern German Jewish experience is veering into two realms of research: modern Jewish history and the Holocaust. As long as historians of German Jewry documented the torturous path toward emancipation, Jews' exclusion and marginalization, as well as the allegedly unmitigated process of assimilation, their works provided an instructive context into which the history of harassment, intimidation, and destruction of the Holocaust could be placed. During the last decades, however, historians of German Jewry have created an ever more complex and varied account that investigates the identity formation of German Jewry and Jews' integration and acceptance into the German middle class. Where German Jewish historians found openness and acceptance, historians of the Holocaust forged a narrative of marginalization, hatred, and violence. These discrepancies are nowhere more apparent than in the field of local studies. These two local studies on Breslau constitute a welcome opportunity to bring together the diverging interests.

The Silesian city was inhabited by the third-largest Jewish community in Germany; its 20,000 members represented four to eight percent of the city's population from 1860 to 1925. Till van Rahden pursues his investigation by placing Breslau's Jewish history in the context of an open German society largely untainted by the relentless forces of the homogenizing nation-state. His book therefore endeavors to document the relative openness and fluidity of the "multicultural liberalism" in this former German metropolis (p. 5). Offering a series of historiographic revisions, he identifies Jews neither as members of a self-contained subculture nor as an excluded minority, but aims to write "the history of German Jews simultaneously as a part of Jewish, German-Jewish, and German history" (p. 3).

In Breslau, Jews were disproportionately overrepresented in the middle class, liberal politics, and society; existing discrimination never resulted in the breakdown of the city's experiment with the politics of diversity. Abraham Ascher's book focuses on Breslau Jewry as a microcosm of Jews in Germany under Nazism. Like others before him, Ascher reveals the complexity of the situation of Jews during this period and captures a courageous and defiant community that remained committed to its place in Germany even on the eve of its own destruction.

Both studies are meticulously researched, utilizing scores of published and archival resources and, in Ascher's case, interviews with Jews from Breslau who survived the Holocaust as well as his own recollections. In Rahden's account, Breslau's society remained fairly diverse and pluralistic, negotiating ethnic, cultural, and regional differences. His densely documented book investigates social status, income levels, Jews' participation in associational life, intermarriages, and education, as well as resentment and hatred. The rise of political antisemitism in Breslau among a broad range of Catholic and right-wing nationalist dissenters in the 1880s proved to be a short-lasting intrusion into the liberal city politics that remained in effect until World War I. Conflicts over naturalization further undergird Rahden's argument, as the Prussian state government tended to override more liberal local recommendations to naturalize foreign Jews on the basis of their contribution to the city's economy.

Confronting World War I, Rahden accentuates the contrast between the liberal politics of the Kaiserreich and the breakdown of interreligious social links and rising violence in the 1920s. By the late 1920s the former liberal-minded Silesian capital saw the Nazi Party gaining higher electoral votes than the national average. Its rapid success might undermine Rahden's portrait of prewar Breslau, but his concluding chapter brings a number of specific local causes to bear that eroded Breslau's liberal politics. Weimar's repeal of the three-class suffrage system undermined Jews' prominent position in local politics and contributed significantly to weakening the left-wing liberalism that had traditionally restrained antisemitic voices in Breslau. Inflation eroded much of the economic profile of the Jewish com-

munity, which also absorbed during the Weimar Republic large numbers of mostly poor East European Jews. Finally, the shift of Germany's eastern borders westward turned the city into a frontier of German-Polish antagonism, the operational base for the Freikorps, and a hub of refugees from the former province of Posen (pp. 232–235).

Ascher's study commences where Rahden's book ends. Ascher, a specialist on late imperial Russia, dedicated himself to this study partly for personal reasons. Individual memories of the early phases of persecution are woven into the historical narrative but remain largely relegated to the introduction. The author begins by reviewing the history of Breslau's vibrant Jewish community from the Middle Ages to the Nazi period. Within this survey Rahden's success story appears as a fleeting moment in the *longue durée* of the community's past. To be sure, Ascher acknowledges the fairly high level of integration (pp. 42–48), but unlike Rahden he contends that the Jewish community was, despite its economic success, socially isolated. Moreover, he gives more weight to the surge of antisemitism in the city. In 1880 5,000 people from Breslau signed a petition that circulated in Germany calling for the exclusion of Jews from teaching positions and governmental services (p. 49).

Ascher also emphasizes that the Jewish community was severely weakened during the Weimar Republic. At the height of the Depression, thirty percent of the Jewish community received support from the Jewish Welfare Office (p. 37). In addition, like Rahden, Ascher observes the early erosion of left-wing liberalism in the city. Social Democratic support in 1924 declined to 30.12 percent in comparison to 50.9 percent in 1919. In 1932, citizens of Breslau voted disproportionately for the Nazi Party (43.5 percent compared to 37.4 percent nationally; p. 60).

Ascher describes Jews' responses to social marginalization, harassment, and violence. The community turned inward and ties strengthened that signaled a "stance of defiance" (p. 23). In 1935, the community dedicated substantial funds to the renovation of the crumbling New Synagogue, and Rabbi Hermann Vogelstein, preaching on the High Holy Days that September, described the commitment and religious devotion of Breslau's Jews as a means to "remain upright" (p. 122). New cultural and educational institutions were created to meet new demands when economic pressure made it increasingly impossible for community members to function economically. Pride surfaced as a key word in local Jewish newspapers of the time (p. 88), and Ascher delineates Jews' constant attempt to provide for themselves and to refuse either to "abandon their institutions or the values they had nurtured" (p. 24). While the intensifying Aryanization deprived Jews of their ability to make a living, the community managed to keep its school and other institutions open until spring 1942. Moreover, the support of the community by some of its affluent members allowed the maintenance

of institutions that both provided for Jews in Breslau and supported emigration.

Acknowledging the importance of Nazi racialism, which deemed Jews to be inferior to Aryans and a threat to German society, Ascher detects a level of "sheer thuggery and sadism" that ideology alone could not have generated (p. 22). Even prior to Kristallnacht, carefully crafted lists documented the assets of individual Jews and of the community as a whole (p. 132). The legal pretense of the Nazi onslaught barely veiled the criminal appropriation of Jewish wealth, meshing ideological motives with simple greed. Indeed, even the Breslau police, who aided the "legal" looting of Jewish assets, expressed unease about Germans personally profiting from the plight of the Jews. In 1938, the police chief of Breslau noted that individual profiteering "arouses a considerable amount of agitation among the public" (p. 181).

At least up until late 1937 it appeared to some as if Breslau's Jews might survive the onslaught (p. 111). Members of the community hoped that the Nuremberg Laws represented the last of the severe Nazi measures. In 1935 Jewish war veterans still received an Honorary Cross "in the name of Führer and Reich Chancellor" (p. 113). Up until 1938 there was still some consolation in the fact that Jews could count on receiving their pensions. But renewed violence in late 1937 and Kristallnacht in 1938 led to economic deprivation, destruction of property, and the disappearance of 2,400 men during a pogrom that terrified the community. By the autumn of 1939, over one half of the Jewish population had emigrated. As early as May 29 of that year, Gauleiter Karl Hanke had announced his intention to purge the city of its Jewish inhabitants. By May 1945, only 160 Jews remained in Breslau.

Ascher's traditional account of the community's destruction illuminates another chapter in the history of the Holocaust. Rahden's book, by contrast, takes an immensely innovative and compelling approach to the study of German Jewry and to German history in general. His revisions of previous historiographical certainties open a new path to the modern Jewish experience and can serve as a model for the investigation of nation-states and their internal social, ethnic, and religious diversity. Rahden's method might at times seem to privilege the history of the universal at the expense of the particular. The internal process of Jews' cultural and religious modernization is treated comparatively lightly. Yet his study does much more than tell the story of a regional Jewish community: it reviews the legacy of liberalism, its success and failure in Breslau, and encourages his readers to continue this questioning.

It is unfortunate that Ascher barely ever cites or engages Rahden's interpretation directly, but in the end, these two books are a welcome addition to the plethora of local studies. They complement one another without contradicting each other significantly and present an important convergence of two realms of scholarly investigation. To be sure, Rahden attributes the collapse of liberal consensus in Breslau to local as well as na-

tional causes, while Ascher gives more significance to longstanding forms of resentment and hatred and the radicalization of antisemitism. Both books remind us that assessing the roots and longevity of antisemitic thought and behavior remains a difficult task.

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CHRISTIAN SAEHRENDT. *Kunst als Botschafter einer künstlerischen Nation: Studien zur Rolle der bildenden Kunst in der Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik der DDR*. (Pallas Athene: Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, number 27.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2009. Pp. 197. €34.00.

Diplomatic and cultural history find common ground in Christian Saehrendt's study of German cultural policy as an integral part of foreign policy. Nominally a book on the role of art in the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) diplomatic strategy to establish itself in the global community as a legitimate, sovereign state, this work achieves a much larger goal. In just over 150 pages, Saehrendt offers a fascinating history of Germany's turn to culture as diplomacy beginning with the end of World War I. The emphasis on the GDR in the book's title and English-language summary in the appendix (pp. 175–197) is thus both understated and slightly misleading, since the author makes clear that the evolution of art as a marker of national sovereignty has long been a part of German domestic and international policies, an aspect of foreign policy that has not received enough attention in more traditional diplomatic accounts of German history.

Beginning with Germany's diplomatic isolation after the Great War, Saehrendt identifies recurring themes in German political history. First, Germany's reputation as a diplomatic powerhouse ended decisively in 1918, forcing the foreign affairs office to refashion its approach to maintaining economic and political ties to other countries. Art quickly filled the vacuum left by the elimination of traditional diplomatic practices. Germany, shunned by the world, developed a new kind of diplomacy, one aimed at establishing mutual respect between its and other nations' citizens rather than focusing on individual statesmen. Over the course of the twentieth century, a program of cultural diplomacy became the hallmark of German regimes' interactions with the world.

With rare exception, German cultural diplomacy consistently proceeded along identifiable steps. First, German politicians looked to showcase German culture in other countries in ways that would reach a large number of people. German foreign affairs offices estimated that art exhibits, in particular sculpture and paintings, would command thousands of visitors (as opposed to a few hundred audience members at musical performances; p. 31). Second, the appropriate target audience had to be found. In most cases over the century, Germany

looked to other countries for citizens of German heritage. The belief in an "ethnic card" that, if played correctly, would open a country's door to other citizens extended to encouraging German artists to work in the other country's language in order to keep their art accessible. Thus, in the United States, German artists produced text in English (pp. 15–16); at the opening of a 1929 German-Polish exhibit in Warsaw, the German ambassador spoke in French in order to emphasize his message of the international character of art (p. 20). Finally, German governments relied heavily on a mixture of third parties and government-sponsored organizations to arrange and finance art exhibits, so that art historians and museum curators exercised strong influence over an exhibit's content and message. This policy continues to the present day, as seen in such organizations as the Goethe Institute, and has largely mitigated traditional diplomats' attempts at inserting overtly political messages into cultural exhibits (pp. 14, 28, 53).

To be sure, the content of such exhibits reflected changes in German regimes and their diplomatic objectives. The Weimar Republic became synonymous with modernity in the interwar years, while expressionist art all but disappeared from exhibits on tour because of its perceived association with a warmongering Germany, only to reappear as an example of art-cum-political criticism in later years (pp. 13–15, 55). Unsurprisingly, during the National Socialist period, German policy makers eliminated Jewish artists from the repertoire (p. 29) while pursuing different approaches to cultural diplomacy in Western Europe and the United States versus Eastern Europe. Countries like France enjoyed prestigious exchanges of French and German artists—an attempt to disprove perceptions of Germans as barbarians (p. 41). In East European countries such as Poland, German officials repressed the occupied country's own art, banning anything that smacked of nationalism, and exhibited Germany's "superior" works (p. 44). Here, Saehrendt demonstrates that even a dictatorship could not always agree on its cultural diplomatic practices: before World War II ended art exchanges, Adolf Hitler increasingly refused to allow excellent German art to leave the country for fear of losing it to other countries' museums permanently (p. 45). Much ink has been spilled on the occupying powers' own cultural policies in the two Germanies after World War II; Saehrendt illustrates that East and West German cultural-diplomatic policies provided underpinnings for each emerging state's claim to being the true, and better, Germany.

Saehrendt's book has implications that reach far beyond the role of arts in the rise and fall of the GDR. His wide-ranging use of sources, which includes numerous archival documents, twentieth-century exhibit catalogues from around the world, and correspondence with curators, results in a compelling argument about the role of art in nations' diplomatic credibility. The



work represents a major achievement in the historiography of modern nation building.

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SUSAN BARTON. *Healthy Living in the Alps: The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland, 1860–1914*. (Studies in Popular Culture.) New York: Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, New York. 2008. Pp. 202. £55.00.

From the 1860s on, a few Swiss alpine villages were transformed from mostly poor rural communities into prosperous towns that catered to the needs and desires of members of the European elites. Some of these towns, such as Davos, Arosa, and Leysin, became exclusive health resorts where wealthy patients went to seek cures from tuberculosis or other ailments. Readers of Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* (1924) will be familiar with the daily routine of the prosperous people seeking health and pleasure in a Davos sanatorium prior to World War I.

This book explores the origins of Switzerland's health, wellness, and winter tourism industry. In five case studies, Susan Barton describes the similarities and differences between different resort towns. While the resort of Leysin discouraged the development of winter sports attractions and therefore attracted people who were mostly concerned about their health, the resorts of Grindelwald and St. Moritz quickly acquired major reputations as winter playgrounds for the wealthy. St. Moritz actively discouraged potential visitors who suffered from tuberculosis and promoted itself as a destination for the fit and healthy. By contrast, Davos and Arosa became centers for winter sports by building on their reputations as health resorts.

A study like Barton's has the potential to explore the complex dynamics among more or less regimented curative regimes in sanatoria, the luxury consumption demanded by wealthy clients, and the pleasure industry emerging around winter sports. Unfortunately the book falls short in this respect. The author concentrates on the institutional history of various tourism and sanatorium establishments and barely touches on more interesting questions about the social dynamics that fed the expanding tourism industry. There is little discussion of people's expectations and experiences. Her descriptions of the expansion of Swiss traffic infrastructure explain how people could get to particular destinations, but this tells us little about people's motivations to go there in the first place. In her final chapter Barton asks, "Who were the first winter sports men and women?" The way she answers the question is indicative of her anecdotal approach that pays little attention to overarching historical narratives and conceptual frameworks. The chapter consists of dozens of short biographical notes about British winter sports tourists that are based mostly on British census data. While she can show that not all of the visitors came from a background of wealth—there were also middle

and even lower-middle-class tourists—this approach makes for very tedious reading and provides only limited insights.

The book would certainly have benefited from a more thorough engagement with the scholarship in the history of medicine, social history, and the history of leisure and sports. The author relies for the most part on local and regional histories and ignores more important works that might have sharpened her conceptual focus. Her discussion of tuberculosis treatments in sanatoria, for example, would have greatly benefited from Flurin Condrau's *Lungenheilstalt und Patientenschicksal: Sozialgeschichte der Tuberkulose in Deutschland und England im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (2000). Barton makes scattered references to climatological approaches in medicine, but she does not fully explore the scientific and cultural assumptions that informed contemporary treatment regimes for tuberculosis. There is also no discussion of the by now extensive literature on *fin-de-siècle* health reform in other national contexts. Still, Barton has raised important questions about the relationship between health seeking and the rise of modern winter sports. How modern medical understandings and alpine health resorts might have furthered the rise and acceptance of a modern pleasure industry is certainly an issue that deserves further exploration.

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MONIQUE O'CONNELL. *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 127:1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 253. \$55.00.

This is a book about the Venetian maritime state, a subject much neglected both by English-language scholars, who have focused attention on the metropolis, and by Italian scholars, who have focused attention on the mainland empire as part of a debate about statehood in early modern Italy. Monique O'Connell examines the institutional structure of dominion, exploring the tension between the public roles and private lives of the governors sent out from Venice to administer its empire. Her book is based on extensive primary research in numerous archives, and although this detail is overwhelming at times, with its long lists of dates, names, and offices, it will make the text a key instrument for further research in this field.

Chapter one provides a useful political narrative of the development of the Venetian maritime empire from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, with a focus on the fifteenth century. Chapter two examines the institutional structure of governance, and here O'Connell uses a detailed analysis of electoral records to demonstrate the tendency of patrician families to develop connections with particular places. In theory, the Venetian republican system of rotating officials excluded private interest from governance; in practice, O'Connell shows

that private connections were essential to the functioning of power and the need to mediate between Venetian and local interests. For many Venetian families, the concentration of office-holding in certain locations was a deliberate strategy to complement their private interests, further consolidated by ties of marriage to local elites, a theme explored in chapter three. These networks of interlocking interests were particularly dense on Crete, which receives special attention here.

This corresponds to the model of the Renaissance state developed by Giorgio Chittolini and others (*Origini dello stato* [1994]), a system that formally maintained local privileges and customs within a composite state structure. At the same time, overall unity was provided by a complex system of superior justice, encompassing both the "ordinary" appeal process and "extraordinary" supplications for *grazie* (favors). This provided a field in which the tensions between central and local authorities and different legal systems could be worked out, with further flexibility deriving from Venice's traditional emphasis on the *arbitrium* (discretion) of judges. In chapter four, O'Connell shows how justice was a matter of ongoing (and sometimes interminable) negotiation between multiple actors: central authorities in Venice, governors, indigenous elites, and ordinary subjects. For example, peasants in Crete might appeal to central Venetian authorities against the abuses of feudal lords. In this way, those who had served as governors might continue to influence local affairs after their return to Venice, through membership of high political or judicial councils. Chapter five shows how personal networks served in the procurement of *grazie* outside the field of justice, for example in order to obtain offices, pensions, or debt relief. This "state-centered patronage system" (p. 107) was a key mechanism for the construction and maintenance of loyalty in delicate political contexts where Venetian authority was often weak and contested by rival powers and local resistance. Although in some ways the consolidation of private ties among governors and local elites smoothed the mechanisms of power, it could also be a source of tension for those excluded from the network. Chapter six explores cases where the fine line distinguishing state-sanctioned public favors from corruption was crossed, and the mechanisms employed by Venetian authorities to check the activities of local governors whose private influence might upset a fragile balance of power. This theme is further taken up in chapter seven, which examines instances of rebellion in Dalmatia and Crete.

Overall this is a model of conscientious, skillful, and extensive research that employs a wide range of sources from Venice and various archives of the maritime empire to enrich our understanding of the early modern state and the way it functioned in practice, emphasizing the complexity of public and private interactions. Nevertheless, there are some gaps in the picture. The book needed a conclusion to place its findings in the broader context of scholarship on empire. There is no attention here to economic factors, despite the fact that trade and

landholding were a key aspect of both public and private interests in empire. The overwhelmingly institutional focus of the book also left me wondering how the maritime state was different from the mainland empire. How did the interlocking personal networks emphasized by O'Connell influence cultural relations in a world where Catholic and Orthodox faiths and Islam were brought into direct engagement? How did these cultural encounters feed back into metropolitan culture? This book provides a useful tool for future research, but there is much still to be done.

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R. BURR LITCHFIELD. *Florence Ducal Capital, 1530–1630*. Electronic book. New York: ACLS Humanities E-Book. 2008.

The fruit of a Herculean scholarly endeavor, this book subjects three well-known censuses of the Medici dukes (1551, 1561, and 1632) to exhaustive statistical analysis in order to reveal trends in the city's social demography, economy, class structure, and occupational profile, as well as its courtly culture and processional and everyday life. R. Burr Litchfield exploits wherever possible the E-Book format and the Internet, and he encourages the reader to consider major themes in relation to their urban matrix. He eschews extravagant claims, cautioning that variables such as incomplete reporting and the different purposes for which the surveys were conducted mean that his censuses are not always directly comparable (see par. 29). He also observes that none of the surveys used here is as comprehensive as its republican ancestor, the tax surveys of the *catasto* carried out intermittently in Florence between 1427 and 1480. Each of Litchfield's censuses, however, and the other surveys with which he supplements them, contains rich veins of information including names, surnames, household structure, occupation, street addresses (of domestic and commercial property), values of rental property, building patterns, patterns of morbidity, and a host of other data. Combined as they are here, these sources constitute a goldmine for the historian who wishes to shed light on a period of social and cultural transformation that has remained little known to all but a few specialists, but which is no less historically significant than the legendary cultural flowering that occurred in Florence from the early decades of the fifteenth century.

The seven chapters of this study reveal how the residential patterns of noble and patrician courtiers, courtly officials, and the host of functionaries and workers who depended on ducal patronage responded to the intra-urban migrations of the Medici court in the period studied. Litchfield investigates numerous other changes, of which the following are merely indicative: the fading influence of republican institutions—such as the administrative neighborhoods known as *gonfalon*i—in a city animated increasingly by officially sanctioned class division; the complementary patterns of

palace-building by upwardly mobile courtiers that occurred in this absolutist milieu; the hierarchical redistribution of trades and occupations; the increasing tendency for fathers to immure their daughters in convents as family wealth failed to keep pace with an inflationary dowry market.

This book is symbiotically linked to the valuable *Online Gazetteer of Sixteenth Century Florence* that Litchfield posted on the website of Brown University in 2006. The *Gazetteer* overlays Don Stefano Buonsignori's famously detailed axonometric map of Florence (created in 1589) with a grid of eighty-seven squares, each of which covers one small urban zone. Users can "visit" each zone by clicking on a square to obtain an enlarged bird's-eye view accompanied by a brief résumé of the area's major features and socioeconomic character. (These résumés are in their turn drawn mainly from the surveys used for the book reviewed here.) As an E-Book, the chapters are divided into numbered paragraphs. Paragraphs are interspersed with numerous maps based on the grid from the *Gazetteer*. The maps plot the trends revealed by Litchfield's database, and represent the spatial dimension of the subject being discussed. Very often, indeed, Litchfield devotes his argumentative narrative directly to detailed explanation of the maps developed from the database. Every so often, a hyperlink appears in the text, which takes one to the enlarged view of the relevant sector in the *Gazetteer*. This and other comparable innovations capitalize quite imaginatively on the potential of the electronic format (though the book is laborious and tiring to read on screen, and no hard copy version is available).

I remain unsure as to whether Litchfield successfully marries the Internet to the conventional academic monograph. The *Gazetteer* is used in a largely illustrative mode, and while I recognize the great challenges involved, I had hoped for more adventurous integration of the two media, perhaps to create more finely grained analysis of fewer major themes than are covered here. The book underuses images, which are too sparse, function only as illustrations, and are not integrated in ways that might have provided deeper insight into the complex workings of the city's urban culture and evolution. One also feels the argument see-saw between broad-brush survey and microscopic narrative: the argument in the early chapters in particular is extremely general; at later stages themes such as the position of migrants (par. 279) and of non-patrician widows (par. 280) receive almost lapidary treatment.

Litchfield's book should act as a spur to further detailed investigation of these and many other challenging themes. Those who undertake such work will find themselves referring again and again to this important study, and scholars who specialize in other early modern European centers will find it of great comparative interest.

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ELEONORA CANEPARI. *Stare in compagnia: Strategie di inurbamento e forme associative nella Roma del Seicento*.

(Studi di storia, number 2.) Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino. 2007. Pp. 207. €12.00.

How did strangers adjust to new milieux in an early modern, stratified society? Which were the strategies pursued to build social relations in urban environments, which were notably unfavorable to people coming from outside the city walls?

This brief but intensively researched book answers these and other questions about the social history of early modern Europe. Using a single case-study, the Confraternity (*Compagnia*) of Santa Maria dell'Orto of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Eleonora Canepari traces the ways through which foreigners tried to acquire and maintain their social status in the host city. The historical approach follows the Italian tradition of microhistory; the constant reference to other social sciences (especially anthropology) allows us comparisons and invites other studies in this rich field of research.

The book is divided into three parts. While the first part discusses representative social ties for immigrants in Rome, the second part is devoted to institutional and social functions of the confraternity. Finally, three case-histories analyze how membership could be used by social actors in order to achieve a variety of goals.

Beside the importance of common origins, the labor market and the neighborhood seem to have been crucial sites for immigrants' establishment in new cities. In particular the analysis of labor reveals that urban guilds in Rome were relatively open, in line with the findings of recent works on many other European cities. The fundamental division was not between citizens and strangers, or Romans and non-Romans, but between moving and resident people; for guilds the main need was that foreigners paid taxes and recognized their authority. Aside from shared location of origin, work appears as the first element that allowed the construction of social ties. In social life and in daily practices, masters and apprentices were not on different plans, following the formal guild hierarchy. Work also created social networks among people inside and outside Rome. To have worked together, perhaps in other cities, was a useful resource for a better integration. In this context, the craft became a "social space" where heterogeneous groups or individuals could meet.

Although work and common origins were the first elements of the long process of identity construction for immigrants, they do not explain how foreigners got access to urban resources and how social groups were made. On this point Canepari shows that social ties inside the *Compagnia* were not horizontal or homogeneous, rather they embraced the small sellers as well as the great merchant. Craft specialization was absent, though members worked mainly in food production and distribution. In particular, the sharing of three aspects with local Roman nobility (the rent of lands in the countryside, the rent of workshops or houses in Rome, the purchases of foods and other merchandise both in Rome and in the countryside) allowed for the forma-

tion of social capital useful during small emergencies and wider economic crisis. Groups were transversal and individuals participated more or less in the life of the entire confraternity. The community represented an important tool used occasionally in order to know people and to ask for help, but also more frequently in order to reinforce social status within the city.

Canepari shows deeply how membership gave different resources, both symbolic and social. The social meaning of "Stay in Compagnia" (the book's title) is surely the most interesting and innovative part of this work. Here confraternity and membership represented a tool through which strangers (and also non-strangers) could build and reinforce their various social networks. The case of the women is exemplary. Beside their presence in the labor market, Canepari shows clearly how the *Compagnia* allowed them to pursue both economic activities and social relations.

This particular function of the confraternity is also shown through three exemplary case-histories. Pietro Antonio Sodano was a stranger who only wished to interact minimally with his host country, remaining a foreigner and using common origin especially to manage his economic interests at home. Although membership was useful in gaining access to the urban environment, Pietro remained strictly linked to his origins. By contrast, Ambrogio Pecci from Milan aimed to integrate completely into the new host society. His membership was fully devoted to managing economic activities and acquiring a higher social status in Rome, purchasing, building, and creating familiar ties. Finally, the experience of Domenico Attavanti, a Roman nobleman, shows that membership could serve to build patronage relations, using local influence in order to multiply social resources.

In my view Canepari does not show or deeply criticize how difference in origin (especially the distance from Rome), the nature of trade networks (regional, inter-regional, or international), and professional status (journeyman, craftsmen, merchant) influenced life strategies. A final, conclusive chapter might have done much to illuminate these points. Nevertheless the book has a lot of merits, enriching our knowledge on early modern societies, especially about the formation of social capital and the role of urban institutions. Social ties were not something preliminarily given or constituted by common origins or familiar ties, but they were constantly and daily built and reinforced through actions practiced in social spaces such as workshops, neighborhoods, and confraternities. Individuals were not forced inside monolithic structures or single stratifications: they were at the center of many social networks where they could gain very different economic and social goals. In this picture urban institutions like the confraternity appear less static, and it is clear that charity was not their primary aim. Thanks to a thorough and critical reading of archival sources, Canepari's book gives us a

more complex picture of early modern urban society and social actors.

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DARIO VISINTIN. *L'attività dell'inquisitore fra Giulio Missini in Friuli (1645–1653): L'efficienza della normalità*. (Inquisizione e società, Studi, number 4.) Trieste, Italy: Edizioni Università di Trieste. 2008. Pp. 352. €22.00.

JEFFREY R. WATT. *The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth-Century Italian Convent*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 300. \$75.00.

The works under review, while different in scope and methodology, share a common interest in the Roman Inquisition during a relatively neglected period: the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Both reveal the extent to which the Holy Office, founded a century previously, had implanted itself in northern Italy and, under Roman supervision, exercised a formative influence on local culture, society, and religion. They also exemplify two divergent paths Inquisition studies have taken in the last decades.

Dario Visintin's informative study grows out of an institutional-historical interest that has come to dominate Italian Inquisition studies in recent years, and has found energetic promoters in, among others, Adriano Prosperi, John Tedeschi, Giovanni Romeo, and Andrea Del Col. The latter, author of the synthesis *L'Inquisizione in Italia dal XII al XXI secolo* (2006) and also Visintin's adviser, prefaces the volume under review. The book provides a vivid snapshot of the operations of one Inquisition office—that in the Friulian dioceses of Aquileia and Corcordia—during the brief tenure of inquisitor Fra Giulio Missini (1645–1653). The focus on a single inquisitor, rare in Inquisition studies, allows the author to highlight the personal dynamics within the inquisitor's office, as well as the interactions with bishops, vicars, state officials, cardinals of the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office, and a host of local clergy and informants. The inquisitor emerges as the driving force in what had become a powerful and well-oiled bureaucratic machine. Whereas studies of previous Friulian inquisitors have shown them either in a position of subordination to or on an equal footing with episcopal authorities, Fra Missini proves to be the undisputed judge in all matters of orthodoxy. This was due in part to his personal zeal, but also confirms Del Col's thesis that, by the mid-seventeenth century, inquisitorial practice in Italy had become a matter of "ordinary procedure" (pp. 6, 12). This routine resulted not only from the Holy Office's effective institutionalization but also from its success in securing the collaboration of the Catholic faithful. Most cases were opened when individuals accused themselves or others before the Inquisition to "unburden



their conscience." Recent historiography has dwelled much on sixteenth-century policies underlying this culture of denunciation, particularly the use of the confessional to detect and ensure the reporting of offenses subject to inquisitorial prosecution. Visintin's sample suggests the long-term effects of these efforts in Friuli. By Fra Missini's time, cooperative, if often fear-induced, attitudes toward the Inquisition were deeply ingrained. The corollary was frequent leniency in treatment, evident in dismissals or sentences requiring simple penances. Conversely, the Holy Office actively pursued challenges against its own jurisdiction, abuses of the sacraments, and other offenses that risked undermining church authority and public order.

Visintin paints a rich picture of the Friulian Inquisition's operations and impact through a multitude of case studies. All chapters but one are organized around broadly defined sets of offenses, ranging from popular magic and witchcraft to offenses by "educated groups" (including the reading of forbidden books, but also solicitation in the confessional) to "other misdeeds against the faith." This approach has its drawbacks. Besides the looseness of the categories, its comprehensiveness precludes more than cursory treatment of the offenses and their sociocultural underpinnings. A chapter on the *benandanti*, Friuli's most famous Inquisition suspects, is a case in point. Visintin criticizes previous studies, especially Carlo Ginzburg's classic *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1983 [1966]), to argue that Fra Missini, unlike modern historians, had little interest in *benandanti* per se, but treated them like anyone suspected of magic or witchcraft. For Visintin, particularly, the well-known trial against Michele Soppe demonstrates that the judge's top priority was the fight against notorious diabolic beliefs and practices. This point seems generally unobjectionable but ignores the extent to which Soppe's identification as *benandante* affected the interactions between inquisitor and suspect. Therefore the history of the representations associated with this figure is relevant to the institutional historian; and so is the analysis of the trial proceedings on this point. Here Ginzburg's analysis remains more penetrating than Visintin's.

In contrast, Jeffrey R. Watt's book takes a microhistorical perspective to foreground the offense rather than the judicial apparatus. The book retells the spectacular case of demonic possession that overtook the convent of Santa Chiara in Carpi, near Modena, between 1636 and 1639. During its peak, the crisis affected as many as fourteen nuns, who displayed illnesses, violent moods, and odd behaviors soon attributed to diabolical attacks. Suspicions fell on two people: a disgruntled, marginalized nun named Dealta Martinelli, thought to have provoked the attacks through witchcraft; and a former confessor, the Observant Franciscan Angelo Bellacappa, accused of sexual solicitation and love magic. The investigation and resolution of the case were in the hands of the inquisitor of Modena and his Roman superiors, but other parties (like the former

duke Fra Giovan Battista d'Este and the archpriest of Carpi) eagerly sought to influence its course. Most local authorities, and even the inquisitor, became convinced of the reality of the diabolical attacks and countered them with the help of exorcists. However, critical Roman cardinals ultimately prevailed and defused the crisis by segregating the affected nuns, imposing a regimen of confession and fasts, and banning any discussion of the possessions. Meanwhile the Inquisition took disciplinary steps against the confessor suspected of solicitation but dropped the charges of witchcraft and magic. This outcome confirms the rise of judicial skepticism about supernatural claims within the Holy Office. It also highlights—as does the trial of Michele Soppe examined by Visintin—the decisive role of the Roman headquarters in this process.

Yet the institutional context within which the nuns' drama played out is not Watt's main interest. He rejects as reductive the interpretation advanced by Vincenzo Lavenia, who has explained the case in light of ecclesiastical struggles for control over the convent. Watt focuses his analysis on that community itself. In seven chapters, he patiently, clearly, and sensitively reconstructs the upheaval from an insider's perspective, eschewing modern analytical categories while providing ample historical context. The larger interpretive questions (addressed mainly in the introduction and conclusion) are focused on the lively historiography of demonic beliefs and practices, ranging from Michel de Certeau's ground-breaking work on Loudun to Moshe Sluhovsky's *Believe Not Every Spirit* (2007). Rejecting several hypotheses that have been advanced to explain the spate of possessions in female convents of this period—the strictures of Counter-Reformation discipline, confessional conflict, gendered representations of diabolism and witchcraft—he ultimately settles for an explanation offered by De Certeau: possession as rebellion. The nuns of Carpi, having internalized widely shared beliefs about the power of demons, gave in to that power to act out their resistance against the constraints and tensions of convent life. This conclusion, while sensible, strikes this reader as all too generic and curiously at odds with the precise, hands-off narration of the other chapters. Watt duly notes the multiple conflicts and antipathies that destabilized, even fractured, the convent community, and extended outward into the larger world. Yet he resists analyzing just how these tensions may have been expressed in the demonic phenomena he describes. Thus, due to an otherwise laudable interpretive restraint, this microhistory falls short of its full potential—that of demonstrating how general representations become operational in a specific local context.

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EDGARDO DONATI. *La Toscana nell'impero napoleonico: L'imposizione del modello e il processo di integrazione (1807–1809)*. In two volumes. (Nuove ricerche di storia,

second series, number 8.) Florence: Edizioni Polistampa. 2008. Pp. 601; 606-968. €45.00 the set.

Tuscany, like the rest of the Italian peninsula, experienced major geopolitical changes and numerous reforms under Napoleonic rule. In 1801 Napoleon Bonaparte transformed the former Grand Duchy of Tuscany into the autonomous Kingdom of Etruria. In 1807, he abrogated that Kingdom and on May 1, 1808, he officially annexed Tuscany to his empire, where it remained until his fall in 1814.

Edgardo Donati's voluminous work presents a detailed analysis of the impact of the Napoleonic reforms, which were modeled on the French system, and the difficulties and opposition that prevented their smooth implementation during the first two years of French rule in Tuscany (1807-1809). He studies the creation of state and local administrations, military conscription, finances, and state-church relations. The study is based on very solid and meticulous research of wide array of documents in numerous Italian archives and several French, Austrian, and Czech archives, as well as a vast amount of secondary literature.

Napoleon annexed Tuscany to ensure the closure of its coastline, especially the port of Livorno, to English trade. This change was part of a broad geopolitical transformation of Italy designed to guarantee the implementation of the Continental Blockade in the peninsula. As Donati demonstrates, the Napoleonic government imposed reform programs, aiming to integrate Tuscany into the French empire. Tuscany was divided into three departments: Arno, Mediterraneo, and Ombrone. A *Giunta di governo*, consisting primarily of French officials, appointed prefects and subprefects to administer the departments and formed departmental and municipal councils. They introduced the *Code Napoleon* and formed tribunals at different levels. The *Giunta* selected most of the officials from the Tuscan nobility in an effort to rally the elite behind the French government.

The two main governmental policies in Tuscany, as in France and the rest of the Napoleonic empire, included an annual draft and fiscal reorganization to increase tax revenues. In 1808 and 1809, the *Giunta* ordered the levy of 1,200 and 1,500 men, respectively, and created coercive machinery to enforce conscription and suppress resistance. Conscription constituted the most disruptive intervention of the Napoleonic state in people's daily lives and forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the new state. Donati provides statistical data that indicates that the success of the draft was rather limited due to desertion and draft dodging. Moreover, conscription contributed considerably to the regime's unpopularity. The Napoleonic authorities responded by sending the gendarmerie and *colonnes mobiles* to search for deserters and placing *garnisaires* in deserters' homes.

The core of the fiscal reorganization consisted of the introduction of French direct and indirect taxes. The former included property, personal, and door and win-

dow taxes, and fees on occupational licenses. The *Giunta* established tax rates and restructured tax collection, aiming to make it more efficient. A survey of land ownership (*catasto*), a major step designed to modernize the tax structure, began but progressed very slowly and was completed only in a small number of communities. The French imposed an indirect tax system, including fees on alcohol, salt, and tobacco as well as the *octrois* payments on consumer goods imported into towns that municipalities exacted. The *Giunta* also instituted the imperial customs and regulations designed to ensure that Tuscany would constitute a part of the Continental Blockade. Despite the detailed fiscal analysis, the author includes virtually no statistical data about overall public revenues and expenditures. The most important reform in the realm of state-church relations was the suppression of numerous religious institutions and the use of their property to liquidate the public debt. In two long chapters, Donati analyzes the work of Giovanni Battista Nomi, a subprefect of Arezzo and Pisa in 1808-1809, exploring the endeavors of the new bureaucratic class and the obstacles it faced as it implemented the French reforms.

French efforts to integrate Tuscany into the empire notwithstanding, reform programs faced opposition and hardships that hindered their quick application. The author examines in great detail a popular insurgency in the valley of Casentino and resistance in Arezzo and Siena (late 1808) against the unprecedented control and interference by the Napoleonic state. No less important were the widespread professional incapacity and hesitation that characterized the intermediary officials especially, stalling the progress of reform. To remedy the situation, Napoleon decided to abolish the *Giunta* and appoint his sister Elisa, who had proven herself as the ruler of Lucca, as the Grand Duchess of Tuscany and let her administer that territory (March 1809). This act, and the formation of a new administration, ended the first phase of the Napoleonic rule over Tuscany.

While providing substantial and well-documented information and analysis, the book is not as reader friendly as it ought to be. Many sentences are very long and could have been written more succinctly. Moreover, the author includes an excessive amount of information in numerous very long footnotes, thereby making the reading rather cumbersome at times. Despite these shortcomings, Donati's work is a very welcome addition to the bibliography on the Napoleonic reform policies and modern Italy.

ALEXANDER GRAB  
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PETER MACKRIDGE. *Language and National Identity in Greece 1766-1976*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 385. £55.00.

Nation-building in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continues to be a paramount theme of scholarly investigation and sometimes heated debate, even in an

age of internationalism and globalization. Peter Mackridge has entered this many-sided debate with a penetrating analysis of the struggle among Greek intellectuals over the construction of a national identity, specifically over the proper form the Greek national language should take and how their choices would or would not enhance the Greek sense of identity. He focuses his inquiry on language because in southeastern Europe between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries language occupied a central place in movements to assert identity and achieve national emancipation. He is inevitably concerned also with modernism and secularism and shows how they challenged old identities based on religion—that is, Orthodoxy—and on idealized versions of the past. Nor does he ignore the close contacts between Greek intellectuals and Western Europe.

Mackridge's study is in essence about how Greek linguists, historians, poets, and prose writers strove to reach an understanding of what it meant to be Greek. He argues, rightly, that language was one of the main tools they used to delineate the boundaries of the "Greek nation." He takes issue with modernist theorists of the nation, particularly Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm, who, he suggests, misread the way in which languages became national by insisting that the process was largely political. He disagrees, for example, with Anderson's emphasis on the importance of print media in disseminating ideas and information in the popular language of the masses, at least in Greece, because the popular language was marginalized until very late. In such matters he stands closer to Anthony D. Smith's broad cultural, historical, and symbolic approach to the formation of national consciousness.

Mainly at issue for the Greeks was the need to fashion a written language that would reveal fully who they were and confirm the links that bound modern Greeks to their ancient and Byzantine forebears. Conflict persisted, Mackridge suggests, because the elites could not agree on what the proper national image was. He shows that the cause also lay partly in the complicated nature of "Greece," which he uses in the sense of the Greek cultural world, which for a certain time encompassed the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia and Anatolia, among other places.

Mackridge follows the evolution of the language controversy in detail from its beginnings in the latter part of the eighteenth century to the final, official triumph of the demotic in 1976 with an act of parliament. In this long process he discerns two decisive periods: the first, between the 1760s and 1821, when Greeks were mobilizing for a revolt against Ottoman rule, and the second, between the 1880s and 1920s, when the bourgeoisie was consolidating its position, industrialization and territorial expansion were taking place, and the need for a better-educated population was becoming increasingly apparent. For the earlier period he describes the challenge posed by the moderns against the ancients, out of which grew the three main directions of thought about language: archaism, vernacularism, and compromise, represented, respectively, by Evgenios Voulgaris,

Dimitrios Kartartzis, and Iosip Moisiodax, among others. He offers succinct, penetrating intellectual portraits of each, as he does with their successors throughout the volume. His analysis of the ideas of Adamantios Korais, especially, reveals the complex nature of the language controversy. On the one hand, he praises Korais for his boldness in attempting to create a standard prose language that would follow rational rules and yet be close enough to the spoken language to be generally comprehensible, but, on the other, he criticizes him for trying to bring modern Greek into conformity with the morphological and phonological systems of ancient Greek. He also discusses the views of archaists like Neofytos Doukas and of Korais's most inflexible opponent, Panagiotis Kodrikas.

As for the second period, of particular value is Mackridge's analysis of the demoticist campaign, which got well underway in the 1880s and which led to the almost complete abandonment of *katharévoussa* in literature, first in poetry and later in prose. Crucial in the victory of demotic, he finds, was the work of Ioannis Psycharis, especially his *My Journey* (1888), which he judges a major turning point in the language controversy, because it extended the use of demotic from poetry to prose and from literature to scholarly writing. In the same systematic way he follows the destiny of demotic through the interwar period and the fall of the colonels' dictatorship in 1974 to its legislative victory of two years later.

This many-sided, even-handed interpretation of the connection between modern identity and language suggests what is unique in the Greek case. At the same time it offers a rich mine of information and ideas for scholars who wish to deepen their own studies of similar controversies elsewhere in the region. Mackridge's work is, in short, an incitement to comparative studies. It is impossible to read it without thinking of the intertwined issues of language and nationhood among the Romanians, the Serbs, and the Albanians, not to mention the peoples of the Habsburg Empire.

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MIKLÓS ZEIDLER. *Ideas on Territorial Revision in Hungary 1920–1945*. Translated by THOMAS J. DEKORNFELD and HELEN DEKORNFELD. (CHSP Hungarian Studies Series, number 15.) Wayne, N.J.: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, with the Institute of Habsburg History, Budapest; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs. 2007. Pp. xvi, 440. \$60.00.

By the terms of the Treaty of Trianon, signed with the Entente in 1920, Hungary lost more than three-fifths of its population and two-thirds of its territory. Efforts to revise Trianon (and with it the map of Europe) became the alpha and omega of interwar Hungarian politics. Miklós Zeidler's book offers a careful and critical history of Hungarian "revisionism," defined here as diplomatic initiatives taken within the framework of in-

ternational law and contrasted usefully (if not consistently) with "irredentism," by which Zeidler means unilateral, often violent approaches to upending treaties and changing borders. Other scholars have written about Hungary's attempts to undo the postwar settlement; Zeidler breaks new ground by analyzing how revisionism played out in three overlapping circles: foreign policy, associational life, and public opinion.

An examination of Hungary's diplomatic efforts to achieve territorial revision forms a major part of this book. As Zeidler shows, Count Albert Apponyi laid out the main geopolitical, economic, and moral arguments for revision already at the Paris Peace Conference. The problem in Paris—and for much of the 1920s—was that few statesmen had any interest in what Hungarian diplomats were saying: Hungary was surrounded by the Little Entente and unsuccessful in its many appeals to the League of Nations. Thus the importance Zeidler attaches to Benito Mussolini's Italy, which in 1927 ended Hungary's diplomatic isolation with a treaty of friendship and six years later supported Hungarian territorial claims during negotiations with Britain, France, and Germany. For Zeidler, these negotiations were the high-water mark of interwar Hungary's efforts to achieve a peaceful revision of its borders through diplomacy and within the framework of international institutions. Because the 1933 talks proposed giving Hungary only border regions with sizeable ethnic Hungarian minorities, this episode also underscores Zeidler's argument that although political leaders continued to call publicly for the return of all of Hungary's lost territories, behind the scenes they proved much more flexible in their tactics and modest in their demands. With the assistance of Adolf Hitler, Hungary made significant territorial gains between 1938 and 1941 at the expense of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia. But these gains were as costly as they were short-lived: the postwar peace settlements not only confirmed Hungary's pre-1938 borders but also transferred a small amount of Hungarian territory to Czechoslovakia.

Zeidler's research sheds light on interwar Hungary's many revisionist associations, the second subject of this book. Groups such as the Hungarian League of Territorial Defense, the Hungarian Society for Foreign Affairs, and the Hungarian Frontier Revisionist League organized public celebrations, speaking tours, and letter campaigns. They also produced hundreds of maps, pamphlets, journals, and books (many of which can today be found in American libraries). These organizations had an ambivalent relationship with the Hungarian government, which often funded them but found their clamorous agitation a liability in international affairs. Zeidler portrays them as amateurish, unrealistic, and out of touch with the majority of ethnic Hungarians living outside Hungary. Yet such organizations mattered, not least because their often crude propaganda described a world of enemies, both at home and abroad, which only strengthened antisemitism and other violent currents flowing through interwar Hungary.

Some of the book's most original chapters look at public opinion, the final arena in which Zeidler views revisionism (or in this context, irredentism). The emphasis here is on the anti-Trianon slogans ("No, No, Never!"), statues, street names, textbooks, and board games. With its prayers, ceremonies, martyrs, and sacred spaces, Hungarian irredentism was a public cult that drew on well-established symbolic systems and resonated deeply with many people in interwar Hungary. Yet the pervasiveness of irredentist symbols could, over time, create indifference and apathy among the population. The irredentist cult, Zeidler concludes, was rigidly conservative, needlessly confrontational, and ultimately superficial, all of which "produced effects that were contrary to its intent and its goals bore no relationship to the possibilities" (p. 254). By encouraging public campaigns against Trianon, Zeidler argues, the Hungarian government opened a Pandora's box, with the unfortunate result that in the late 1930s and early 1940s "public opinion induced the government to take diplomatic and military steps which it would have preferred to avoid" (p. 122). This idea is provocative and could be developed in greater depth.

This is, unsurprisingly, a book on Hungarian revisionism told from the perspective of Budapest. Relatively little attention is given to the provinces or to ethnic Hungarians living outside Hungary, and in this respect, Zeidler's study suggests fields of future research. Somewhat more problematic are the uncritical presentation of the results of the 1941 Hungarian census (pp. 42–43) and the translators' decision to use terms such as "the dismemberment of Hungary" (p. 72) to describe the effects of Trianon (the more neutral *Magyarország felbomlása* or "the dissolution of Hungary" appears in the Hungarian original). But these are minor points, and this is an important, nuanced work that will be invaluable to scholars of the region, who can read it alongside works that view many of the same events from the perspective of Belgrade, Bucharest, or Prague. Indeed, Zeidler's book is a reminder that scholars who hope to understand the interwar diplomatic system and the eventual collapse of the Paris settlement need to pay close attention to states such as Hungary and its neighbors.

ROBERT NEMES  
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YOHANAN PETROVSKY-SHTERN, *Jews in the Russian Army, 1827–1917: Drafted into Modernity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 307. \$90.00.

This book sets out to debunk the deeply entrenched popular view that the conscription of Jews in the Russian Empire was a punitive anti-Jewish policy, a story of uninterrupted woe. Instead, Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern argues, conscription dragged Jews from the traditional world of the *shtetl* into modernity, creating a new type of Jewish identity in the process. Petrovsky-Shtern details many trials and tribulations faced by the million and a half Jews who served in the Russian army



from 1827 to 1917, but emphasizes the transformative aspects of their experiences.

The argument is grounded in a tremendous wealth of original research from military, police, and local governmental sources in Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian archives. The book is particularly strong on the era of Tsar Nicholas I (1825–1855). Petrovsky-Shtern portrays the tsar's 1827 decision to conscript Jews not as a punitive act aimed at forced conversion to Christianity but rather as a policy driven by enlightened principles and intended to integrate Jews and make them more modern and useful. The author then claims that the Minister of War Dmitrii Miliutin made a serious push in the 1870s toward legal emancipation of the Jews in connection with the introduction of universal military conscription. Petrovsky-Shtern portrays the army as a relatively liberal institution that served as a force of modernization and as “a much better melting pot for various ethnic groups than civilian society” (p. 150).

One of the strengths of the book is that it goes well beyond the story of official policies, providing a rich social history of Jewish life in the army. Through many concrete examples, Petrovsky-Shtern shows how Jews in the army were able to retain their faith, keep kosher, and interact with local Jewish communities in the Pale (where many of them served). With statistics and stories, he argues strongly against the stereotypes of Jewish unwillingness to serve, poor health among Jewish recruits, and lack of heroism in battle. He provides many examples to show that Jews served well, and that their service was valued by many Russian officers.

Petrovsky-Shtern musters statistics to show that conversion to Orthodox Christianity was exceedingly rare among enlisted men, and affected fewer of the cantonist Jewish children enrolled in military schools than most scholars have claimed. Rather than focus on coerced conversions, he stresses the transformative impact of service on Judaism, transforming it from a way of life embedded in community into a more modern system of beliefs and rituals.

The central arguments are controversial and the book pushes its revisionist line hard—though in a considerably more nuanced way than the earlier, much longer Russian version: *Evrei v russkoi armii, 1827–1914* (2003). At times, Petrovsky-Shtern may swing the pendulum a bit far, claiming for example, with little explanation, that conversion policies in the early nineteenth century directed at Jewish cantonist youth were not all that different from policies toward Lutheran, Catholic, and Muslim youth in the army (p. 93). Also overstated is his conclusion that “military experience established a new perception among Russian Jewish soldiers, who felt themselves de facto Russian citizens by the time the February 1917 Revolution changed their state de jure” (p. 264).

The book could include more explicit comparisons to policies toward Jews and minorities in the Ottoman, Hapsburg, and other armies of the nineteenth century. But there is no doubt that this book makes a major contribution to the fields of Russian, East European, and

Jewish history, and should be read widely beyond these fields as well.

If Petrovsky-Shtern is right, Jews were integrating into the Russian army with much greater success than nearly all scholars previously thought. As Nicholas I had originally intended, by the end of the old regime, Jews had indeed become very useful to the Russian army. But the personal prejudices of the last two tsars, the consistent resistance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and noisy opposition from the right-wing Russian press blocked deeper integration within the ranks of the army and prevented it from spreading to the civilian sphere.

During World War I, the Russian army turned radical, directing mass expulsions and violence against Jewish civilians at the front in 1915. However, Jews were too valuable and integrated in the army for the commanders to respond to calls for elimination of Jews from the ranks. The integration of Jewish soldiers in the army in the ninety years prior to 1917 paved the way for a flood of volunteers into the army and military schools once full rights were finally granted to Jews in February 1917. Jews then served in the Red Army in numbers disproportionately high relative to their share of the population.

Petrovsky-Shtern concludes that one of the legacies of nineteenth-century Jewish conscription was the creation of a modern Jewish military identity, and that founders of the Israeli Defense Forces were veterans of the Imperial Russian Army (p. 267). This conclusion is one of several strikingly original findings of a book that successfully reframes the legacy of nearly a century of Jewish service in the tsar's army.

ERIC LOHR  
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LARRY E. HOLMES. *Grand Theater: Regional Governance in Stalin's Russia, 1931–1941*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2009. Pp. xxi, 257. \$75.00.

An American historian whose substantial work has focused on aspects of Soviet and Russian social and institutional history now turns his attention to local administration. In this book, Larry E. Holmes analyzes and integrates into an unusual historical narrative segments of the careers of teachers and school administrators in the city of Kirov and its surrounding districts. The timeframe, of course, is a decade of profound transformation and danger during which official cadres were obliged to adjust to dramatic changes in policy wrought by the political consolidation of Stalinism and by the actuarial forces that displaced the last prerevolutionary remnants of state servitors and produced the generation that suffered through the creation of the Gulag and the firestorm of the Terror.

The grand theater to which the title refers rests upon the “scripts” assembled by Holmes from letters, meeting transcripts, administrative reports, legal records, personnel dossiers, and similar materials that he painstakingly analyzed in the archives of the Kirov region.

The book's narrative thus mainly consists of detailed discourses among teachers, civil bureaucrats, and party officials that the author interprets as the scripts of his theater. Nearly every chapter also benefits from a carefully assembled conclusion that advances the main arguments of the book.

The study groups its discourses under several analytical themes rather than a chronological narrative. The themes include such categories as the "art of complaint," "escalating negativity," "proprietary professionalism," and the performance of a "litany of suffering and victimization" (pp. 12, 230). Metathemes, which transcend individual chapters, include the role of an "ideology of transformation" and whether major actors in the dramas "believed in their own performance and in the system as theater," thereby questioning, in the author's view, "the relevance of such bipolar concepts as innocence-guilt and belief-disbelief so prevalent in recent scholarship" (p. 13). A concluding metatheme is the emergence of conditions that encouraged officials to demand "jurisdictional integrity for the institutions they represented [and which] prompted teachers to insist as professionals on an adherence to the laws governing them and the schools they served" (p. 186).

The author is well acquainted with the literature on Stalinist institutions. He is also able to set his project into the broader frames of institutional history, although one finds little or no reference to neo-institutional studies or to the organizational psychology or theory which might have proved useful in a study where the interpretation of individual and group psychology seems centrally important. Also one finds no reference to the work of Graeme Gill, whose interpretation of the independence of subnational authorities within the political systems of the 1930s is different from Holmes's. The main strength of the book is the author's command of the contents of the Kirov archives and his ability to assemble information from them into the scripts that form the foundation of his analysis.

The approach of assembling discourses of power (or pathos) served the author's purpose, but the book would have benefitted from additional contexts of a more mundane nature. For example, it would have helped the reader to measure the extent and impact of policy changes and purges if one had some sense of whether there was a "normal" or "standard" recruitment program to the units under discussion and, if so, how it operated. In this study one finds a great deal of information concerning job retention, promotion, or demotion under challenging conditions or stress, but it would be helpful to know whether there were norms for such key organizational functions in operation and what they were. To retreat into the language of contemporary institutional studies, it would also be useful to have more contextual information about normal or modal principal/agent relationships. Conceivably, behavioral stress was so high under conditions imposed by policy changes in the 1930s that the "normal" was simply nonexistent. But "scripts" that expose the reader only to high-stress dialogue leave one wondering. Fun-

damentally the author's decision to forgo interest in structure or operational policy makes the rich fabric of his discursive methodology more difficult to understand, at least for this reader.

Finally, one cannot read through these scenes of passion, power, and tragedy without wondering how the cast was assembled. Why did the author choose this particular group of roughly twenty people to articulate his chosen themes? There is little to suggest that they were representative of the larger population of officials.

In spite of these reservations, this book is worthy of the attention of specialists if for no other reasons than its unique approach to the study of local governance and its immersion in the archives of an important province in European Russia.

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ELENA SHULMAN. *Stalinism on the Frontier of Empire: Women and State Formation in the Soviet Far East*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 260. \$99.00.

In this monograph, Elena Shulman discusses a little-known Stalinist campaign to send Soviet women to the easternmost Siberian provinces as workers and activists. The Khetagurovite movement, named for Valentina Khetagurova, a Communist Youth activist who made a public call to women to join her in the Soviet East, brought some 25,000 volunteers to Siberia between 1937 and 1939. Since the years 1937 and 1938 were the peak of the "Great Terror" in the Soviet Union, most of the hundreds of thousands who went to Siberia in this period went not of their own volition, but as prisoners in the Gulag or due to forced resettlement. The Khetagurovites, comprised mainly of young women who were supporters of communism, joined a flow of humanity that they were scarcely aware of until they arrived in Siberia.

Shulman's research, based in archives, newspapers, film, and published memoirs, examines the Khetagurovites in part to understand some of the sources of support for the Soviet regime. The women who filled out applications saw Siberia as a place of freedom, wild nature, and a zone demanding Soviet bodies for defense against Japan. They went to Siberia seeking adventure, but also, Shulman argues, self-abnegation.

Shulman locates the Khetagurovite movement in its Great Terror context. Volunteers arrived in the East and were greeted by Komsomol committees that were in the throes of purges. Khetagurovites who went to the East with visions of defending the country against enemies often wound up working in labor camps or for the security organs. Their Siberian employers regarded them either as frivolous women seeking husbands, or as dangerous Communist Party supporters who might denounce locals.

As with much recent research on high Stalinism, this volume focuses on the distance between communist aspirations and their disappointing (at best) or violent,

crushing results. Khetagurovites hired on to work at collective farms (*kolkhoz*) where they were not paid or housed adequately; factory heads discriminated against them as women; they faced cold and hunger; they were sent to work in prison camps and became brutalized. Some committed suicide; some demanded investigations; many left Siberia. Some rushed into sexual partnerships to obtain life's necessities. The ideals of the Khetagurovite campaign contrasted with outcomes that Shulman reports from the stenographic records of Khetagurovite conferences, and complaint letters to party leaders and newspapers.

The book also gives space to the accounts written by a few Khetagurovites later in their lives, concerning their own experiences in the movement. Shulman deals with these women's voices primarily in the first half of the volume, noting that their accounts focused on their reasons for going to Siberia and their adventures in getting there. Shulman disputes the "great retreat" thesis in recent scholarship on Soviet women, which emphasizes the 1936 constitution's re-traditionalization of gender roles; she argues that her sources show women's self-understanding as participants in the Soviet project who believed that the state supported women's equality.

The Communist Party ended the Khetagurovite campaign in 1939. The campaign had attracted hundreds of thousands of applicants, but lacked any system to support even a fraction of those volunteers, and the party deemed it a failure. Shulman does not follow the further careers of those who went to Siberia and stayed there, other than through reference to a few memoirs. Without an ongoing Khetagurovite organization, finding materials on the careers of these volunteers would take wide-ranging exploration in archives to seek out individual files. Instead, Shulman goes where the 1937–1939 documents take her: one file offered a sordid episode, in which enterprise heads sexually exploited several Khetagurovite women, leading to arrest and trials. Although the trial was not publicized at the time, through this volume one can learn the names of the perpetrators and the victims. Does material from complaints and court cases represent the experience of most of the volunteers? Would most of the Khetagurovites recognize their own history in Shulman's work, or would they see this volume as neglecting their accomplishments?

This book is intrinsically interesting, exemplary of the best of research on Soviet history, and deserves to be read by scholars interested in women's history and Stalinism, Siberia, frontier, and empire. Unfortunately, Shulman does not clarify how the Khetagurovite movement enhances understanding of Soviet state formation.

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JAY BERGMAN. *Meeting the Demands of Reason: The Life and Thought of Andrei Sakharov*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 454. \$39.95.

From the time the Soviet Union collapsed nearly two decades ago, historians have been arguing over the reasons for its demise. Sclerotic political leadership, economic competition from the West, even the willingness of the United States to outspend the Kremlin on nuclear weapons and space-based defense have all been advanced as decisive factors. But these conditions, however significant in themselves, reflect Western perceptions and a triumphant feeling of victory in the Cold War. From inside the Soviet Union the end of the empire looked different. Once Mikhail Gorbachev began a process of substantial political and economic reform, permitting greater candor about the country's history and withdrawing the threat of arrest, he was not able to control the emotions and expectations that finally found their rightful outlet.

Jay Bergman argues that the Soviet human rights movement, as exemplified by the life and career of the physicist and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Andrei Sakharov, exerted a key role in undermining the political and moral authority of the Soviet regime. Sakharov was a unique figure. Born in 1921, he was recognized for his outstanding scientific abilities at a young age and by 1948 was seconded onto a team of physicists charged with designing a hydrogen bomb. Among a group of highly talented men, including Igor Tamm, Iakov Zel'dovich, Vitalii Ginzburg, and Iulii Khariton, Sakharov earned the most credit for the project's success in 1953. He went on to receive three Hero of the Soviet Union Awards and numerous other honors for his contributions to the defense industry. But as the weapons grew larger and competition with the United States more intense, Sakharov began to have qualms about nuclear testing. His encounters with Nikita Khrushchev provoked internal doubts and set him on the path of independent thinking that culminated in 1968 when he circulated his first major dissident statement, "Reflections on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom."

The essay came out at an auspicious time: the Prague Spring was challenging communist controls in Eastern Europe, while a series of dissident trials in Moscow made clear that individuals were willing to confront official censorship and political imprisonment. As each political trial unfolded, new people were signing petitions and sending appeals to the West. The Soviet human rights movement was born.

Sakharov became its most consistently outspoken figure. The regime was never quite sure how to deal with him. As Bergman describes the years of threats and harassment Sakharov endured, particularly after he married another activist, Elena Bonner, in 1972, Sakharov understood that his stature as a scientist—he had given the regime immense power when he helped to design the hydrogen bomb and other weapons—gave him a measure of immunity. It required a vote of the Politburo before the KGB was permitted to invade his privacy and install listening devices in his Moscow apartment in April 1970. But this surveillance never restrained him. The Kremlin came "to fear Sakharov,"

Bergman writes. "But it never understood why Sakharov did not fear it in return" (p. 275). He endured six years of internal exile in Gorky, hunger strikes, and the torture of force-feeding, along with physical and psychological threats, all intended to intimidate him. Nothing worked.

Bergman tells this story well, providing an account that is far more comprehensive and insightful than an earlier biography by Richard Lourie (2002) that relied too heavily on Sakharov's own memoirs. Bergman also does a clear and credible job of explaining Sakharov's work as a physicist and his outstanding contributions to cosmology, including theoretical studies of baryon asymmetry and proton decay. Sakharov did not emerge out of nowhere. As Bergman relates in some detail, the "vocational autonomy he enjoyed as a physicist permitted him and his colleagues to discuss virtually anything . . . with impunity," including George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) at a time when such works were strictly banned (p. xii).

Bergman's most ambitious claim is how Sakharov and the broader Soviet human rights movement contributed to Gorbachev's policies of glasnost' and perestroika: that it was their insistence on greater openness for Soviet culture and society and greater knowledge of the outside world that inspired Gorbachev's policies of reform. Gorbachev was familiar with Sakharov's writings, while several advisers had read dissident literature and were no doubt sympathetic to its concerns even as they kept their mouths shut under Leonid Brezhnev, hoping to live long enough to implement more sensible ideas. They tried, and the country could not sustain the experiment. The rest was history.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

HEATHER J. SHARKEY. *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 318. \$39.50.

This engaging and well-researched account of the American Presbyterian mission's experience in Egypt between 1854 and 1967 is a welcome addition to a growing subfield within Middle Eastern history. As such, it presents the intercultural encounters that constituted relationships between Protestant missionaries and the Arab societies in which they proselytized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Heather J. Sharkey's greatest contribution in this book is her convincing portrayal of the many ways in which American Presbyterian missionaries shaped modern Egypt and of the extent to which Egypt, in turn, forced those missionaries to redefine their mission, both at home and abroad. Far from being a narrowly focused history of Presbyterian activities in Egypt, Sharkey's text presents American

Presbyterian endeavors as Egyptian history, British imperial history, and American imperial history.

After a brief introduction in which she describes nineteenth-century Presbyterian and evangelical Protestant missionary projects, Sharkey presents American evangelicals in five chapters. Four of those chapters correspond to what the author sees as the critical periods in the Presbyterian-Egyptian encounter, with the fifth devoted to the establishment of the longest lasting Presbyterian legacy in Egypt, the American University in Cairo. In the first period, 1854–1882, we encounter the missionaries in the decades prior to the British occupation of Egypt, when Egypt experienced a boom economy and American Presbyterian missionaries rubbed shoulders with a multitude of foreigners. Some foreigners flocked to Egypt on business, others attended to the business of conversion. While the early mission could count few converts among Muslims, it could attest to the establishment of an independent evangelical church in Egypt and to the production and circulation of an Arabic Bible through which they promoted Arabic as a liturgical language. This was no small contribution at a time of increased nationalist sensibilities surrounding the use of Arabic among native-born Egyptian elites. Missionaries also contributed to the care of poor Egyptians' minds and bodies at a time when the nascent state's infrastructure could not. This early period of missionary activity presaged later Egyptian nationalist agendas in its attention to language, literacy, and public service.

In the second period, between the British occupation and the outbreak of World War I, missionaries continued their social and educational projects apace. The missionaries viewed the occupation as a victory for Christianity, using the British presence and the Laws of Capitulation to pursue increasingly aggressive work targeted at the conversion of Muslims. Missionaries described evangelization among the Muslims as war: "They used this rhetoric even when many of their actions—providing free health care in clinics, raising orphans and so on, demonstrated peaceful forms of social engagement" (p. 51). In essence, missionaries took on the language and strategies of imperialists in a heady period of British protection.

Sharkey illustrates a shift from high confidence to chronic, low-grade anxiety in the second half of the book. In the period between the two world wars missionaries often bore the unanticipated fruits of their labors in the articulate responses of Arabic-speaking Egyptian Muslims who used the press to chronicle Egyptian conversions to Christianity and to warn their fellow countrymen of the dangers of unsupervised missionary activities. Here Sharkey illustrates how missionary activity inadvertently led to the rise of anti-imperialist organizations such as the Young Muslim Men's Association and the Muslim Brotherhood, both of which used the press to raise the anti-missionary alarm, but she also illustrates how negative reactions on the part of Egyptians caused American missionaries to rethink their agendas—to have their own conversion ex-



perience, to use Sharkey's words—and to leave proselytizing aside in favor of philanthropy. Just as Egyptians organized to counter the missionary activities—sometimes imitating them in the process—the missionaries re-organized in turn: “Christians played a proxy role within struggles for power and legitimacy that were occurring among Egyptian Muslim leaders” (p. 161). Sharkey situates her chapter on the American University in Cairo within the context of this struggle for power and identity in the interwar era.

In the final chapter Sharkey illustrates how the struggle for Palestine, the Suez Crisis, and the 1967 war with Israel led to growing xenophobia in Egypt, particularly anti-Americanism. Missionaries rethought their agendas once again as the Egyptian government passed laws restricting their activities. What was left to the missionaries after the July Revolution was the “life of the church” in which service to Egypt's Christian communities replaced service to the nation. While the missionaries' pro-Arab politics helped them to weather the turbulent events of the 1950s and 1960s, they were unable to escape an anti-imperialist mood that increasingly targeted Americans after 1967. When American missionaries returned to Egypt after that year, they did so as guests of the institution that they had originally helped to found, the Coptic Evangelical Church.

Sharkey deftly weaves American, Egyptian, and British history based on archival research in both English and Arabic. She impresses the reader with her knowledge of each field and convinces her audience of the interconnectivity of each history in an age of state-building and imperialism.

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FAKHREDDIN AZIMI. *The Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle against Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 492. \$35.00.

In this book, Fakhreddin Azimi offers a succinct political history of modern Iran. It eloquently narrates crucial moments and the complex processes of “trial and error” that have shaped the struggle for democracy in Iran during the past hundred years.

The book is divided into three parts and twelve chapters. Part one deals with the period between Iran's constitutional revolution of 1906, a pioneer of its kind in the Middle East, and the Anglo-American coup of 1953 that brought down the elected government of Mohammad Mosaddeq. Although the constitutional movement set the tenor for representative government, defined constitutional rights, and offered new frameworks for citizenship and popular sovereignty, it later succumbed to the authoritarianism of the Pahlavi state in the 1920s and 1930s, which in the name of centralization, nationalism, and modernization undermined basic underpinnings of constitutionalism such as civil liberties and separation of powers. The occupation of Iran by the Allied

forces in the early stages of World War II forced the first Pahlavi monarch to abdicate. The ensuing liberalization of domestic politics in turn encouraged a revival of constitutional aspirations that culminated in the nationalization of Iran's oil industry under Mosaddeq. His ouster in 1953 was not only an important episode in the early politics of the Cold War, but it also left a crucial mark on the political landscape of Iran in the twentieth century. The Western-backed second Pahlavi monarch never succeeded in freeing himself from the stigma of regaining his throne courtesy of the West. The state's modernization policies during the 1960s and 1970s, which were largely facilitated by oil revenue, often suffered a deeply rooted crisis of legitimacy in the public sphere. By drawing on a broad range of primary and secondary source material, the second and longest part of the book offers excellent analysis of the Pahlavi monarchy between 1953 and its termination by the 1979 revolution. Part three of the book deals with the period since 1979. The government that emerged in the aftermath of the revolution was “anomalous in the history of authoritarianism in Iran” in the sense that it has tried to mix and incorporate certain inconsistent variables into its agenda—i.e., “the sacred and the profane, soulcraft and statecraft, stern moralism and realpolitik, exclusive castelike clerical dominance, embellished by an often obscure argot, with a populist ideology of plebian mobilization” (p. 412). The result has been a polity devoid of meaningful constitutional premises such as popular sovereignty and an independent judiciary.

The book ends with an epilogue on the “resilience of modernity.” Here Azimi argues that in principle modernity is related to democracy and as such the historical quest for democracy is an exercise in modern politics. Contributing factors in this process include “the expansion of the middle class, growing literacy (estimated in 2005 to be eighty-six percent for men and seventy-three percent for women), an increasing consciousness of the rights and entitlements of citizenship, the political experience and practical wisdom accrued from living through the revolution and its consequences, and the commensurate waning of illusions [which] have resulted in a sober and yet insuppressible public spirit. A corollary to this has been a tremendous rise in the appeal of democratic ideals and a resilient, albeit battered, civil society” (p. 448). According to Azimi Iranian civil society is “sustained by students, teachers, lawyers, artists, journalists, and a host of other civilly minded, democracy-seeking activists” (p. 448).

Azimi's book is both informative and engaging for scholars specializing in Iran's modern and contemporary political history, and it is also accessible to the general reader interested in the shared challenges of political development and the struggle for democracy. This book is a valuable contribution to the study of Iran's political history in the last hundred years and offers an in-depth analysis of its achievements, aspirations, and setbacks.

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JAY STRAKER. *Youth, Nationalism, and the Guinean Revolution*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 264. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Jay Straker's book is part of a long overdue historical reconsideration of the first decade of African independence. With a few important exceptions, African history monographs tend to focus on the colonial era and end with the transfer of power. This has meant that social science studies dating from the 1960s and 1970s continue to dominate the scholarship on this vitally important period in African history. Framed by the modernization paradigm and focused on elites and political parties, these outdated works pay little attention to the common people who became citizens of the new nations. They therefore offer little insight into how Africans confronted the monumental challenge of turning colonies into nations. This historical lacuna means that there have been few credible explanations for the rise of the authoritarian "big men" of the 1970s and the "failed states" of the 1980s and 1990s.

Straker's book forcefully makes the case that scholars and journalists have misunderstood and misrepresented the postcolonial nation-building project as inherently negative and doomed to failure. Starting with the young people that were central to Ahmed Sékou Touré's attempt to fashion a new cultural and national identity for the former French colony of Guinea, Straker shows that the first generation to come of age in independent Africa had perspectives and aspirations that did not mesh neatly with either Touré's social revolutionary agenda or the free market counterrevolutionary regime that replaced it in the early 1980s. Even more refreshing, Straker corrects the tendency of outside observers to focus on the capital Conakry and Touré's Malinke political elite by siting his study in the remote and densely forested southeastern region of Guinea. These young *forestiers*, who are now deep into middle age, bore the weight of Touré's revolutionary agenda. Although they rejected the contradictory state policies that treated them as both authentic Guinean agents of revolutionary change and fetish-ridden rustic traditionalists, they nonetheless remained committed to the ideal of an independent nation free of French rule. In telling their story Straker demonstrates that there were actually many different kinds of nationalism in Sékou Touré's Guinea.

This book thus explains how the competition to imagine the postcolonial nation-state broke down along generational and regional lines. Consisting primarily of political speeches, state and popular newspapers, educational journals, novels, poems, plays, photographs, and personal histories, Straker's evidence is a departure from the colonial archival research and oral history mix that informs most African social history. This is due in part to his interdisciplinary training in cultural theory, but it also reflects the reality that the archives of independent African states will probably

never be as open to historians as those of their colonial predecessors. It is one thing to pick apart the inner workings of a defunct and unpopular foreign regime, but it is quite another to expect functioning and often authoritarian governments to grant researchers the same level of access to their official records. Thus Straker's cultural studies approach may well come to represent the norm of postcolonial African history.

Assessments of the effectiveness of these methodologies will most likely depend on the theoretical preferences and disciplinary biases of the reader. The first half of the book, which uses political tracts, educational journals, and various literary forms to highlight the contradictory and highly improvisational realities of Touré's revolutionary educational program, is not as strong as the second half, which uses oral histories to show the impact of these policies on young *forestiers*. Straker makes no claims of conducting a statistically significant number of interviews, but his informants do a fine job of conveying what it was like to grow up during a period when the nation itself came of age. This is particularly true for the young women who experienced both fame and sexual exploitation while participating in Touré's mandatory theatrical competitions. These are arresting stories, but Straker's insistence on treating them as "texts" on par with his other cultural evidence sometimes undercuts the overall force of his arguments. Furthermore, his reliance on non-Africanist subaltern studies and literary scholars to provide his theoretical framework is occasionally distracting. It would have been more interesting to draw on the perspectives of intellectuals from anglophone Africa, like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, who have similarly sought to throw off the legacy of colonial mentalities in imagining new African nations.

On the whole, however, Straker has written a vivid and powerfully optimistic work of compelling cultural history that is a welcome antidote to the pessimistic cynicism that pervades journalistic and scholarly accounts of African politics and nation building. The book ends before the death of President Lansana Conté plunged Guinea into another round of coups and state-sponsored brutality, but this makes Straker's reminder that authoritarianism does not stifle individualism or creativity all the more important and, ultimately, reassuring.

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D. A. Low. *Fabrication of Empire: The British and the Uganda Kingdoms 1890–1902*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 361. \$108.00.

In Uganda's central kingdom of Buganda, local intellectuals throughout the colonial period emphasized that Buganda allied itself with Britain rather than being forced under British rule. D. A. Low's book describes this alliance and other accessions to the Protectorate of Uganda through meticulous attention to the individual agents who negotiated treaties, managed mercenary

forces, and established Uganda under British hegemony. This emphasis on agents' statecraft differs markedly from other recent histories of Uganda's early years. Michael Twaddle's *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda, 1868–1928* (1993), Holly Hanson's *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (2003), and Shane Doyle's *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro: Population and Environment in Western Uganda, 1860–1955* (2006), for example, all draw on anthropology and foreground culture and the institutions and categories of indigenous actors in the construction of colonial Uganda. Low's work, centered in Buganda but incorporating analysis of how other regions such as Bunyoro, Toro, Busoga, and Ankole also came into the Protectorate, is a case study in imperial history that depicts the making of Britain's hegemony through espionage, negotiation and leveraged military power.

Low's emphasis on "fabricating" empire, as opposed to constructing, cultivating, or imagining, is significant. "This book," he opens, "is about Empire and thus about power" (p. 1). The power he describes is not the amorphous influence of "informal empire" or the later guidance of "indirect rule" but more basic: power as military force followed up with diplomatic negotiation and strategic forms of trade that agents of empire and local actors improvised and deployed expediently. In doing so, he argues, they transformed "determining vortices" into "defining conjunctures" of systematic imperial hegemony. Low details this process first in Buganda and then in neighboring regions. To this end, he assesses historical actors as vividly individual power-seeking statesmen. He documents British agents' comprehension that elite local actors were their equals or superiors in maneuver and intimidation, noting, for example, how Buganda's leader Mutesa I successfully transformed General Charles George Gordon's Egyptian army into a force Mutesa could use against Buganda's enemy, Bunyoro.

Individuals dominate Low's depiction of cause and effect, displacing large scale phenomena such as trade and slavery, guns and military technology, or ideological revolutions. For Low, imperial hegemony was made by the men on the spot. Trade and slavery were part of every interaction. Guns and military technology were transferable enough that hardware and tactical ideas spread to all major actors. Military institutions such as "warbands" may have originated with Sudanese mercenaries employed by Emin Pasha, but they spread, bringing "marginal" or "spoiled" men with the latest guns into the service of kings throughout the region. Low argues that innovative warbands, led by competing individuals, were a major feature of power in large clashes between the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro and in smaller raids on Buganda's borders and against internal enemies. Christianity and ideology, too, were less significant in the establishment of British hegemony than individuals such as Frederick Lugard of the British East Africa Company. Beyond Buganda, Low's intricate depiction of state-shaping by men on the spot emerges in narratives of each newly accessioned region.

He delineates, for example, a "defining vortex" in Ankole during 1899 when John Macallister, heading a mercenary group, met with Ankole's principal armed chiefs who were in the midst of their own succession struggle. Macallister backed his candidate for kingship and through "deft intrusion into a key fissure in the Nkore leadership had therefore not only served to shore up Kayaha's rulership . . . [but] marked the first major step in the effective establishment of British authority over the kingdom" (pp. 241–242).

Detailed descriptions of events, assembled meticulously from nineteenth-century documents, including many that have become inaccessible in the decades since Low began his work, both strengthen this work and challenge casual readers. This is an important work by a major historian of Uganda and the British Empire, but it can be frustrating. To historians of Uganda, and particularly Buganda, it offers rich details. And it connects histories of Buganda with those of Uganda's hinterland. But despite an avalanche of detail, Low's analysis offers limited attention to local culture and systems of meaning. To imperial historians, the suggested model of conquest's fabrication, vortices, and conjunctures may offer a flexible way of connecting larger structures to local particularities, but the sheer density and complexity of the local narrative offered here can prove overwhelming. This important book, though, offers insights into both the complexities of the making of the Uganda Protectorate and the difficulty of explaining it to today's audiences.

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THADDEUS SUNSERI. *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820–2000*. (Ohio University Press Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2009. Pp. xxx, 293. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

Although Tanzania has produced a wealth of recent environmental histories; this is the first one that clearly lays out the history of forest policy and its effects on rural people over the past two hundred years. In it Thaddeus Sunseri shows the various and conflicting state policies that used forest preservation as a way to control rural populations for various social and political agendas. Most striking is the continuity between colonial and postcolonial policies. Focusing on the coastal hinterland of Tanzania, Sunseri demonstrates how authority over the forest has shifted from nineteenth-century chiefs, known as "ceremonial ax wielders," to scientific forestry experts of the colonial state, and later to biodiversity advocates of the global NGO community. Sunseri writes clearly and succinctly, making his book a good choice for undergraduate courses. His mastery of the colonial archives is evident in the way he uses these, as well as oral sources, to show peasant agency. The book is well researched and documented, never claiming more than the author's sources allow, even if the conclusions are controversial.

Surprisingly, a forest history provides a new lens for interpreting the major events of Tanzanian colonial and postcolonial history. Shifting global trade patterns in the nineteenth century are illuminated by the first commercial exploitation of the forest for copal and rubber, instituting new kinds of chiefs dependent on these resources. The first rebellion against German power, that of Bushiri, is linked to the usurpation of control over local forests as German colonialism established scientific forest exploitation for economic gain. Sunseri brings new understanding to the Maji Maji Rebellion by showing that the first outbreaks took place in the forest reserves, where the Germans evicted peasants and carried out counterinsurgency. During World War I peasants reoccupied the forests to fill the increased wartime need for wood. A number of interwar settlement schemes, justified by environmental concerns, moved people out of the forests and into concentrated villages. From World War II on, during the "second colonial occupation," peasant resistance increased as the percentage of land area in reserves increased dramatically. The nationalist Tanganyika African National Union gained power by supporting peasant struggles, allowing them to move back into the forest reserves for economic development after independence. In light of forest history, 1970s *Ujamaa* villagization was the latest government settlement scheme to empty the forests and control the population.

Sunseri provides additional insight into the contested nature of colonial power by showing conflict and negotiation between the forest administration and the government, as well as with peasants. Both the colonial and postcolonial governments used forest policy as a way to address other concerns and assert control over peasants. Moving peasants out of the forest and into concentrated villages brought unintended consequences like reconfiguring gender roles and destroying the environment they sought to preserve, in addition to severing peasant connections to their ancestral land. Peasants defended their rights to the forests through a

variety of resistance strategies, including playing one government policy off against another. Because the colonial forest reserves required labor, which was chronically short, peasants gained significant leverage in demanding concessions from the state. Yet forest policy also undermined the authority of the chiefs and denied peasants access to forest resources critical to their survival, particularly in times of famine. This history produced bitterness and distrust towards government initiatives and conservation schemes. Though one may applaud peasant resistance, this pattern has ongoing negative consequences for Tanzania today. Sunseri leaves questions about whether the peasants would have destroyed the forests, just as the conservationists predicted, unanswered. His approach is to show that the real forest predator was the state rather than the people.

Sunseri's most controversial statement comes in the final chapter on recent radical changes in forest policy, when biodiversity preservation came right into the villages. Because of the influence of the international NGO conservation community the forest was no longer a home, or even a source of economic resources, but a separate space for protecting rare species. Peasants finally lost power over the forests to people with whom they had no direct contact, but who claimed the forest as a global resource. This came with market liberalization in the 1980s, when structural adjustment determined public policy in Tanzania. These new policies functioned under the rubric of community conservation; however they again cast the peasants as destructive criminals without real decision-making power. Peasants lost forest income during a time of economic stress, with women and the poorest bearing the brunt of that loss. Sunseri's book puts the people who call the forest home back into Tanzanian forest history, asserting that a future for the forest without people will lead to its destruction.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PEARL JAMES, editor. *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 398. \$30.00.

JAY WINTER, *Imaginations of War: Posters and the Shadow of the Lost Generation*. NICOLETTA F. GULLACE, *Barbaric Anti-Modernism: Representations of the "Hun" in Britain, North America, Australia, and Beyond*. STEFAN GOEBEL, *Chivalrous Knights versus Iron Warriors: Representations of the Battle of Matériel and Slaughter in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940*. JAKUB KAZECKI and JASON LIEBLANG, *Regression versus Progression: Fundamental Differences in German and American Posters of the First World War*. MARK LEVITCH, *Young Blood: Parisian Schoolgirls' Transformation of France's Great War Poster Aesthetic*. RICHARD S. FOGARTY, *Race and Empire in French Posters of the Great War*. JENNIFER D. KEENE, *Images of Racial Pride: African American Propaganda Posters in the First World War*. ANDREW M. NEDD, *Segodniashnii Lubok: Art, War, and National Identity*. PEARL JAMES, *Images of Femininity in American World War I Posters*. MEG ALBRINCK, *Humanitarians and He-Men: Recruitment Posters and the Masculine Ideal*. JOHN M. KINDER, *Iconography of Injury: Encountering the Wounded Soldier's Body in American Poster Art and Photography of World War I*.

### ASIA

SAMEETAH AGHA and ELIZABETH KOLSKY, editors. *Fringes of Empire: Peoples, Places, and Spaces in Colonial India*. Foreword by NICHOLAS B. DIRKS. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 256. \$49.95.

PHILIP J. STERN, *From the Fringes of History: Tracing the Roots of the English East India Company-State*. MARINA CARTER, *Pirates and Settlers: Economic Interactions on the Margins of Empire*. ALEX MCKAY, "Tracing lines upon the unknown areas of the earth": Reflections on Frederick Jackson Turner and the Indo-Tibetan Frontier. SAMEETAH AGHA, *Inventing a Frontier: Imperial Motives and Sub-imperialism on British India's Northwest Frontier, 1889–98*. MRIDU RAI, *A Hindu Kingdom on the Colonial Periphery: Forging State Legitimacy in Late Nineteenth Century Kashmir*. SATADRU SEN,

*Punishment on the Fringes: Maulana Thanasari in the Andaman Islands*. CLARE ANDERSON, "Weel about and turn about and do jis so, Eb'ry time I weel about and jump Jim Crow": Dancing on the Margins of the Indian Ocean. JAMES H. MILLS, *Psychiatry on the Edge? Vagrants, Families, and Colonial Asylums in India, 1857–1900*. DOUGLAS M. PEERS, "The more this foul case is stirred, the more offensive it becomes": Imperial Authority, Victorian Sentimentality, and the Court Martial of Colonel Crawley, 1862–4. LISA MITCHELL, *Literary Production at the Edge of Empire: The Crisis of Patronage in Southern India under Colonial Rule*.

### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

GENE ALLEN SMITH and SYLVIA L. HILTON, editors. *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s–1820s*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2010. Pp. 375. \$69.95.

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PAUL FARBER and HAMILTON CRAVENS, editors. *Race and Science: Scientific Challenges to Racism in Modern America*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press. 2009. Pp. 234. \$29.95.

EDWARD J. LARSON, Slavery in the Election of 1800. FAY A. YARBROUGH, From Kin to Intruder: Cherokee Legal Attitudes toward People of African Descent in the Nineteenth Century. JOHN P. JACKSON, JR., and ANDREW S. WINSTON, The Last Repatriationist: The Career of Earnest Sevier Cox. VASSILIKI BETTY SMOCOVITIS, Mongrels and Hybrids: The Problem of "Race" in the Botanical World. MELINDA GORMLEY, The Roman Campaign of '53 to '55: The Dunn Family among a Jewish Community. PAUL FARBER, Changes in Scientific Opinion on

Race Mixing: The Impact of the Modern Synthesis. HAMILTON CRAVENS, Race, IQ, and Politics in Twentieth-Century America. BEN KEPPEL, Robert Coles and the Political Culture of the Second Reconstruction. MICHAEL G. KENNY, Genomics, Genetic Identity, and the Refiguration of "Race."

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## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITORS:

I would like to add some thoughts to Leslie Peirce's fine "Writing Histories of Sexuality in the Middle East" (*AHR*, December 2009, 1325–1339). These emphasize the modern and contemporary period, which Peirce treats less comprehensively than the earlier periods, including works too recent for her to note.

Regarding her and her cited authors' treatment of homosexuality: As some of these authors note, the concept of a homosexual individual is even more recent in the Middle East (and most of the non-Western world) than in the West. Before this in the Middle East as in many cultures there were words for homosexual acts, and males might be distinguished not by a partner's sex but according to their role in the act ("passive" or "active" in older terminology). An "active" or penetrating male was considered masculine, whatever the gender of his partners; a "passive" one might be passing through a common pre-bearded stage of life, but if he continued to stress this role he could be seen as effeminate and inferior, and special terms might be used for him. Most men married; some continued homosexual activity after marriage, sometimes to the exclusion of relations with their wives. Both wives and boys often suffered. As shown in the books Peirce cites about Ottoman sexuality, Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, and Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of the Beloveds*, although some relations were mutual, in others richer, older, more powerful men could often seduce, pay, or even rape

younger, poorer, weaker boys. There was much poetic enthusiasm for the lover-beloved relationship, which no doubt reflected real feelings, but it was nearly all written by the dominant parties in these relationships.

On this question, Afsaneh Najmabadi's impressive *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards* (University of California Press, 2005) argues that an earlier relative social acceptance of homosexuality ended under the influence of Victorian Western strictures, and suggests a revival of more accepting attitudes. A more comprehensive approach is found in Janet Afary's *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). Afary relates the increase in negative views of homosexuality also to the male-dominant way in which it was practiced and to activities and writings, especially by women, in favor of greater gender equality. She cites women writing of neglect or mistreatment by husbands who preferred or limited themselves to male sexual companionship or to non-vaginal penetration. The common use of the same term, "homosexuality," to describe both the male-dominant practices common in premodern times and the recent gay-lesbian-transgender advocacy of equal rights for all obscures different realities. Afary's extensive research into the change from premodern to recent practices and ideas shows that acceptance of broadly defined gender equality is not a revival of older ways but a program for newer ones, which could include making wives the most important object of their husbands' affections.

Female homosexuality is one of many topics regarding female sexuality that have much more coverage in contemporary than in historical sources and where contemporary writings can help us understand the past. Several articles in a special issue of the *Journal of Middle Eastern Women's Studies* (Fall 2008) shed new light on female sexuality, including homosexuality. Iran has been a Middle Eastern pioneer in weblogs, where women and men, sometimes protected by anonymity, can express sexual attitudes. In "Transgression in Narration: The Lives of Iranian Women in Cyberspace," Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi cites, summarizes, and evaluates women's web writings on sexuality. She shows that despite the new openness, women are still more subject than men to online attacks for what they write, especially if they discuss their homosexuality. (In an e-mail to me, Amir-Ebrahimi also noted that most Iranian

feminists do not want to tie their cause to homosexual rights.)

In the same issue, A. Holly Shissler's "Womanhood Is Not for Sale" breaks with the notion that independent women's voices were essentially silent in the Atatürk period in Turkey. In my introduction to this collection I wrote: "The radical arguments that Shissler discusses from the Turkish writer Sabiha Sertel are a rarely noted example of a Middle Eastern writer who put forth a Marxist-influenced view of prostitution and of marriage. Sertel's writings show her to be a woman intellectual who went beyond the politics of Atatürk . . . and offered an original socioeconomic interpretation of women's roles. This type of argument . . . has been revived by some on the left of the current feminist movement in Turkey" (p. 7).

Several recent works describe and analyze sexual activity among young urban Iranian women. Especially revealing are Pardis Mahdavi's *Passionate Uprisings: Iran's Sexual Revolution* (Stanford University Press, 2009) and Azadeh Moaveni's *Lipstick Jihad* (PublicAffairs, 2005). What must be added is the continued outrage regarding newer ways expressed by many more traditional Iranians, often of rural or popular class origin. This is not too different from views of the religious right in the U.S. or of many traditional tribal, rural, and popular class persons in Turkey and other Middle Eastern areas.

An important collection is Pinar İkkaracan, ed., *Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East* (Ashgate, 2008). Based on a conference, the collection includes articles on criminal law and sexuality, honor crimes in Jordan, sex education in Lebanon, Iraqi discourse on gender and sexuality in the 1970s and 1980s, militarization, nation and gender, rape victims in Palestine, migrant sex workers in Turkey, and the abortive proposal to outlaw adultery in Turkey. Also included is the last article by a fine young male scholar, the late Hammed Shahidian, "Contesting Discourses of Sexuality in Post-Revolutionary Iran."

My own *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present* (Princeton University Press, 2007) includes a women's history of all MENA countries with many discussions of sexuality, and it reprints, with updating remarks, several of my articles: The most relevant are "Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender," "Problems in the Study of Middle Eastern Women," and "Sexuality and Shi'i Social Protest in Iran," which I co-authored with the late Parvin Paidar (Nahid Yeganeh). The volume is dedicated to Paidar.

Several works show that sexual crimes were far less harshly treated in the past than they are by Islamist states and movements today. Notable is Elyse Semerdjian's fine *"Off the Straight Path": Illicit Sex, Law, and Community in Ottoman Aleppo* (Syracuse University Press, 2008), which cites the Kanuns of Ottoman sultans that included only fines and banishment as punishments for sexual and other crimes. Further research on the

role of Kanuns in Ottoman courts would be welcome.

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## REVIEWS

### TO THE EDITORS:

I do not mind being criticised for what I have said, but in his review of my book, *The Press Gang: Naval Impressment and Its Opponents in Georgian Britain* (AHR, October 2009, 1152–1153), Peter Linebaugh often distorts what I have written and accuses me of omissions that are simply not there. Linebaugh asserts that I do not explain why impressment was necessary, although I explain why this was the case on page 6. Throughout the first chapter and elsewhere I also offer reasons why impressment was unpopular: family dislocation and destitution (pp. 1–3, 8, 11–12, 106, 118), loss of the British right to liberty and virtual bondage to the state (pp. 11–12, 18–19, 33, 107, 109, 138), better wages in the merchant marine and the right to bargain in the market (p. 6, 12, 106–107), harsher discipline in the royal navy (pp. 6, 117). Linebaugh also writes that I omitted a reference to the 1757 impressment round-up in New York City. Not so; it is mentioned on page 90.

Linebaugh's particular animus is directed at my chapter on the mid-century Atlantic, where I question his claims for an ethnically diverse royal navy and alliances between sailors and slaves. He says I claimed that "there is no evidence that seamen sympathized with slave revolts in the Caribbean" (p. 99). He conveniently omits the crucial qualifier "during this period," that is, in the mid-century decades with which that particular chapter was concerned. And he overlooks my subsequent comment that in 1760 and 1775, sailors helped suppress slave insurrections in Jamaica. Having seemingly exposed my ignorance of Atlantic history, Linebaugh then goes on to accuse me of assuming that all sailors were white and all slaves were black. In fact, I spend some pages (pp. 91–95) trying to determine how many blacks might have been in the mid-century navy, and conclude that while ships in the merchant marine were racially diverse, only a small proportion of the royal seamen were likely to have been Africans. In my view this is a more accurate estimate than that provided by Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker in *The Many Headed Hydra*, which is reliant on an off-the-cuff, unsubstantiated remark by a colonial administrator in a book on Kenya written in 1925. It would be more helpful if Linebaugh addressed my evidence rather than making ad hominem remarks.

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Peter Linebaugh does not wish to respond.

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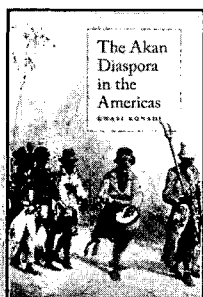
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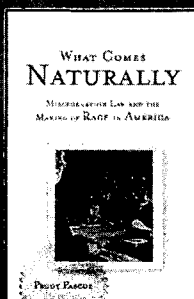
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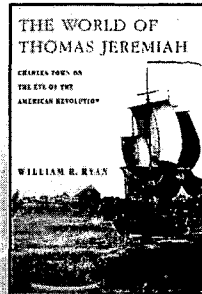
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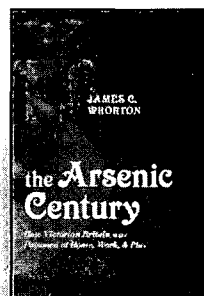


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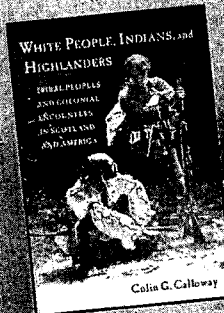
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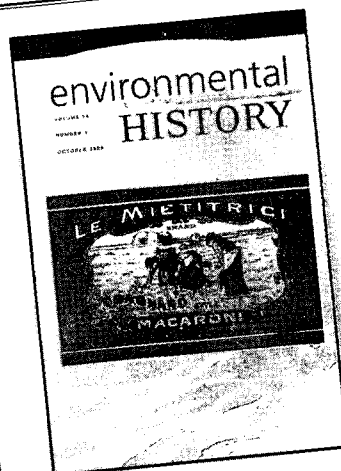
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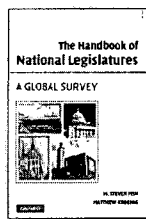


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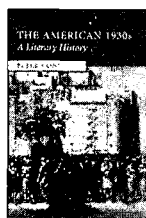
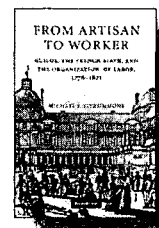
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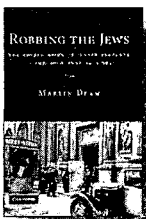
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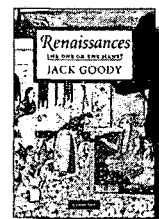
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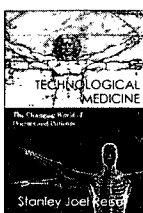
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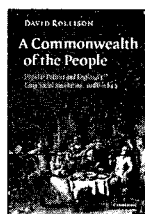
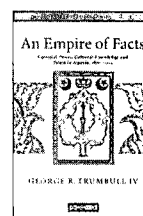
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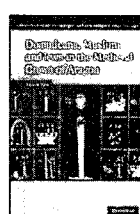
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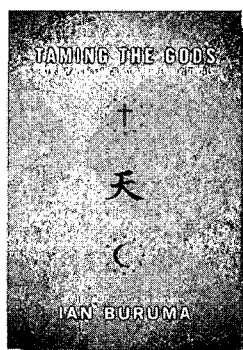
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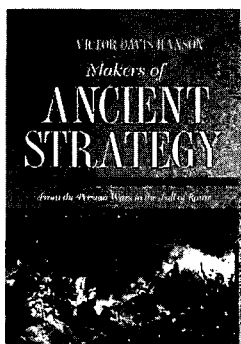
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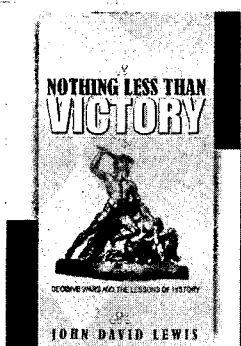
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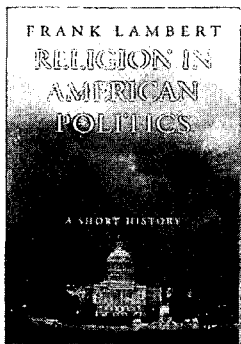
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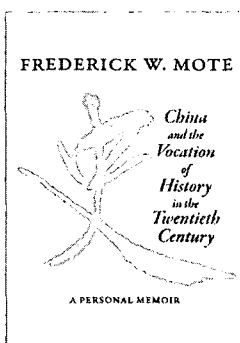


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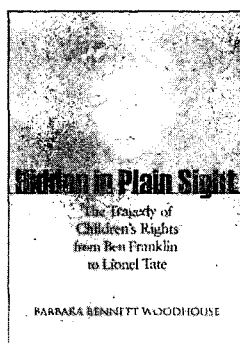
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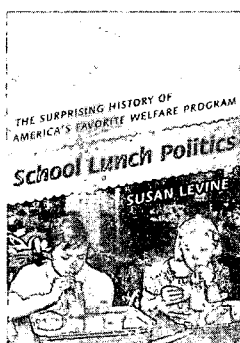
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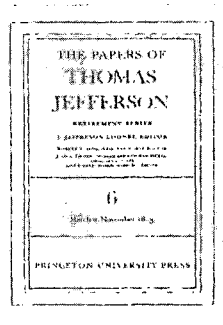
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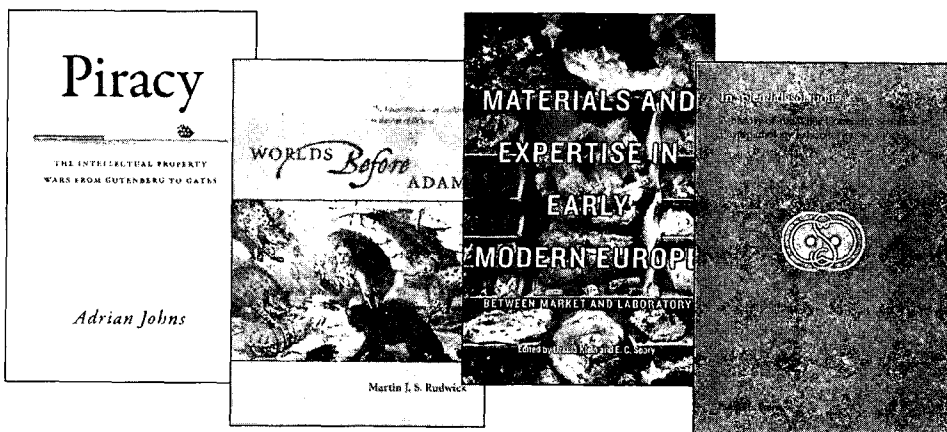
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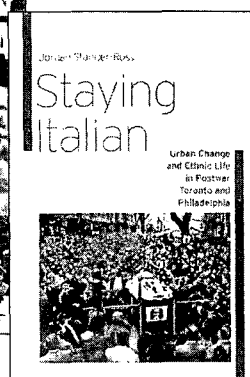
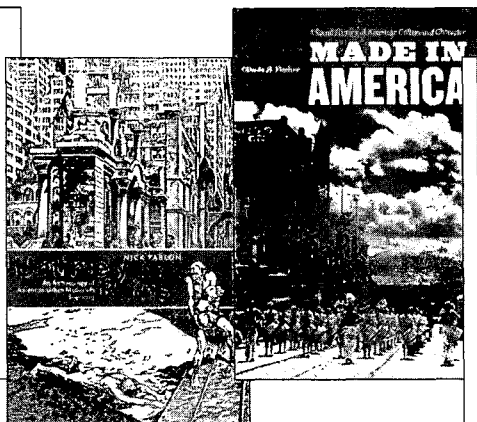
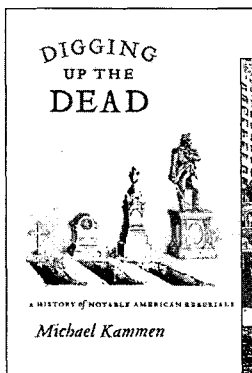
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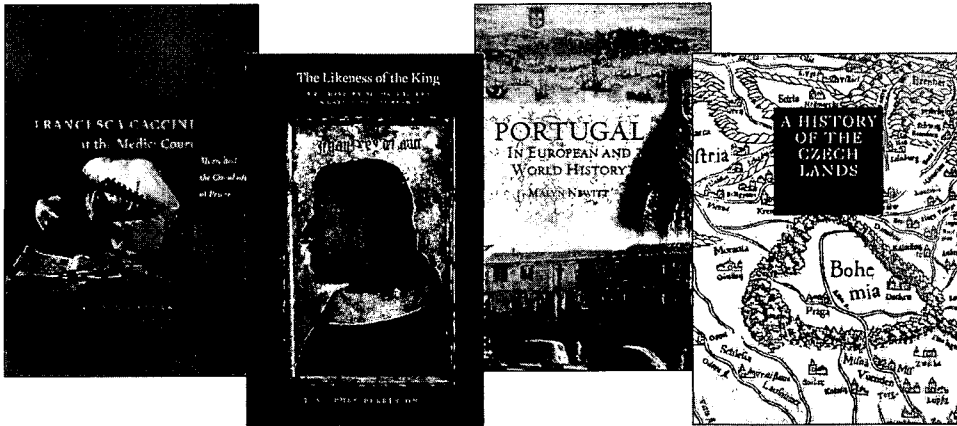
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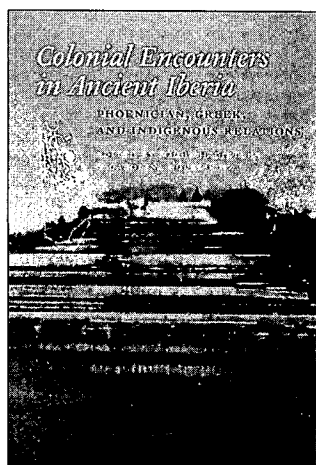
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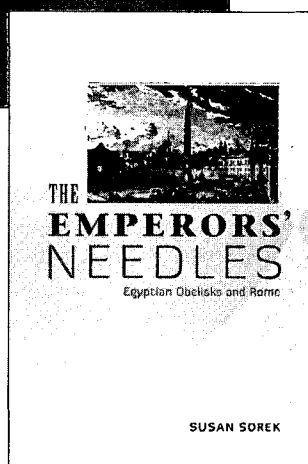


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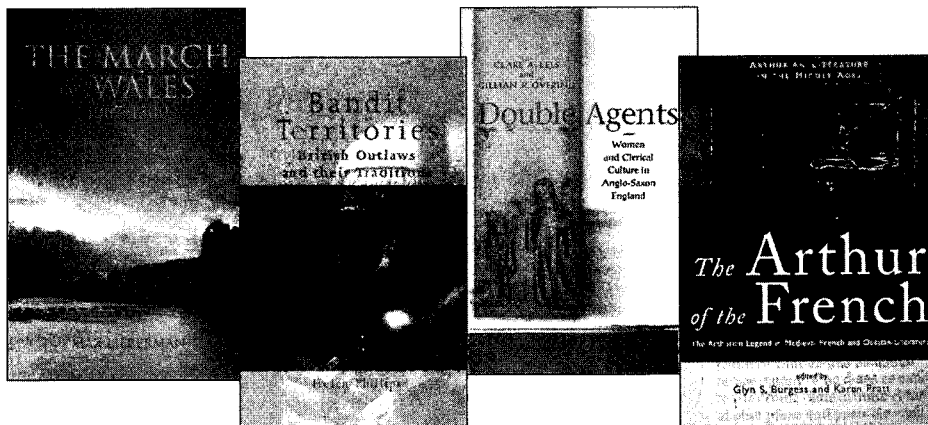
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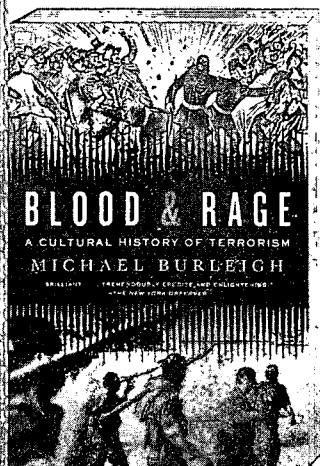
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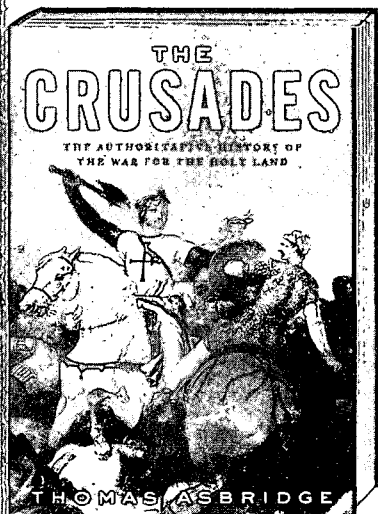
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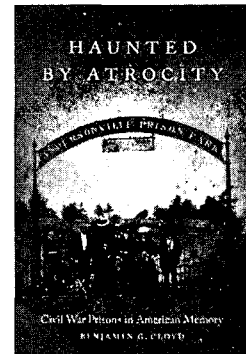
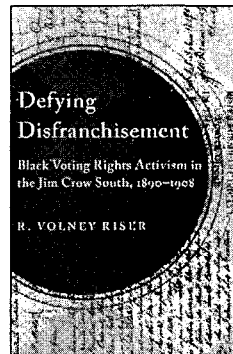
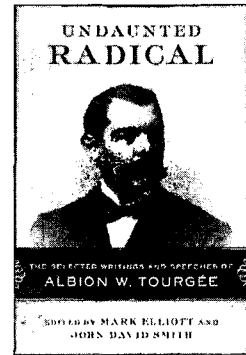
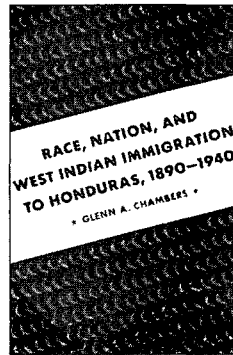
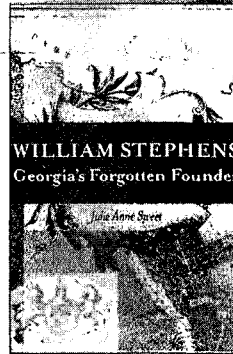
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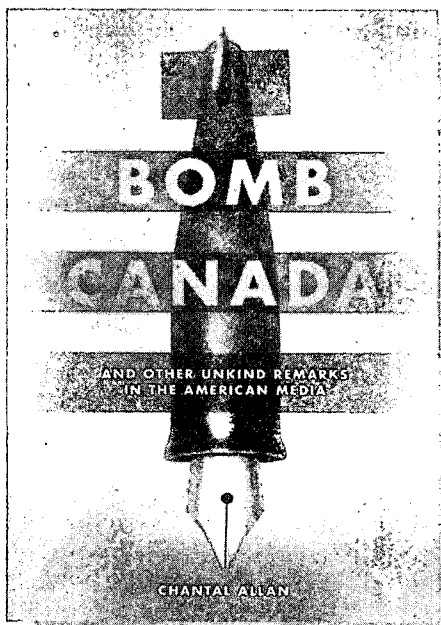
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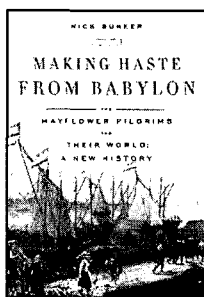
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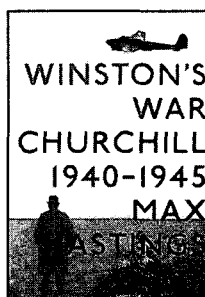
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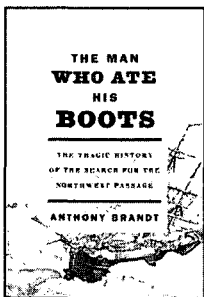
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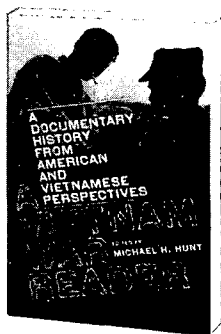
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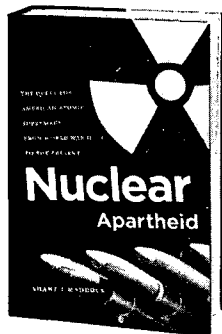
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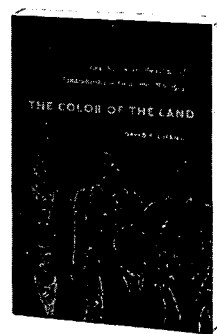
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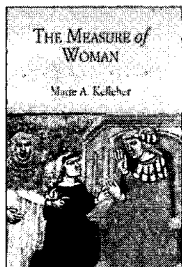
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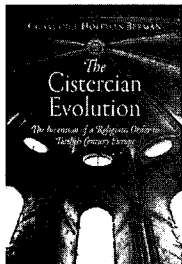
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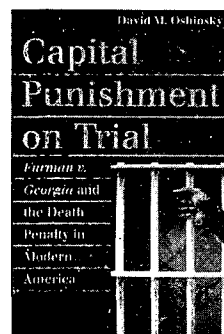
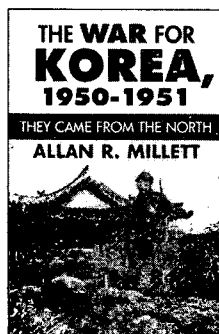
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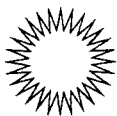
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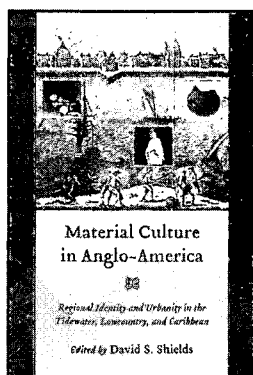
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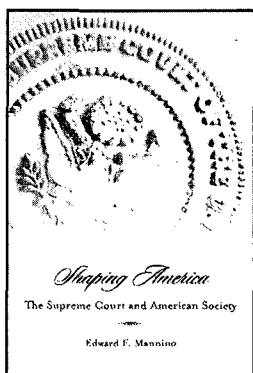
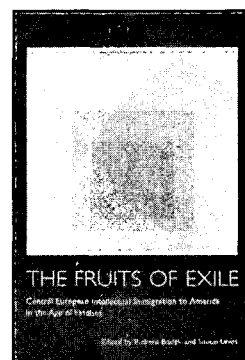
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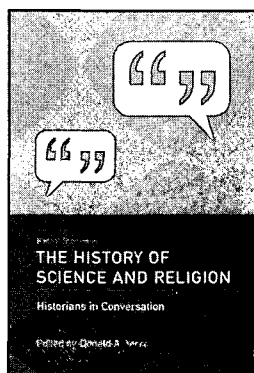
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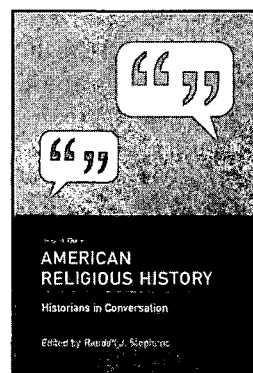
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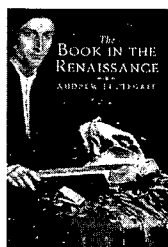
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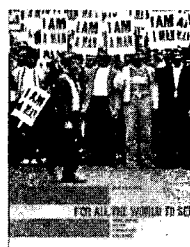
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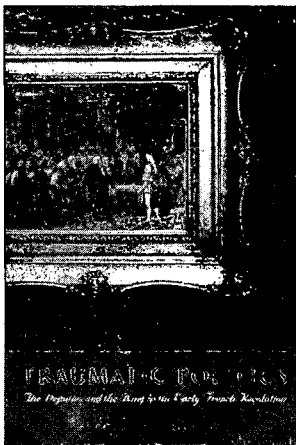
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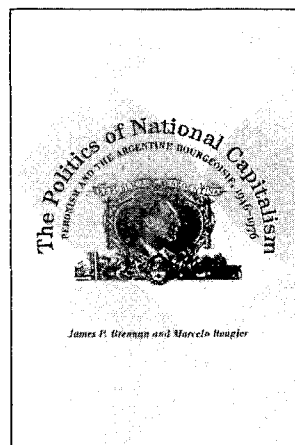
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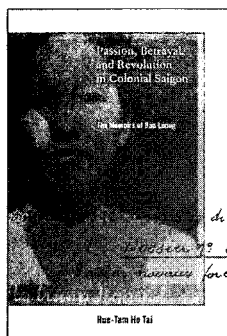
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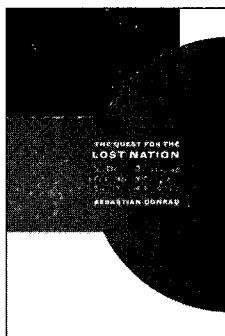
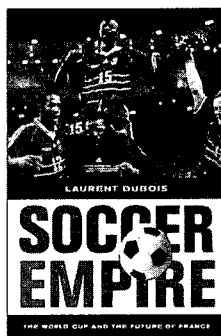
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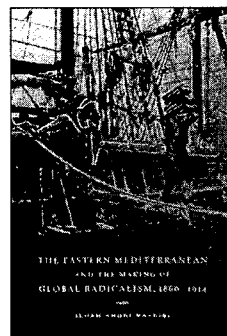
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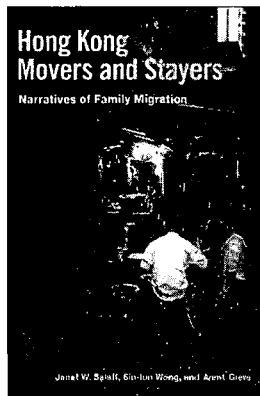
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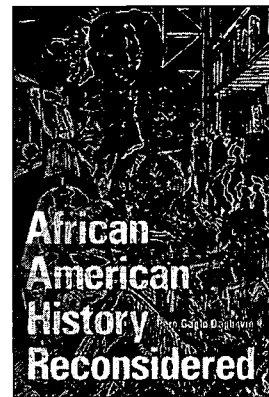
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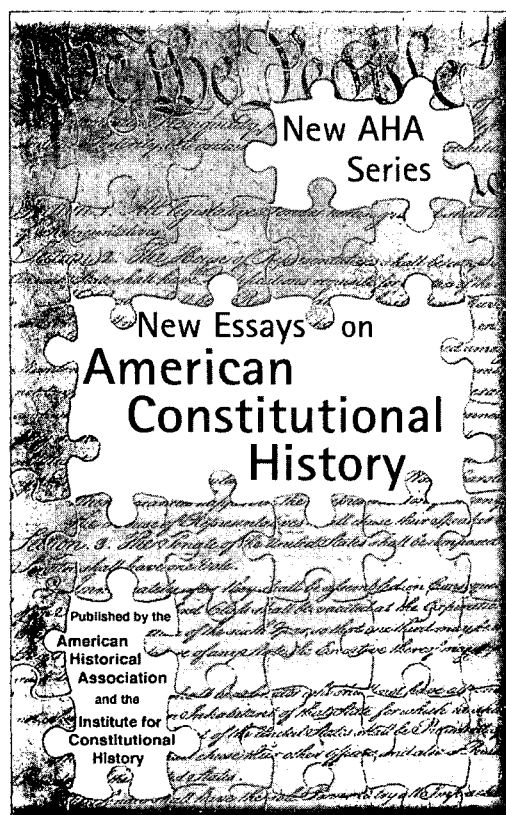


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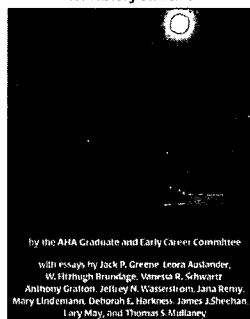
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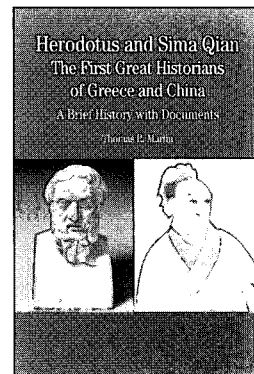
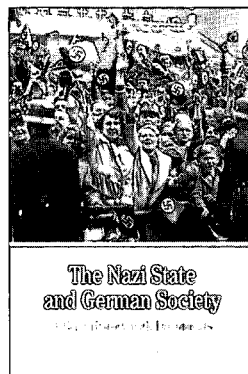
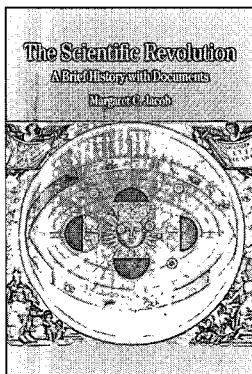


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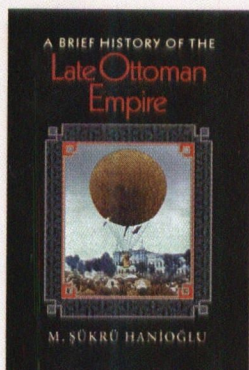
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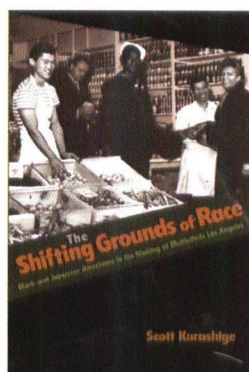
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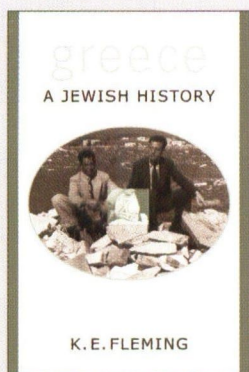
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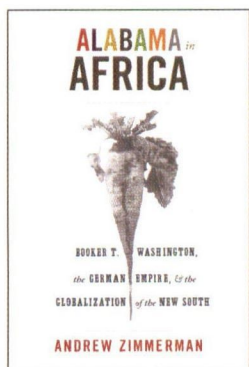
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